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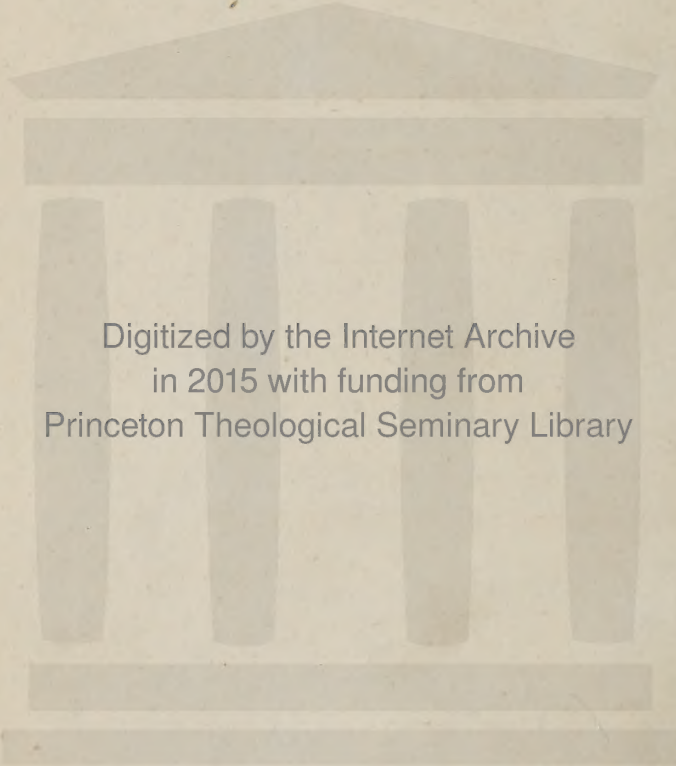
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Bilson, Thomas, 1546 or 7-  
1616.

The perpetual government of  
Christ's Church







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THE  
PERPETUAL GOVERNMENT OF  
CHRIST'S CHURCH:

BY  
THOMAS BILSON, D.D.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

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A NEW EDITION,  
WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE,

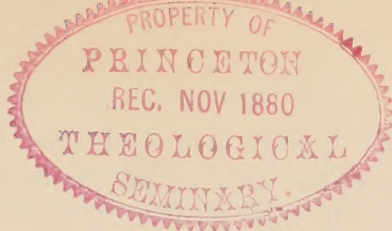
BY  
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## NOTICE OF THE WORK AND AUTHOR.

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THE work which is now reprinted, is a Defence of Episcopacy. Like some other apologies for the same cause, it was occasioned by the controversy of the times in which its author lived.

Nonconformity, in the days of Elizabeth, displayed itself in three several and progressive stages. Its earliest manifestation was among those men who having witnessed the abominations, and smarted under the cruelties of popery, felt impatient at every remnant of a system so odious in their eyes; and clamoured for the removal of every vestment, as well as form, which had been in use among the Romanists; "hating even the garment that was spotted," in their eyes, by its association with popery. Much forbearance was due and was shewn, to men otherwise exemplary, and to whom the cause of truth owed so large a debt; because their scruples were connected with points certainly not essential to the maintenance of the constitution of the church.

The next degree of nonconformity was that which passed the border which separated things dispensable from such as were essential; and both invaded the order, and interrupted the practice of the church. Its advocates would demolish episcopacy, only because the Romish church had acknowledged it; desiring to erect in its stead a scheme of discipline, which not



even its founder had contended for as universally necessary, but only as peculiarly fitted to the small state in which he set it up.

In its last stage, nonconformity was seen in its rankest form; in a race of fanatical men, who were no longer satisfied with contending for their right to enjoy a discipline of their own; but were for punishing the prince who did not speedily help them to the possession of all the licence which they demanded.

It was with the second of these forms that Bilson had to deal. The scheme of church discipline which had originated at Geneva; and which, under the powerful influence of Knox, had taken root in Scotland, having found its way into England, had unsettled and threatened to overthrow the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government in this land.

In the lengthened and agitating contest which ensued, the Divine Protector of the church raised up more than one able champion of the truth. In the same day with the author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" lived Bilson, engaged in the same warfare with that great and good man; and certainly, not inferior to him in the theological erudition which could alone qualify either for his task.

The argument for episcopacy, as comprising three grades in the ministerial office, is supported in the work of bishop Bilson by analogy and by testimony. The author finds an analogy in the "fatherly superiority" exercised by the patriarchs over their households; as well as in the gradations of the Aaronical priesthood; which together (as he argues) exhibited a type of that form of discipline which God would *always* set up in his church. He, thus, considers

that the episcopal system, and the three distinctions of ministers which it contains, is only the working out and perpetuation of an idea which divine wisdom had, from the first, decided to be the best regimen of the church. The testimony adduced by the author is that of scripture, some popular misinterpretations of which he exposes; and of Christian antiquity, from whose resources he draws very largely.

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THOMAS BILSON was a native of the city of Winchester, the year of his birth being A.D. 1547, as may be ascertained by reckoning backwards from the period mentioned in his epitaph; though Fuller says that he was born in 1565; a manifest error, since the year following the last mentioned date is assigned by Wood in his *Fasti*<sup>a</sup>, as the time when he took his degree of B.A. While the absurdity involved in adopting Fuller's date is so great as to decide against his accuracy (for it would make Bilson only one year old at the time of taking his degree), a perfect harmony in all the succeeding dates will follow from assuming the year which has been assigned as the true time of his birth.

Bilson's<sup>b</sup> early education was received in Winchester school; from which he was elected to a fellowship of New College in 1565, at the age of eighteen; but, as Wood informs us that he took the degree of B.A. in 1566<sup>c</sup>, we must suppose the date of the preceding year to refer not to his election from Winchester, but to the period when he was made a

<sup>a</sup> Part i. col. 171.

<sup>b</sup> He was of German origin, being great-grandson of Arnold Bilson, a German, whose wife was daughter of a duke of Bavaria.

<sup>c</sup> *Fasti*, part i. col. 171.

complete fellow of New College. He would thus have been about sixteen years old, or somewhat more, when he quitted Winchester. After taking the degree of M.A. in 1570, he retraced his steps to Winchester; that place being destined to be the ground on which his career was, principally, to be passed. The capacity in which he returned to Winchester was as master of the school in which he had been nurtured. He became, afterwards, warden of the college, and prebendary of the cathedral of Winchester; but it is uncertain whether he had attained the latter dignity while he was master of the school, or whether it was superadded to the wardenship. Le Neve, in his *Fasti*<sup>d</sup>, speaks of him as being "prebendary of the eighth stall of Winchester, in 1576;" but he is probably wrong in calling Bilson at this period S.T.P. The annalist must have made him a doctor in divinity by anticipation; since he did not attain that degree until the year 1580. Bilson was at length elevated to the see of Worcester, being consecrated thereto June 13, 1596; and in the following year was translated to Winchester, and made one of queen Elizabeth's privy counsellors. His death took place in the year 1616.

The period at which Bilson lived was one of the most eventful in the history of the English church. His childhood was passed amid the strong contrasts of the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Mary; the transactions of which, memorable as they are in history, could have made but a slight impression upon one so youthful. But he grew up amid scenes less sanguinary, though not less troublous of the peace of



the church. He witnessed, in 1564, the beginning of nonconformity; and the acquirement by that party of the name of Puritans; and, in the following year, objections arising to the vestments and ceremonies of the church, as well as to other points relating to its constitution and discipline. In Scotland, the presbyterian administration, derived from Geneva, had been adopted in 1566, by the general assembly, and was adhered to with tenacity for twenty-six years, until by the diminished power of the court, it succeeded in gaining a legal establishment. The year 1570, which was very nearly the time when Bilson entered into holy orders, was signalized by the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift, at Cambridge; when the former, in his capacity as lady Margaret's professor of divinity, read lectures, in which he publicly attacked the government of the church.

At a moment so interesting in his own history as that when he entered upon the ministry of the church, Bilson could not be an indifferent spectator of that church, placed as she was, in the attitude of self-defence; and, we may well suppose, that his mind was now for the first time seriously directed to an examination of the grounds upon which the ecclesiastical order of the church was constructed.

The zeal which had been waked up in Bilson's mind on the subject of church claims, would be rekindled, when in 1573 he saw the English puritans and the Scotch presbyterians proclaiming anew their attachment to the discipline (as well as doctrines) of the Genevan church, and pushing their cause on every side, and by all methods. The same zeal would experience no abatement, when after hearing loud notes of discontent against the ecclesiastical regimen of the

day, and a clamorous demand for an infusion of presbyterian discipline into the episcopal, he witnessed the rise of the dispute between Travers and Hooker in 1585; and, from his peaceful retirement as warden of Winchester college, was the spectator of a contest which issued in the most triumphant vindication of the claims of the church, and was the occasion that gave birth to a work that has placed the episcopal church of these realms within an impregnable fortress of strength, and its author within an enclosure of immortal fame.

The leisure which Bilson enjoyed when he became warden of Winchester, was employed in laying up those stores of sound divinity which were so advantageously opened in 1593, the year when the first edition of the following work appeared. His habits were those of laborious study; and are well described in the following passage of sir John Harrington, in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*: "From schoolmaster of Winchester, he became warden; and having been infinitely studious and industrious in poetry, in philosophy, in physic, and lastly (which his genius chiefly called him to) in divinity, he became so complete for skill in languages, for readiness in the fathers, for judgment to make use of his readings, that he was found to be no longer a soldier, but a commander-in-chief in our spiritual warfare;"—"especially when he became a bishop," adds Anthony Wood, "and carried prelature in his very aspect."

The character which is given to Bilson by the last-named historian, that he was "a deep and profound scholar, exactly read in ecclesiastical authors<sup>e</sup>," is amply vindicated in all his works: 1. "The true Dif-

ference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion," which he wrote by the instruction of queen Elizabeth, when she "took on her the protection of the Low Countries against the king of Spain:" 2. "The full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Blood of Christ Jesus:" 3. "A Survey of Christ's Sufferings and Descent into Hell." These treatises, which together with the following work are his chief productions, are, each, an evidence of his deep erudition.

But, it is in the "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," that we find the richest produce of his theological learning; as well as the most important employment of the same. In this book he has established his claim to be considered one of the most learned divines of his own or any period, as well as the author of a powerful defence of episcopacy. The argument of this work has ever been held to be unanswerable; an opinion, the justice of which is best established by the fact, that none has been found who has attempted to answer it.

The estimation in which bishop Bilson was held in his day, (if any proof were needed beyond the recital already made of the several steps of his career,) may be known from his having been appointed, with Dr. Miles Smith, bishop of Gloucester, to add the last hand in the translation of the Bible, commanded by king James the First<sup>f</sup>. At length, after he had gone through many employments, and had lived in continual drudgery as it were, for the public good, he surrendered up his pious soul to God, June 18, 1616; and was buried on the south side of Westminster

<sup>f</sup> Ant. Wood, vol. ii.



Abbey, between the basis of Richard II.'s tomb and that of Edward III., near to the entrance into St. Edmund's chapel. John Dunbar, a Scot, wrote the following epigram upon him :

“ Ad Thomam Bilsonum, episcopum Vintoniensem.  
 Castalidum commune decus, dignissime præsul,  
 Bilsoni, æternis commemorative modis :  
 Quam valide adversus Christi, imperterritus, hostes  
 Bella geras, libri sunt monumenta tui.  
 His hydræ fidei quotquot capita alta resurgunt,  
 Tu novus Alcides tot resecare soles.”

On his grave-stone is this inscription :

“ *Memoriæ sacrum.*  
 Hic jacet Thomas Bilson, Wintoniensis nuper episcopus et serenissimo principi Jacobo Magnæ Britanniæ regi potentissimo a sanctioribus consiliis, quo quum Deo et ecclesiæ ad annos undeviginti fideliter ab episcopatu deservisset, mortalitatem, sub certa spe resurrectionis exiit decimo octavo die mensis Junii A.D. 1616. Ætatis suæ 69.”

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There are extant two English editions of this work ; and one Latin version.

The first English edition appeared in 1593, when the author was warden of Winchester college.

The second English edition was published in 1610: it is an exact reprint of the copy of 1593.

In 1611 he published his work in Latin, in order that its use might extend beyond the limits of his own country : besides which, the Latin version contains many additions ; principally in the way of amplification of the original expression, and, in one or two instances, extending to a long paragraph : also,

² In I lib. Epigr. Lond. 1616. in oct. cent. 2. epigr. iv. p. 42.

omissions; not only where the compressed style of the Latin words enabled the author to retrench the English phrase, but in some cases also, where he seems to have wished to soften, or even withdraw, a thought or an expression. These variations of the Latin from the English edition are thus intimated in the title-page of the former: "*Liber ad utilitatem patriæ primum Anglice scriptus; nunc demum ab auctore Thom. Bilsono episcopo Wintoniensi recognitus, auctus, et in publicum ecclesiæ bonum Latine redditus.*" It will be seen, from the above terms, that the Latin edition claims to be regarded, not merely as a translation of the original into a language which would make it the property of the church at large, but as a revised and enlarged form of the work itself.

The Editor has compared every passage translated or referred to by bishop Bilson, with the original authors; and has transcribed them in the notes; marking the references to the editions which he has used within brackets, immediately before the quotation. He has also collated the English with the Latin edition; and has inserted in the notes every thing added, omitted, or amplified.

R. E.





# THE PERPETVAL GOVERNEMENT OF CHRISTES CHVRCH.

Wherein are handled;

*The fatherly superioritie which God first established in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after continued in the Tribe of Leui and the Prophetes; and lastlie confirmed in the New Testament to the Apostles and their successours:*

As also the points in question at this day;

Touching the *Iewish Synedriou*: the true kingdome of Christ: the *Apostles commission*: the *Laie Presbyterie*: the *Distinction of Bishops from Presbyters*, and their *succession* from the *Apostles times and hands*: the calling and moderating of *Prouinciall Synodes* by *Primates* and *Metropolitanes*: the allotting of *Dioceses*, and the *Popular electing* of such as must feed and watch the flocke:

And diuers other points concerning the *Pastorall regiment* of the house of God; By

THO. BILSON Warden of Winchester Colledge:

*Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.*

1. Cor. 14.

*Came the word of God first from you? or did it spread to you alone?*

Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.

*We can reckon those that were ordained Bishops by the Apostles in the Churches, and their successours to this present, which neuer taught nor knew any such thing, as these dreame.*

Imprinted at London by the Deputies  
of CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to  
the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

An. Dom. 1593.



POTENTISSIMO ET PRUDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI

J A C O B O,

DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ

REGI, FIDEI APOSTOLICÆ DEFENSORI, &c.

DOMINO SUO CLEMENTISSIMO.<sup>a</sup>

CUM multa sint principum ornamenta, nobilissime et sapientissime rex, quibus nominis splendor, populi salus, reipublicæ tranquillitas continentur, tum nihil apud omnes bonos illustrius, nihil ipsi Deo acceptius, quam ardens veræ pietatis studium et constans ecclesiæ Christi patrocinium. Ad proferendos imperii fines incumbant, qui suis non contenti latius regnare cupiunt, victoriis ab hostibus reportandis operam dent, qui bellicis tumultibus et miseriis delectantur. Ad ista tamen facti non sunt homines, nec horum gratia rerum publicarum moderatores divinitus primum instituti: (non quod illicitum putem Christiano magistratui armis experiri, vel necessariæ defensionis, vel recuperandi sui juris causa) sed longe sunt alia, quæ nos Paulus jubet a regibus expectare, et sub eorum dominatu a Deo votis omnibus exposcere, nempe ut pacatam et quietam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et honestate. Hæc enim divinæ bonitati magis similia, humano generi magis salutaria, partibus et laudibus vere regiis magis finitima sunt, quam illa militaris urbium expugnatio, regionum direptio, sanguinis effusio, miserorum denique cædes aut servitus, quæ præliorum semper sunt exitus, et furiosam vim

<sup>a</sup> [This dedication is prefixed to the Latin edition of 1611. In the latter part of it is an account of the occasion and argument of the work. Ed.]

Martis nunquam non comitantur. Tam miserandas orbis terræ calamitates, in quibus tamen alii vehementer et serio triumphant, serenissima majestas tua sæpissime cum animo tuo cogitans, et rectissime perpendens, omnes curas et cogitationes tuas ad justitiam, æquitatem, clementiam, pacem, pietatem contulisti; sic ut bellis per universum regnum tuum sedatis, et armorum strepitu remoto, nihil nisi verum Dei cultum, florentem ecclesiæ statum, populi prius dissidentis concordiam, legum optimarum lationem, promptam innocentiae defensionem, celerem malorum depulsionem mediteris. Ad quas præclarissimarum virtutum actiones ita te finxit natura, firmavit industria, divina locupletavit gratia, ut nemo tibi paulisper astiterit, vel disserentem te de causis gravissimis aliquando audiverit, qui non statim te maximis rebus gerendis natum, instructum, comparatum perspexerit. Es enim admirabili ingenio, incredibili memoria, excellenti et admodum exquisito judicio: tantam enim legendo et commentando divinarum et humanarum rerum peritiam assecutus es, ut non in theologia solum, aut philosophia, sed in omni doctrinarum genere vera facillime videas, falsa coarguas acutissime. Nihil opus erit regii generis et sanguinis tui derivatam ab ultima antiquitate claritatem proferre, quam omnes norunt; nec egregiam ex tempore dicendi facultatem, quam nemo, qui te convenit, non agnoscit, meminisse; comitatem, placabilitatem, temperantiam, patientiam, mansuetudinem, misericordiam, bonitatem, beneficentiam, solertiam, sapientiam, cæterasque dotes Christiano et pectore, et principe dignissimas nullas recenseo, quas tamen in sacra majestate tua et plane intuentur omnes, et summe admirantur: mihi, quippe episcopo, memoranda sunt potius sinceræ pietatis in te professio, erudita veritatis per te tum voce, tum scriptis propugnatio, sollicita pacis ecclesiæ conservatio, ne vel erroribus implicetur, vel in partes distrahatur; munificæ et academiis et episcopis factæ donationes, illis stipendia lectorum theologicorum augendo, hiis in primo cujusque ingressu vacuitatum, ut appellant, proventus et vectigalia relaxando; inopum vi oppressorum, vel fraude circumventorum, commiseratio, et in integrum restitutio; quibus muneribus frequentissime et libentissime fungendo gratissimum Deo præstas obsequium, immortale decus tuo nomini

comparasti; doctissimi, justissimi et religiosissimi principis exemplum apud animos tuorum testatum, et hominum memoriae sempiternae commendatum relinques. Non temere loquor de rebus incognitis, sæpe cum aliis multis interfui, dum hæc, quæ dico, et hiis similia sponte susceperis, laboriose sustinueris, cum maxima laude perfeceris. De tuis hiisce pulcherrimis factis nemo quicquam detrahit, nemo derogat; præterquam factio Jesuitarum, qui erigendo et ornando idolo suo Romano mirifice dediti et addicti, non humana solum officia, juramenta, imperia, sed etiam divina mandata, instituta, sacramenta, ejus authoritati et voluntati substernunt, modo promovendæ fidei, aut tutandæ ecclesiæ speciem aliquam possit aut velit prætexere, licet revera pontificiæ superbiæ, superstitionis, aut avaritiæ negotium agatur: tantumque de veritate doctrinæ apostolicæ deflexerunt, ut ubi Paulus “omnem animam potestatibus supereminentibus subjici” jubeat, Rom. xiii. et recusantibus “damnationem,” tanquam “ordinationi divinæ resistentibus,” minetur; isti semetipsos et suos omnes episcopos, regulares, et clericos a potestate regum liberent, et de numero subditorum eximant; nec eo contenti, diaconos omnium postremos dignitate regibus superiores esse præ se ferant et prædicent. Quinimo quo pseudoprophetarum, quos apostolus Judas apertis verbis designat, se probent simillimos, “dominatum” pariter atque illi rejiciunt et “aspernantur,” et “dignitates” (etiam regias) “conviciis onerant.” Intacta mansit ab hiis injuriis sacra majestas tua, donec pontificem Romanum tuis se rebus injuriosius admiscentem, et se tanquam Christi vicarium in tuo regno superbissime jactantem, et edicto suo prohibentem, ne subditi tui jurisjurandi vinculo fidem tibi suam firment, sacrarum literarum sagittis confixisses. Cujus minime Christianam elationem, et arrogantiam non ferendam, cum refutassent et vulnerassent apologetica tua scripta, mirandum in modum tumultuari ac fremere cœperunt Jesuitæ, scurras personatos agere, quo liberius omne virus acerbitalis et impuritatis suæ evomerent, et omni mendaciorum et contumeliarum genere certarent. Ita scilicet juratos Antichristi satellites decebat ruentem sanctissimi patris sui magnitudinem sustinere, ut quod veritate non possent, saltem clamore perficerent, et rationum momentis destituti, ad probra et dicteria se con-



verterent. In probationibus certe cum desudarent, fervent eorum maledicta, frigent argumenta. Firmissimum enim monarchiæ pontificiæ fundamentum in eo jaciunt, quod Christus Petro dixerit, “Pasce oves meas,” quasi Christus alteri nemini, nisi Petro, pascendas oves suas commiserit. Quid ergo facient illis Pauli verbis ad presbyteros Ephesinos, ubi ait, “Spiritus sanctus vos constituit episcopos ad pascendam ecclesiam Dei?” Quomodo vim verborum ipsius Petri declinabunt, ad omnes presbyteros hoc modo scribentis: “Presbyteros qui inter vos sunt, adhortor ego compresbyter, pascite gregem qui penes vos est, ejus inspectioni vacantes, non coacte, sed libenter?” “Illas enim oves” (de quibus Christus locutus est) “non solum tunc beatus suscepit Petrus, sed et nobiscum eas suscepit, et cum illo eas nos omnes suscepimus,” inquit Ambrosius. Si igitur ovium pastio sit mundi dominatio, næ multos orbis terrarum dominos nobis excogitarunt Jesuitæ, sic ut Romanus pontifex, non in Anglia tantum, sed ubique gentium possit otari. Sed beatis se pascunt insomniis homines male feriat, qui docendi laborem, quem a multis jam seculis recusavit summus illorum episcopus, ad dominandi libidinem converterunt, cujus immensa cupiditate rapitur et inflammatur pontifex, sed qua sibi, cæterisque tum presbyteris tum apostolis interdictum, et novit, et scripsit Petrus. Pascite gregem, inquit, “non ut dominantes in cleros,” id est, in hæreditates Dei, “sed qui sitis exemplaria gregis.” Prius etiam audiverat Christum severissime suos discipulos a dominatu prohibentem: “Scitis,” inquit ille, “quod principes gentium dominantur eis, et magnates potestatem in eas exercent; verum inter vos non erit ita; sed quicumque voluerit in vobis primus esse, sit vester servus: sicut Filius hominis non venit ut sibi ministretur, sed ut ministret.” Quî igitur Christo magis resistere et repugnare posset Romanus pontifex, quam ut pastoris operam in verbi divini pabulo præbendo toties Petro commendatam prorsus fastidiat ac rejiciat, et dominationem a Filio Dei suis discipulis expresse vetitam, et ipsis apostolis exquisite denegatam, manibus pedibusque assequi conetur. Hanc enim imperandi potestatem tam misere cupit, ut nihil aliud dies noctesque struat et moliatur; tam longe lateque diffundit, ut nullus orbis angulus ab ejus ambitione sit vacuus; tam insolenter

gerit et administrat, ut insidiis, siccis, venenis, perjuriis, paricidiis, servi in dominos, propinqui in consanguineos, liberi in parentes, subditi in principes, ruptis omnibus divini juris et humanæ societatis repagulis, ab ejus emissariis excitentur, instruantur, armentur. Immanes ac barbaræ temporum superiorum omittantur tragediæ per Romanos pontifices conflatae contra Henricum quartum, Fridericum primum, Philippum Suevum, Fridericum secundum, Ludovicum Bavarum, imperatores: similiter adversus Philippum pulchrum, et Ludovicum duodecimum, Galliae reges; ac Johannem Angliæ regem; quarum plenæ sunt historiæ, annales refertissimi, nemini mediocriter docto latentes, tibi autem, doctissime princeps, in literarum studiis diu multumque versato optime cogniti; illas, inquam, tanquam veteres transeamus. Nostra memoria, quas cædes ac strages edidit sanctum illud fœdus, uti vocant, Tridenti initum, ut ecclesiam ab hæresibus vendicarent; sed verius sanguinarium, ut omnes sinceræ pietatis cultores per Europam universam radicitus extirparent? Locuples hujus rei testis est Parisiensis illa Laniena, ubi viri nobiles cum conjugibus et liberis ad nuptias Navarreni principis invitati, ac alii senes, juvenes, pueri, fœminæ, virgines, infantes uno tempore, nocte intempesta, in cubiculis et lectis ad decem millia mactati sunt. Nec minore crudelitate et rabie sævitum est in reliquis Galliae civitatibus, donec numerus occisorum religionis ergo, paucis diebus supra triginta millia crevisset. Hanc scilicet ecclesiæ regendæ rationem pontifex Romanus a Christo derivat, et qui animam pro ovibus debuit ponere, si bonus esset pastor, infinitis ovibus animas eripit, et orbem Christianum sanguine replet, ne lupum esse satis non constaret. Sed regum majestatem saltem reveretur, et a cæde principum imaginem et vicem Dei gerentium in terris manus abstinet. Ita videlicet, qui percussores regum effert laudibus, et Jesuitas in principum perniciem clanculum conjurantes, si meritas impietatis suæ pœnas pendant, ut martyres in cœlo locat, et quibus Deus gehennam minatur, eisdem ipse donat paradisum, quo cæteri ad similia facinora promptius accenderentur. Imo docent audacter Jesuitæ, et palam jam profitentur, non modo cuivis licitum esse principes a papa semel excommunicatos et imperio abdicatos occidere, (quorum utrum-

que confidentissime sibi sumit Romanus pontifex) sed magnam eo nomine gratiam inire apud Deum interfectores eorum, et martyrum gloriam reportare. Quibus illecebris capti, et quasi laqueis irretiti prophani quidam nebulones, omni pietatis et officii abjecto sensu, omni mortis contempto metu, in sacrosanctas regum personas, legibus humanis et divinis adversus omnem violentiam munitas, clarissima luce perditissime grassantur. Sic Henricum tertium, Galliae regem, nihil de scelere suspicantem, Jacobus Clement Monachus Jacobinus anno 1589, (re prius cum Jesuitis quibusdam communicata) longo per intestina cultro adacto, vita privavit. Similiter etiam successorem ejus Henricum quartum, Navarrae pariter ac Galliae regem, curru quadrigarum per mediam plateam delatum Franciscus Ravillac, anno 1610, pugionem in praecordiis regis altissime defigens, geminato vulnere trucidavit. Elizabethae nuper Angliae reginae, post emissum Romae fulmen pontificium, quot sicarii, venefici, percussores, insidiatores, sanguinem et vitam petebant; et tanquam si haec domestica discrimina satis non fuissent, Hispani foederis Tridentini columnae, si non architecti, classem invictam (sic enim praedicabant) adornantes, coelumque captivum, et mundi ruinam anno fatali (ut illi credebant) 1588, secum vehentes, spolia subactae jam Angliae nocturnis insomniis, et diurnis sermonibus inter se partiti, perfectum et plenum triumphum sibi spondebant, donec caelestem pontificem, ipsum Dei Filium, ac verum mundi Dominum a partibus innocentis reginae stantem senserunt, et octoginta maximis navibus amissis, partim pulsu tormentorum fractis et submersis, partim captis, plurimis etiam impetu ventorum ad scopulos Hibernicos allisis, reliquae magna cum clade, majore tamen cum ignominia fugientes, Deo gloriam, hostibus victoriam reliquerunt. Sed omnia omnium scelera longe superat horrendum illud exitium, quod anno 1605, sacratissimae majestati tuae, lectissimae reginae tuae, nobilissimo principi, Henrico filio tuo, cunctisque proceribus, episcopis, iudicibus, equitibus, civibus, ac reliquis ad publica regni comitia vocatis paraverant Romulidae quidam conspirantes; qui triginta sex dolia pulveris nitrosi et sulphurei in cellam quandam inferiorem abdiderant, subter solium tuum, et locum, ubi omnes, quos dixi, oportuit convenire; murumque perfode-

rant, ut ex occulto per cuniculum subterraneum ignem accenderent, quo pulvis tormentitius minimo momento displosus tabulata, tecta, parietes a fundamentis everteret; et non modo præsentes et in superiori camera sedentes omnes regni ordines, flammis cremaret, in frusta discerperet, in auras dispergeret, sed lignis et lapidibus, quorum ingens ibi fuit copia, incredibili fragore et furore quaqua versus dissilientibus, totam viciniam cum multis millibus omnis ætatis et sexus obrueret. Quam immortales vero gratias Deo debemus et agimus nos omnes, qui pridie, quam haberetur conventus, rem totam patefecit, et cum arma sumerent conjurati, ut seditionem in populo facerent, et ad siccandum pulverem tormentitium, qui illis in pugna opus esset, animos intenderent, scintilla subito exiliens tanto incendio hujus sceleris machinatores afflavit, ut justum Dei judicium adusti agnoscerent, et pereuntes idem supplicium, quod aliis intenderant, ipsi perferrent. Hiis machinis et modis crevit et crescit recens ista pontificis Romani monarchia, tantopere per Jesuitas expetita et sustentata; hiis artibus et armis, non Petro in pascendo, sed Romulo in paricidio papa succedit; hiis clavibus non regnum cœlorum pœnitentibus aperitur, sed puteus infernalis perduellibus reseratur, quo novis et inauditis sceleribus orbis scateat Christianus. Sed de hiis alias, Deo favente, plenius dicendi locus crit. Sunt alii, qui nefariam hanc Antichristi superbiam et tyrannidem ab ecclesia Christi detestantes, et quantum possunt amoliri studentes, omnes evangelii ministros pares et æquales esse debere contendunt; ita ut nullam ferant in episcopis et presbyteris gradus discrepantiam, nec aliquam inter verbi dispensatores admittant differentiam, aut eminentiam, nisi forsan ad breve tempus, idque ex consensu cæterorum, ac in orbem per singulos presbyteros recurrentem. Et ne pro uno dictatore Romano innumerabiles nobis oppidatim et viciatim reponcrent, in singulis parochiis pastori laicos quosdam presbyteros adjungunt, quibus doctrinæ dijudicationem, clavium moderationem, morum censuram, electionum potestatem, et negotiorum ecclesiæ summam committunt: et hanc ecclesiæ gubernandæ rationem Judæorum synedrio non dissimilem, ut illi putant, a Christo confirmatam fuisse, et solam apostolicam esse arbitrantur. Hiis, quoniam fratres sunt, et

nobiscum non de doctrinæ veritate, sed in disciplinæ varietate dissident, probare et persuadere pacis causa conatus sum, laicis presbyteris nihil esse commune cum synedrio Mosaico, quod judicum et magistratum in quaque civitate conventus erat, potestate gladii armatus, ut de causis civilibus decernerent, et sontibus pœnas ex præscripto legis infligerent. Deinde laicis Christum neque clavium tractationem, neque manuum impositionem, neque verbi vel sacramentorum dispensationem unquam credidisse; nec apostolos magistri vestigiis insistentes pastorale munus aut administrationem laicis impartivisse; multo minus laicos, ut judices, pastoribus præfecisse. Hæc a sacris literis valde aliena esse docui, et a scriptis apostolicis longe multumque abhorrentia: quin potius Paulum in suis ad Timotheum et Titum Epistolis, episcopalis officii vires et limites exarasse, et ejus gubernationis, quam apostoli reliquerunt ecclesiæ, solidam et veram effigiem expressisse. Quam ab apostolis semel acceptam, et per multas sæculorum ætates continuatam ecclesia Christi semper retinuit, et Anglicana, tuis prædiis et imperiis fulta, in hodiernum usque diem retinet. Et quoniam hic liber plenam continet explicationem et probationem ejus in ecclesia regiminis, quod maturitate judicii tui cæteris præfertur, et autoritate tua recipitur et stabilitur in hoc regno, jure optimo tibi, serenissime rex, dicatur et consecratur, præsertim quem sub amplissimi tui nominis auspiciis excudi, et in vulgus emanare voluisti; ut omnes intelligerent, quanta propensione veteris et purioris ecclesiæ memoriam colas; et quanta solitudine decus, ordinem, et pacem ecclesiæ Britannicæ fovendam et augendam susceperis.

Deus optimus maximus majestatem tuam ecclesiæ suæ propugnatorem fœlicem, expugnatorem Antichristi fatalem, exteris et subditis acceptissimum, solis conviciatoribus Jesuitis formidabilem, regno Britannicæ quam maxime florentem, omnibus vitæ præsentis et futuræ donis et divitiis summe affluentem diutissime servet et tueatur.

Serenissimæ Majestatis tuæ

humillimus et obsequentissimus

subditus et servus

THO. WINTON.



TO

THE CHRISTIAN READER.

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I HAVE been very unwilling, good Christian reader, to enter into these controversies of discipline, that have now some space troubled the church of England. I remembered the words of Abraham to Lot : “ Let there, I pray thee, be no strife Gen. xiii. 8. betwixt thee and me, nor betwixt my men and thine ; for we be brethren ;” and did thereby learn, that all strife betwixt brethren was unnatural. I could not forget the saying of our Saviour : “ Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you ;” and John xiv. so collected how “ careful” we should be “ to keep the unity of <sup>27.</sup> the Spirit in the band of peace.” Eph. iv. 3. Profane writers could tell me, “ by concord the weakest things grow strong, by discord the mightiest states are overthrown ;” and that made me loath to increase or nourish the dislikes and quarrels that have lately fallen out in this realm, betwixt the professors and teachers of one and the same religion : yet when I saw the peace of God’s church violated by the sharpness of some men’s humours, and their tongues so intemperate that they could not be discerned from open enemies, I thought as in a common danger, not to sit looking till all were on fire, but rather by all means to try what kind of liquor would restinguish this flame.

Another reason leading me to this enterprise, was the dis-

charge of my duty to God and her majesty: for finding that some men broached their disciplinary devices under the title of God's eternal truth, and professed they could no more forsake the defence thereof than of the Christian faith; and others defaced and reproached the government of the church here received and established, as unlawful, irreligious, and anti-christian; (for what lees are so sour, that some hedge wines will not yield!) I was moved in conscience, not to suffer the sacred scriptures to be so violently arrested, and overruled by the summons and censures of their new consistories; as also to clear this state of that injurious slander, as if, not knowing or neglecting the manifest voice of Christ's Spirit, we had entertained and preferred the dregs of antichrist's pride and tyranny.

These causes of great and good regard, led me to examine the chief grounds of both disciplines, theirs and ours, and to peruse the proofs and authorities of either part; that by comparing it might appear, which side came nearest to the sincerity of the scriptures, and society of the ancient and uncorrupt church of Christ. The which wholly to propose by way of preface would be exceeding tedious; shortly to capitulate, that the reader may know what to look for, will not altogether be superfluous.

The main supports of their new devised discipline are, the general equality of all pastors and teachers, and the joining of lay elders with them to make up the *presbytery*, that shall govern the church. On this foundation they build the power of their consistory, that must admonish and punish all offences, hear and determine all doubts, appease and end all strifes that any way touch the state and welfare of the church. Against these false grounds, I shew the church of God from Adam to Moses, from Moses to Christ, and so downward under patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, hath been always governed by an inequality and superiority of pastors and teachers amongst themselves: and so much the very name and nature of government do enforce; for if amongst equals none may challenge to rule the rest, there must of necessity be superiors before there can be governors. It was therefore a ridiculous oversight in our new platformers,

to settle an ecclesiastical government amongst the pastors and teachers of the church, and yet to banish all superiority from them.

Some finding that absurdity, and perceiving confusion of force must follow where all are equal, and no governor endured, confess it to be an essential and perpetual part of God's ordinance, for each *presbytery* to have a chief amongst them; and yet, lest they should seem to agnize or admit the ancient and approved manner of the primitive church retained amongst us, which is, to appoint a fit man to govern each diocese, they have framed a running regency, that shall go round to all the presbyters of each place by course, and dure for a week, or some such space, for the device is so new, that they are not yet resolved what time this changeable superiority shall continue. With this conceit they marvellously please themselves, insomuch that they pronounce this only to be God's institution, and this overseer or bishop to be apostolic; all others they reject as human; that is, as invented and established by man against the first and authentic order of the Holy Ghost.

Thus far we join, that to prevent dissension and avoid confusion, there must needs, even by God's ordinance, be a president or ruler of every presbytery; which conclusion, because it is warranted by the grounds of nature, reason, and truth, and hath the example of the church of God before, under, and after the law to confirm it, we accept as irrefutable, and lay it as the groundwork of all that ensueth. But whether this presidentship did in the apostles' times, and by their appointment, go round by course to all the pastors and teachers of every presbytery, or were by election committed to one chosen as the fittest to supply that place, so long as he discharged his duty without blame, that is a main point in question betwixt us. Into which I may not enter, until we have seen what the apostolic presbyteries were, and of what persons they did consist at the first erecting of the church.

Certain late writers, men [otherwise learned and wise<sup>a</sup>,] greatly misliking in the government of the church the Ro-

<sup>a</sup> [Omitted in the Latin edition or version of 1611.]

mish kind of monarchy, and on the other side shunning as much popular tumult and anarchy, preferred a middle course betwixt them of aristocracy, thinking the church would then be best guided, when neither one, for danger of tyranny, nor all, for fear of nothing, did bear the sway, but a number of the gravest and sincerest undertook the managing of all matters incident to the ecclesiastical regiment. And for that there was no possibility in every church and parish to find a full and sufficient company of pastors and teachers, to consider and dispose of all causes occurrent, and the people (as they thought) would the better endure the proceedings and censures of their consistories, if some of themselves were admitted to be judges in those cases as well as the preachers, they compounded their presbyteries partly of pastors and partly of lay elders, whom they named *governing presbyters*; and by this means they supposed the government of the church would be both permanent and indifferent.

To proclaim this as a fresh device of their own, would be somewhat odious, and therefore they sought by all means, as well with examples as authorities, to make it seem ancient for the better accomplishing of their desire; first, they took hold of the Jewish synedrion, which had lay elders mixed with Levites in every city to determine the people's causes, and that order being established by Moses, they enforced it as a perpetual pattern for the church of Christ to follow. To that end, they bring the words of our Saviour, "Tell it the church: if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnic and publican."

Matt. xviii.  
17.

Next, they perused the apostles' writings, to see what mention might be there found of elders and governors, and lighting on this sentence of St. Paul, "The elders which rule well are worthy of double honour, specially they that labour in the word and doctrine," they resolutely concluded, there were some elders in the church that governed and yet laboured not in the word and doctrine, and those were lay presbyters. After this place they made no doubt, but lay elders were governors of the church in the apostles' times; and so settled their judgments in that behalf, that they would hear nothing that might be said to the contrary.

1 Tim. v.  
17.

Thirdly, because it would be strange that lay elders, every where governing the church under the apostles, no council, story, nor father did ever so much as name them, or remember them, or so conceive the words and meaning of St. Paul until our age; they thought it needful to make some show of them in the fathers' writings, lest, otherwise, plain and simple men should marvel to see a new sort of governors wrenched and forced out of St. Paul's words, whom the church of Christ in fifteen hundred years never heard of before. And therefore certain doubtful speeches of the fathers were drawn to that intent; as where they say, "The church at first was governed by the common advice of presbyters<sup>b</sup>," and, "The church had her elders, without whose counsel nothing was done<sup>c</sup>;" yea, some of them were so forward and willing to hear of their lay presbyters, that wheresoever any council or father mentioned presbyters, they straightway scored up the place for lay elders.

This is the warp and web of the lay presbytery, that hath so enfolded some men's wits, that they cannot unreave their cogitations from admiring their new found consistories. And indeed the credit of their first devisers did somewhat amuse me, as I think it doth others, till partly inclined for the causes aforesaid, and partly required where I might not refuse, I began more seriously to rip up the whole; and then I found both the slenderness of the stuff, and looseness of the work, that had deceived so many men's eyes<sup>d</sup>.

As first, for the Jewish synedrion; I saw it might by no means be obtruded on the church of Christ: for the judicial part of Moses' law being abolished by the death of Christ, as well as the ceremonial, the tribunals of Moses must no more remain than the priesthood doth. Moses' judges were appointed to execute Moses' law; the punishments therefore

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [tom. ix. p. 245. "Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus; et antequam diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, 'Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ,' communi presbyterorum concilio, ecclesiæ gubernabantur."]

<sup>c</sup> Ambrosii Comment. in Epist. ad

Tim. i. cap. v. [tom. v. p. 406. "Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus. Unde et synagoga, et postea ecclesia seniores habuit quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia."]

<sup>d</sup> Added L. "totum denique ædificium quod tam multos admiratione perculisset, sua sponte inclinare et ruinam minari video."



and judgments of Moses' law ceasing, as under the gospel there can be no question but they do, all such consistories as Moses erected must needs be therewith ended and determined. Again, they were civil magistrates that Moses placed in every city<sup>e</sup> to judge the people, and had the sword to punish as the law did limit; Levites being admixed with them to direct them in the doubts and difficulties of the law<sup>f</sup>. Such presbyteries if they frame us in every parish without the magistrate's power and leave, they make a fair entry upon the prince's sword and sceptre, under the colour of their consistories, which I hope they will be well advised before they adventure. Lastly, that lay elders in Moses' law did meddle with discerning or judging betwixt truth and falsehood, things holy and unholy, persons clean and unclean, or did intermeddle with the sacrifices and services of the tabernacle, I do not read, but rather the execution and supervision of sacred things and duties belonged to the prophets, priests, and Levites. So that lay presbyteries under the gospel can have no agreement with the synedriconal courts of Moses, much less any derivement from them; unless they will tie all Christian kingdoms to the tribunals and judicials of Moses' law, and give their elders the sword instead of the word, which God hath assigned to princes and not to presbyters.

The words of Christ, in Matt. xviii., "Tell it to the church," which they urge to that end, if they were spoken of such magistrates as Moses appointed, and to whom the Jews by the prescript of his law were to make their complaints, then pertain they nothing at all to the church of Christ, but were a special direction for those times wherein our Saviour lived, and those persons that were under the law. If they be taken as a perpetual rule to strengthen the judgment of Christ's church, then touch they no way the synedrions of the Jews, or any other courts established by Moses. Let them choose which they will; neither hurteth us nor helpeth them.

The place of St. Paul at a glimpse seemed to make for them; but when I advisedly looked into it, I found the text so little favouring them, that in precise terms it excluded lay

<sup>e</sup> Added L. "in locis opportunis."

<sup>f</sup> Added L. "et pro sua peritia reliquos instruerent."

elders as no governors of the church : for the apostle there chargeth, that all *presbyters* which rule well, should have double honour. His words be plain : “ The presbyters that rule well <sup>1 Tim. v. 17.</sup>,” διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιοῦσθωσαν, “ let them be thought worthy of double honour.” *Honour* in this place is apparently taken for *maintenance*, as the proofs following do import. “ Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out thy corn,” and “ The workman is worthy of his wages.” Now by no precept nor example will it ever be proved, that lay presbyters had in the apostles’ times, or should have by the word of God at any time, double honour and maintenance from the church of Christ. Wherefore they must either give all lay elders double maintenance, as St. Paul willeth, which they do not, or shut them clean from these words, which yield double maintenance by God’s law to *presbyters* that rule well. What the meaning of St. Paul is in this place, though much might be said, and is said of others, which I have omitted, yet to satisfy the reader, I have laid down four several expositions, too long to be here inserted, which I willingly permit to the censure of the wise, whether every one of them be not more consonant to the true intent of St. Paul than theirs is, and as answerable to his words.

If Paul in plain words did not disclaim lay elders, as having no right to challenge double maintenance from the church, nor other places contradict them, yet were there no reason upon the needless and jointless construction of this one sentence to receive them ; for by what logic prove they out of this place, there were some *presbyters* that governed well, and laboured not at all in the word ! *μάλιστα*, which is as much as *especially* or *chiefly*, doth distinguish (as they think) the one sort from the other by a superior degree : doth it not distinguish as well things as persons ! and note so well divers respects as divers subjects ! for example, if we should say<sup>h</sup>, Magistrates that govern well are worthy of double honour, specially they that hear the complaints of the poor ; were he not very fanciful that would hence conclude, there are *ergo*

κ Added L. “ quod si duplici honore privandi sunt, etiam a gubernaculis ecclesiae repellendi sunt.”

h Thus L. “ Quid istis locutionibus usitatus ? ”

two sorts of magistrates, one that governeth well, another that heareth the complaints of the poor? Again, out of these speeches: Counsellors that be wise are acceptable to their princes, specially such as are faithful; Workmen are rewarded for their skill, but specially for their pains; Pastors that be virtuous are to be wished for, but specially if they be learned: will any sober man infer, that fidelity and wisdom, skill and industry, learning and virtue, do not meet in one subject, because *specially* goeth between them? Nothing is more common, than by this kind of speech to note as well two divers qualities in one man, as two sundry sorts of men: yea, thereby to prefer a part before the general comprising that part. As, Teachers are to be liked for their learning, specially for their knowledge in the scriptures; Good men are to be loved for their virtues, specially if they be liberal.

In these speeches, they will say, the persons be diverse as well as the things; for some counsellors be wise that be not faithful, some workmen expert that be not painful, some pastors learned that be not virtuous. That proveth true, not by any force of these speeches, but by the defect of the persons that want fidelity, industry, and integrity: for the words rather imply that both parts should be, and therefore may be, found in one man before he deserveth this adjection of *specially*<sup>i</sup>. As a counsellor must be wise, and specially faithful, before he can be acceptable to his prince; a workman must be painful, as well as skilful, before he deserve his wages; a pastor must not only be honest, but also able to discharge his duty, before he should be greatly esteemed: and so by St. Paul's words they may conclude, a presbyter must not only govern well, but also labour in the word, before he may be counted to be *specially* or *most worthy of double honour*<sup>k</sup>; other collection out of the apostle's words they can make none.

And that shall we soon find, if we resolve the apostle's words in such sort as the nature of the Greek tongue permitteth us. The words stand precisely thus: Οἱ καλῶς προε-

<sup>i</sup> Thus L. "priusquam summis afficiatur aut laudibus aut præmiis."

<sup>k</sup> Added L. "et has utrasque virtutes

pastorem dignum laudatumque pericere;"

στῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, “Presbyters governing well, let them be counted worthy of double honour;” *μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ*, “specially labouring in the word and doctrine.” The participles, as every mean scholar knoweth, may be resolved not only by the relative and his verb, but by many other parts of speech and their verbs; which oftentimes express the sense better than the relative. As Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, “Thou shalt <sup>1 Tim. v. 18.</sup> not muzzle thine ox treading out thy corn,” that is, “whiles he treadeth out thy corn,” for after thou art not prohibited to muzzle him. So in the sentence which we speak of, “Presbyters governing well are worthy of double honour;” well governing is the cause of double honour, neither is double honour due to *presbyters*, but with this condition, if they govern well. Then resolve the apostle’s words either with a causal or conditional adjunction, which is plainly the speaker’s intent, and we shall see how little they make for two sorts of *presbyters*. “Presbyters, if they rule well, are worthy of double honour, specially if they labour in the word:” or, “Presbyters for ruling well are worthy of double honour, specially for labouring in the word.” Here are not two sorts of elders, (as they conceive,) the one to govern, the other to teach; but two duties of each presbyter; namely, to teach and govern before he can be most worthy of double honour.

Their own rules confirm the same. Those whom they call *teachers* or *doctors*, must they not labour in the word? There can be no doubt they must. Are they then most worthy, or so worthy as pastors be of double honour, who not only labour in the word, but also watch and attend the flock to rule it well? I trust not. Then pastors are most worthy, and consequently more worthy than doctors, of double honour, because they not only watch to govern well, but also labour in the word.

If any man strive for two sorts of persons to be contained in these words, though there be utterly no reason to force that collection<sup>1</sup>, we can admit that also, without any mention of lay elders. I have shewed two interpretations, how divers sorts of presbyters may be noted by these words, and neither

<sup>1</sup> Thus L. “licet nulla prorsus necessaria ratio conclusionem illam ex apostolicis verbis evincat, tamen ne nimis arcte cum illis agere videamur,”



of them lay, to which I refer the reader that is willing to see more ; I may not here offer a fresh discourse of things elsewhere handled.

The brief is, *presbyters* we read, and *presbyteries* in the apostolic writings, but none lay, that were admitted to govern the church. *Presbyters* did attend and feed the flock as God's stewards, and were to exhort with wholesome doctrine, and convince the gainsayers ; and *Presbyteries* (as themselves urge) did impose hands. These be the duties which the Holy Ghost elsewhere appointeth for the president, and the rest of the *presbytery* : other than these<sup>m</sup> (except this place of which we reason) the scriptures name none ; and these be no duties for lay elders, unless they make all parts of pastoral charge common to lay *presbyters*, and distinguish them only by the place, as if pastors were to oversee and feed the flock in the pulpit, and lay *presbyters* in the consistory. Which if they do, they allow only words to pastors, and yield to lay *presbyters* both pastoral words and deeds ; giving them authority to feed and watch the flock of Christ more particularly and effectually than pastors do, or may by their doctrine. Such labyrinths they leap into, when they seek for those things in the sacred scriptures which were never intended.

But were the word of God in this point indifferent, which for aught I yet see is very resolute against them, the general consent of all antiquity, that never so expounded St. Paul's words, nor ever mentioned any lay *presbyters* to govern the church, is to me a strong rampire against all these new devices. I like not to raise up that discipline from the dead, which hath lain so long buried in silence, which no father ever witnessed, no council ever favoured, no church ever followed since the apostles' times till this our age<sup>n</sup>. I can be forward in things that be good, but not so foolish as to think the church of Christ never knew what belonged to the government of herself till now of late ; and that the Son of God hath been spoiled of half his kingdom by his own servants and citizens for these fifteen hundred years, without remorse or remembrance of any man that so great wrong was offered him.

<sup>m</sup> Thus L. "nisi quod eos ex hoc unico Pauli loco Consistoriani quarunt excudere,"

<sup>n</sup> Added L. "In his quæ Dei gloriam provehant, nolim postremus videri, certe nolim esse."

I can yield to much for quietness' sake ; to this I cannot yield : they must shew me their lay *presbyteries* in some ancient writer, or else I must plainly avouch their consistories<sup>o</sup> (as they press them) to be a notorious, if not a pernicious novelty.

Jerome, Ambrose, and others are brought to depose, that the first church had her senate and elders, without whose advice nothing was done : but how wrongfully the device of lay elders is fathered on them, I have declared in a special discourse, I will not here repeat it ; only this I say, If any of them affirm that in the primitive or apostolic church lay *presbyters*<sup>p</sup> did govern ecclesiastical affairs, I am content to recall all that I have written of this present matter ; if not, it is no great praise nor good policy for them to abuse the names and words of so many learned fathers, to the utter discredit of themselves and their cause in the end.

Since then the church of Christ, in and after the apostles' times, was not governed by lay *presbyters*, as this new discipline pretendeth ; it resteth that we declare by whom both the apostolic church and the primitive after that were directed and ruled ; which I have not failed to perform in many chapters, as far forth as the scriptures do warrant, and the undoubted stories of Christ's church do lead.

In the apostles<sup>q</sup> I observe four things needful for the first founding and erecting of the church, though not so for the preserving and maintaining thereof ; and four other points that must be perpetual in the church of Christ. The four extraordinary privileges of the apostolic function were : their vocation immediate from Christ, not from men, nor by men ; their commission extending over all the earth, not limited to any place ; their direction infallible, the Holy Ghost guiding them whether they wrote or spake ; and their operation wonderful, as well to convert and confirm believers, as to chastise and revenge disobeyers. Without these things<sup>r</sup> the church could not begin, as is easily perceived ; but it may well continue without them, for now God calleth labourers into his

<sup>o</sup> Added L. "quæ nobisstrarum ecclesiarum pacem violando, et omnia tumultibus complendo obtrudunt,"

<sup>p</sup> Added L. "cum ea, quam isti in novis consistoriis illis tribuunt, autori-

tate,"

<sup>q</sup> Thus L. "In primis ecclesiæ architectis, nempe apostolis,"

<sup>r</sup> Thus L. "Sine istis magnis et plane divinis dotibus,"

harvest by others, not by himself; pastors take charge of those churches that are already planted, they seek not places where to plant new churches. The scriptures once written serve all ages for instruction of faith, and the miracles then wrought witness the power and truth of the gospel unto the world's end. Wherefore those things had their necessary force and use to lay the first foundations of the gospel before Christ was known; but the wisdom of God will not have his church still depend on those miraculous means, which serve rather to conquer incredulity than to edify the faithful; "signs being" (as the apostle saith) "not for such as believe, but for such as do not believe."

1 Cor. xiv.  
22.

The other four points of the apostolic delegation, which must have their permanence and perpetuity in the church of Christ, are the dispensing the word, administering the sacraments, imposing of hands, and guiding the keys to shut or open the kingdom of heaven. The first two, by reason they be the ordinary means and instruments by which the Spirit of God worketh each man's salvation, must be general to all pastors and *presbyters* of Christ's church; the other two, by which meet men are called to the ministry of the word, and obstinate persons not only repelled from the society of the saints, but also from the promise and hope of eternal life, respect rather the cleansing and governing of Christ's church, and therefore no cause they should be committed to the power of every *presbyter*, as the word and sacraments are: for as there can be no order, but confusion, in a commonwealth where every man ruleth, so would there be no peace, but a pestilent perturbation of all things in the church of Christ, if every *presbyter* might impose hands, and use the keys at his pleasure<sup>s</sup>.

How the apostles imposed hands, and delivered unto Satan, and who joined with them in those actions. I have handled in places appointed for that purpose, whereby we shall perceive, that though the *presbyters* of each church had charge of the word and sacraments even in the apostles' times, yet might they not impose hands, nor use the keys, without the apostles,

<sup>s</sup> Thus L. "atque adeo omnem ecclesiasticam jurisdictionem sibi pro suo arbitratu usurparet."

or such as the apostles departing or dying left to be their substitutes and successors in the churches which they had planted. At Samaria, Philip “preached” and “baptized;” and albeit Acts viii. 5. he dispensed the word and sacraments, yet could he not impose<sup>12.</sup> hands on them<sup>t</sup>, but Peter and John came from Jerusalem, and “laid their hands on them, and (so) they received the Holy Ghost.” Acts viii. 17. The churches of Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, were Acts xiv. 21. planted before, yet were Paul and Barnabas at their return forced to increase the number of presbyters in each of those places, by imposition of their hands: for so the word χειροτο- Acts xiv. 23. νήσαντες signifieth with all Greek divines and stories, as I have sufficiently proved, and not to ordain by election of the people, as some men of late had new framed the text. The churches of Ephesus and Crete were erected by Paul and had their *presbyteries*, yet could they not create others, but Timothy and Tite were left there to “impose hands,” and<sup>1 Tim. v. 22.</sup> “ordain elders” in every city as occasion required. Tit. i. 5.

Herein who succeeded the apostles, whether all *presbyters* equally, or certain chief and chosen men, one in every church and city trusted with the government both of people and *presbyters*, I have largely debated, and made it plain, as well by the scriptures as by other ancient writers, past all exception, that from the apostles to the first Nicene council, and so along to this our age, there have always been selected some of greater gifts than the residue to succeed in the apostles’ places, to whom it belonged both to moderate the presbyters of each church, and to take the special charge of imposition of hands; and this their singularity in succeeding, and superiority in ordaining, have been observed from the apostles’ times, as the peculiar and substantial marks of episcopal power and calling.

I know some late writers vehemently spurn at this; and hardly endure any difference betwixt bishops and *presbyters*, unless it be by custom and consent of men, but in no case by any order or institution of the apostles, whose opinions, together with the authorities on which they build, I have according to my small skill examined, and find them no way

<sup>t</sup> Thus L. “non tamen imponendi manus, Spiritusque dandi facultatem usurpabat;”

able to rebate the full and sound evidence that is for the contrary: for what more pregnant probation can be required, than that the same power and precepts which Paul gave to Timothy when he had the charge of Ephesus, remained in all the churches throughout the world, to certain special and tried persons authorized by the apostles themselves, and from them derived to their after-comers by a general and perpetual succession in every church and city without conference to enlarge it, or council to decree it; the continuing whereof for three descents the apostles saw with their eyes, confirmed with their hands, and St. John amongst others witnessed with his pen, as an order of ruling the church approved by the express voice of the Son of God. When the original proceeded from the apostles' mouth, and was observed in all the famous places and churches of Christendom, where the apostles taught, and whiles they lived, can any man doubt whether that course of governing the church were apostolic? for my part, I confess I am neither so wise as to overreach it with policy, nor so wayward as to withstand it with obstinacy.

Against so many and clear proofs, as I dare undertake will content even a contentious mind when he readeth them, are pretended two poor places, the one of Ambrose, the other of Jerome: the first avouching that in the beginning the episcopal prerogative went "by order<sup>u</sup>" before it came by way of "election unto desert," the other resolving that "bishops are greater than presbyters, rather by the custom of the church than by the truth of the Lord's disposition<sup>x</sup>." Both these authorities I have thoroughly discussed, and laid

<sup>u</sup> Ambros. in Ep. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [tom. v. p. 355. "Ideo non per omnia conveniunt scripta apostoli ordinationi quæ nunc in ecclesia est, quia hæc inter ipsa primordia sunt scripta. Nam et Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur; ut, recedente uno, sequens ei succederet. Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus. Sed quia cœperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente concilio ut non ordo sed meritum crearet epi-

scopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum."]

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. [tom. ix. p. 245. "Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subiectos: ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret."]



forth the right intent of those fathers, not only by comparison of other writers, but even by their own confession, lest any should think I draw them to a foreign sense besides their true meaning; for when Jerome and Austin allege the use and custom of the church, for the distinction betwixt bishops and *presbyters*, if it be understood of the names and “titles of honour,” which at first were common to both, and after divided “by the use of the church,” as Austin expresseth, we can absolutely grant the places without any prejudice to the cause: if it be applied to their power and function in the church; it is most true that Jerome saith, “presbyters were subject” (in such sort as the primitive church observed) “rather by custom than by the truth of the Lord’s ordinance.” For presbyters in the primitive church, as appeareth by Tertullian, Jerome, Posidonius and others, “might neither baptize<sup>z</sup>, preach<sup>a</sup>, nor administer<sup>b</sup> the Lord’s supper without the bishop’s leave,” especially in his presence; which indeed grew rather by custom for the preservation of order, than by any rule or commandment of the Lord. By

<sup>y</sup> Augustini Epistolarum xix. [edit. Basileæ 1541. tom. ii. col. 84. “Quamquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, licet etiam a minore quolibet non sit refugienda vel dedignanda correctio.”]

<sup>z</sup> Tertullianus de Baptismo. [edit. Lutet. Paris. 1664. cap. xvii. p. 230. “Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est.”]

Hieronymus adversus Luciferianos. [tom. ii. p. 139. “Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes, inde venit, ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter, neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.”]

Leonis Magni Epistola lxxxviii. [edit. Lutet. Paris. 1675. tom. ii. p. 633. “Sed neque coram episcopo licet presbyteris in baptisterium introire, nec præsentem antistitem infantem tingere aut

signare; nec pœnitentem sine præceptione episcopi sui reconciliare, nec eo præsentem nisi illo jubente, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, nec eo coram posito populum docere, vel benedicere, aut salutare, nec plebem utique exhortari.”]

<sup>a</sup> Posidonii de Vita Augustini. [cap. v. col. 828. “Et eidem presbytero potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium prædicandi ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africarum ecclesiarum.”]

<sup>b</sup> Concilium Carthaginense ii. cap. 9. [tom. ii. col. 1162. edit. Labbei. Lutet. Paris. 1671. “Numidius episcopus Massyllitanus dixit: In quibusdam locis sunt presbyteri, qui aut ignorantés simpliciter, aut dissimulantes audacter, præsentem et inconsulto episcopo, complurimis in domiciliis agent agenda, quod disciplinæ cognoscit esse sanctitas vestra. Genedius episcopus dixit: Fratris et coepiscopi nostri dignæ suggestioni respondere non immeremur. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Quisquis presbyter inconsulto episcopo agenda in quolibet loco voluerit celebrare, ipse honori suo contrarius existit.”]

the word of God, "a bishop did nothing which a presbyter might not do, save imposing of hands to ordain." That is the only distinction in the scriptures betwixt a bishop and a *presbyter*, as Jerome<sup>c</sup> and Chrysostom<sup>d</sup> affirm; other differences, which the church kept many, as to impose hands on the baptized and converted, to reconcile penitents, and such like, were rather peculiar to the bishop for the honour of his calling, than for any necessity of God's law.

If any man urge further out of Jerome, that there was no bishop at all, nor chief ruler over the church and *presbytery* of each place in the apostles' times<sup>e</sup>, I answer him with the resolution of one of the greatest patrons of their new discipline, Non ita desipuisse existimandus est, ut somniaret neminem illi cœtui præfuisse<sup>f</sup>: "Jerome is not to be thought to have been so unwise, as to dream the presbytery had no chief ruler or president." "It is a perpetual and essential part of God's ordinance, that in the presbytery one chief in place and dignity should govern each action or meeting<sup>g</sup>." And again, Tales episcopos divinitus, et quasi ipsius Christi voce constitutos absit ut unquam simus inficiati<sup>h</sup>: "That such bishops" (as were pastors in every city, and chief of their presbyteries) "were appointed from heaven, and as it were by

<sup>c</sup> Hieronymus Evagrius. [t. ii. p. 329. "Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?"]

<sup>d</sup> Chrysostomi in 1 Ep. ad Tim. [cap. iii.] homil. xi. [edit. Paris. 1636. tom. xii. p. 470. Οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἂ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει· τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτ' ὁ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.]

<sup>e</sup> Added L. "sed communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiam fuisse initio gubernatam; respondeo, fieri quidem id potuit, apostolis ipsis adhuc ecclesias moderantibus, necdum constitutis vicariis, qui in apostolorum loca succederent, et eorum partes susciperent; alioquin presbyteria sine præpositis nec unquam fuerunt nec esse potuerunt."

<sup>f</sup> Ad Tractationem de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus, ab Hadriano Saravia Belgæ editam, Theod. Bezae Re-

sponsio, [excudebat Joannes le Preux, 1592. cap. 23. p. 160. "Nec enim ille, quum diceret ecclesias initio fuisse communi presbyterorum consilio gubernatas, ita desipuisse existimandus est, ut somniaret neminem ex presbyteris illi cœtui præfuisse."]

<sup>g</sup> Ibidem, cap. 23. [p. 153. Essentiale fuit in eo de quo hic agimus, quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua necesse fuit, est, et erit, ut in presbyterio quispiam et loco et dignitate primus, actioni gubernandæ præsit, cum eo quod ipsi divinitus attributum est jure.]

<sup>h</sup> Ibidem, cap. 21. [p. 126. Quocunque autem nomine hanc appellationem accipias (quamvis periculosa καταχρήσει, quum omnes isti dicerentur episcopi gregis inferioris respectu, hæc appellatio ad solos προεστώτας traducta est, quasi suis compastoribus et compresbyteris gradu superiores) tales episcopos divinitus, et quasi ipsius Christi voce, constitutos, absit ut unquam simus inficiati.]

the voice of Christ himself, God forbid we should ever deny." This saith he on the behalf of the new discipline. On the other side I say, God forbid I should urge any other but such as were pastors over their churches, and governors of the presbyteries under them. If we thus far agree, what cause then had those turbulent heads, (I speak not of them all,) which to ease their stomachs, or to please their maintainers, jested and railed rather like stageplayers than divines, on those whom the wiser sort amongst them cannot deny were ordained by God, and appointed by the voice of Christ himself? If their reasons be not the stronger and weightier, howsoever they flatter themselves in fluaries<sup>i</sup>, let them remember who said, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that Luke x. 16. despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me."

They will haply save themselves, for that our bishops differ from the apostolic bishops in many things; as namely, theirs "succeeded in order, ours by election<sup>k</sup>;" "the dignity was in the apostles' times common to every presbyter in his course, now it is proper to one<sup>k</sup>;" "with them it dured for a season, as a week or a month, with us for life, except by just cause any deserve to be removed<sup>k</sup>;" lastly, "they had but priority of place, and authority to moderate the meetings and consultings of the rest, ours have a kind of impery over their fellow-presbyters<sup>k</sup>." These be precisely the points wherein one of the best learned of that side contendeth, the ancient and apostolic institution of bishops was *changed* by process of time into another form established by custom, and confirmed by consent of men: these be his own words, I have not altered or inverted the sense or sentence. If any of these differences were true, yet are they no causes to discredit the custom of the primitive church in electing her bishops to hold their places so long as they governed well, for the same writer pronounceth of these very things, (setting the last aside,)

<sup>i</sup> [Lat. *φλυαρία*s.]

<sup>k</sup> Bezæ Responsio de Min. &c. cap. xxiii. p. 156. [Fuit igitur illa mutatio in tribus rebus posita, primum videlicet in eo quod successio per vices ad exemplum Aaronici sacerdotii divinitus instituta, in electionem fuit commutata.

Deinde quod hæc *προστασία* singulis antea per vices communis, facta est uni illi legitime delecto propria, et quidem perpetua, nisi videlicet vel morte, vel justam aliam ob causam primus hic locus vacaret.]

Neque in istis quicquam est quod reprehendi possit<sup>1</sup>: "Neither in these things is there ought that can be misliked:" but indeed there is not one of all these diversities that can be justly proved either by scripture or father. They are the conceits of some late writers, that as touching the office and function of bishops would fain find a difference betwixt the apostles' times and the next ages ensuing, lest they should be convinced to have rejected the universal order of the ancient and primitive church of Christ, without any good and sufficient warrant. The consent of all ages and churches is so strong against them, that they are hard driven to hunt after every syllable that soundeth anything that way, and yet can they light on no sure ground to build their late devices on, or to weaken the general and perpetual course which the church of Christ hath in all places kept inviolable even from the apostles' times.

A few words of Ambrose are set down to bear all this burden, but they are so insufficient and impertinent to this purpose, that they bewray the weakness of their new frame; for Ambrose speaketh not one word either of going by course, or of changing for a time; only he saith, "bishops at first were placed by order, and not by election;" that is, the eldest or worthiest had the place whiles he lived, and after him the next in order, without any further choice; for that order which he speaketh of, (if any such were,) proceeded from the first planters of the churches, and went either by seniority of time or priority of place, allotted every man according to the gifts and graces which he had received of the Holy Ghost. This we may freely grant without any repugnance or annoyance to the vocation or function of bishops; let the disciplinists confess there was a superior and distinct charge of the president or chief from the rest of the presbyters, as well in guiding the keys as imposing hands: and whether they were taken to the office by election or by order, to us it is all one; I hope the placing of the presbyters in order, according to their gifts in the churches where the

<sup>1</sup> De Ministrorum Evangelii Gradi-    reprehendi possit, habita causarum hu-  
 bus, cap. xxiii. fol. 156. ut supra.    jus mutationis ratione, quas Hieronymus  
 ["Neque in istis quicquam est quod    et Ambrosius expresserunt."]

apostles preached, could not be without the apostles' oversight and direction; and so long, whether they set such in order as were fittest for the place, or whether they left it to the discretion and election of the rest, we greatly force not. Howbeit the words of Jerome are so express that bishops were made by election even in the apostles' times, that I see not how they should be reconciled with their collection out of Ambrose. Alexandria a Marco evangelista, presbyteri unum semper ex se electum, in celsiore gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant<sup>m</sup>: "At Alexandria, even from Mark the evangelist, the presbyters always choosing one of themselves, and placing him in an higher degree, called him a bishop." Mark died six years before Peter and Paul, as the ecclesiastical story witnesseth, and consequently the first bishop of Alexandria was elected in the apostles' times; yea that church, as Jerome saith, "did always elect," there never succeeded any by order.

For the manner of their succeeding, whether by order or by choice, I make not so great account<sup>n</sup> as for their continuance. The patrons of the late discipline would make us believe, that in the apostles' times the episcopal dignity or regiment of the presbytery went round by course to all the presbyters, and dured a week or some such time<sup>o</sup> (for guesses must serve them when other proofs fail them); which assertion of theirs I know not whether I should think it proceeded of too much ignorance, or too little conscience. If the men were not well learned, I should suspect ignorance; if the case were not more than clear, I would not challenge their conscience. But being as they are, and the case so clear that in my simple reading I never saw clearer nor plainer, (excepting always the certainty of the sacred scriptures<sup>oo</sup>;) let the Christian reader judge, for I dare not pronounce, with what intent a manifest truth is not only dissembled but stoutly contradicted, and an evident falsehood avouched and advanced to the

<sup>m</sup> Hieronymus Evagrio. [t. ii. p. 329.  
"Nam et Alexandria a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant."]

<sup>n</sup> Added L. "utpote qui nostræ causæ nullo pacto præjudicat,"

<sup>o</sup> "hebdomadis puta aut mensis"

<sup>oo</sup> Thus L. "(semper excipio majestatem sacræ scripturæ ejusque certitudinem,)"



height of an apostolic and divine ordinance, by the chiefest pillars of these new found consistories.

It is lately delivered as an oracle, that under the apostles there were no governors of the presbyteries, (whom they and we call bishops,) but such as dured for a short time, and changed round by course; and this is called, *The apostolic and divine institution*. How palpable an untruth this is, it is no hard matter for mean scholars to discern. The first bishop of Alexandria after Mark was Anianus, made the "eighth year"<sup>p</sup> of Nero's reign, and he continued "two and twenty years"<sup>q</sup> before Abilius succeeded him. Abilius' sat "thirteen years"<sup>r</sup>, and dying, left the place to Cerdo. These three succeeded one another, St. John yet living; neither had Alexandria any more than two bishops in thirty-five years after the death of Mark. Euodius<sup>s</sup>, made bishop of Antioch five and twenty years before the death of Peter and Paul, survived them one year; and after him succeeded Ignatius<sup>t</sup>, who outlived St. John, and died in the eleventh year<sup>u</sup> of Trajan, leaving the place to Heron, after he had kept it "forty years:" so that in sixty-six years the church of Antioch had but two bishops. At Jerusalem James<sup>x</sup>, called the Lord's brother, sat bishop "thirty years," and Simcon<sup>y</sup>, that succeeded him, kept the place "eight and thirty years:" the church of

p Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 24. [p. 53. Νέρωνος δὲ ὕγδοον ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς ὦν καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος.]

q Ejusdem, lib. iii. cap. 14. [p. 70. Τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ, τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς, δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσιν ἀποπλήσας ἔτη τελευτᾷ διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος.]

r Ejusd. lib. iii. cap. 21. [p. 72. Μικρῷ δὲ πλέον ἑνιαυτοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Νερούα, διαδέχεται Τραϊανός. οὗ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτος, ἦν ἐν ᾧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν παροικίας Ἀβίλιου δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἡγησαμένου, διαδέχεται Κέρδων.]

s Eusebii Cæsariensis Chronicon. D. Hieronymo interprete. [edit. Burdigalæ. 1604. p. 157. "Anno Domini 45. Primus Antiochiæ episcopus ordinatur

Euodius."]

t Idem. [p. 162. in anno Domini 70. "Antiochiæ secundus episcopus ordinatur Ignatius."]

u Idem in anno 110. [p. 166. "Ignatius quoque Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus Romam perductus bestiis traditur, post quem tertius episcopus constituitur Eron."]

x Ibidem in annis 33 et 63. [p. 156. "Ecclesiæ Hierosolymorum primus episcopus ab apostolis ordinatur Jacobus frater Domini." P. 160. "Jacobus frater Domini, quem omnes Justum appellabant, a Judæis lapidibus opprimitur, in cujus thronum Simeon, qui et Simon secundus assumitur."]

y Ibidem in annis 63 et 109. [p. 166. "Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon filius Cleophae, qui Hierosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur, cui succedit Justus."]

Jerusalem having in threescore and eight years but two bishops. At Rome, whiles St. John lived, there were but three bishops, Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens, which three continued two and thirty years.

If this be not sufficient, let them take the example of Polycarp, made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles themselves, and continuing a long time bishop of that church, and “departing this life a very aged man, with a most glorious and most noble kind of martyrdom<sup>z</sup>.” The space he sat bishop of Smyrna, if it were not “fourscore and six years<sup>a</sup>,” (for so long he had “served Christ,” as his answer sheweth to the proconsul of Asia,) yet it must needs be above threescore and ten years: for he lived so many years after St. John, whose scholar he was, and by whom he was made bishop of Smyrna; and died, as the whole church of Smyrna in their letters entitled him at the time of his death, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας: “bishop of the catholic church at Smyrna.” This one instance is able to mar the whole plot of their supposed apostolical and changeable regency; for no part of this story can be doubted. Was he not made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles? Jerome<sup>b</sup>, Eusebius<sup>c</sup>, Tertullian<sup>d</sup> and Irenæus<sup>e</sup>, that lived with him,

<sup>z</sup> Irenæi Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 3. [edit. Lutet. Par. 1639. p. 233. “Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus, et conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab apostolis in Asia: in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate: multum enim perseveraverat et valde senex gloriosissime et nobilissime martyrium faciens exivit de hac vita.”]

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15. [p. 106. “Ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἡγουμένου, καὶ λέγοντος, Ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύσω σε· λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστόν· ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· ὀδοήκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν με ἥδικησε· καὶ πῶς, δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με;”]

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. [p. 104. “Ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφή ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο, ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα διὰ τούτων. Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ παροικοσίᾳ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ· καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, καὶ

ἀγάπη Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.]

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Catalogus Scriptor. ecclesiast. [t. i. p. 274. in Polycarpo. “Polycarpus, Joannis apostoli discipulus et ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiæ princeps fuit.”]

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 36. [p. 85. Διέπρεπέ γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας, πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.]

<sup>d</sup> Tertulliani de Præscriptione Hæreticorum. [edit. Lutet. Par. 1664. p. 213. cap. xxxii. “Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem: perinde utique et cætera exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant.”]

<sup>e</sup> Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3. [Vide supra, p. 21. n. z.]

and learned so much of him, affirm it. Lived he not bishop of Smyrna so long time? The whole church of Smyrna gave him that title at his death: their letters be yet extant in Eusebius. The emperors under whom he died were Marcus Antoninus<sup>f</sup> and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, (as Eusebius and Jerome do witness,) who began their reign sixty-four years after the death of St. John. Polycarp suffering the seventh<sup>h</sup> year of their empire; and Irenæus testifieth that he came to Rome under Anicetus<sup>i</sup>, the tenth bishop there, and “declared the truth which he had received from the apostles.” Did he through ambition retain the place to which the apostles called him longer than he should, and so altered the apostolical kind of government? I had rather challenge the consistorians for mistaking Ambrose<sup>j</sup>, than Polycarp for inverting the apostolic discipline. The church of Smyrna called him διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς<sup>k</sup>, “the apostolical and prophetical teacher of their times<sup>k</sup>.” Irenæus saith of him, “He always taught those things which he learned of the apostles, which he delivered unto the church, and they only are true<sup>l</sup>.”

And if he were not a man of far more authority and certain fidelity than any that contradict him, yet have we all the churches of Christendom, and their successions of bishops from the apostles, and all histories and monuments of antiquity to concur with him, that bishops living in the apostles’

<sup>f</sup> Eusebii Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14. [p. 104. Ἀντωνίνον μὲν δὴ τὸν εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα, εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνίνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαδέχεται.]

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Ecclesiast. [t. i. p. 274. in Polycarpo. Postea vero regnante M. Antonino et L. Aurelio Commodo, quarta post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnæ, sedente proconsule et universo populo in amphitheatro adversus eum peronante, igni traditus est.]

<sup>h</sup> Eusebii Chronicon in Anno Domini 162. [p. 171. “Romanorum XIV. MARCUS ANTONINUS qui et Verus, regnavit, et Lucius Aurelius Commodus, annis 19. mense uno.”]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. in anno Domini 169. [p. 171. “Persecutione orta in Asia, Polycarpus et Pionius facere martyrium, quorum scriptæ quoque passiones feruntur.”]

<sup>j</sup> Irenæi Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 233. “Is enim est qui sub Aniceto cum advenisset in urbem, multos ex his quos prædiximus, hæreticos convertit in ecclesiam Dei, unam et solam hanc veritatem annuncians ab apostolis percepisse se quam et ecclesiæ tradidit.”]

<sup>k</sup> Added L. “(dicam quod sentio).”

<sup>l</sup> Thus L. “Magnum est et honorificum quod Smyrnensis ecclesia de illo prædicat.”

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15. [p. 108. Ὡς εἰς καὶ οὗτος γέγονεν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος, ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.]

<sup>l</sup> Irenæi lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 233. “Hic docuit semper, quæ ab apostolis didicerat, quæ et ecclesiæ tradidit, et sola sunt vera.”]

days, and made by the apostles' hands, continued their places till they died ; neither is there any man living that is able to shew one example to the contrary. Let the Christian reader then say, whether it be not a vain and false surmise which some in our age so mightily maintain, that the bishops which the apostles ordained to rule the presbyteries dured for some short space and changed by course, that superiority going round in order to every presbyter, and the election of bishops to govern the churches and presbyters committed to their charge, so long as they did it carefully, was man's invention, and no apostolic institution.

The domination of bishops will be their last refuge ; otherwise, in elections of bishops to continue whiles they do their duties, the best learned of them confess, there is nothing that can or should be apprehended, only they repine that a bishop should have jurisdiction over his copresbyters. And here they are plentiful with places of scripture, as if we went about to make bishops lords and masters over the church, and all the rest to be their servants. They allege the words of Christ, "Great men exercise authority, you shall not do so;" <sup>25.</sup> Matt. xx. and of Peter, "Feed the flock ; not as lords" (or commanders) <sup>1</sup> Pet. v. 3. "over God's inheritance;" but to what purpose I see not. Mean they by these places to prove, that the apostles had no superiority nor authority in the church of God, or that pastors have no power over their flocks ? It were more than childish to impugn one truth by another. They themselves do agnize that the apostles had superiority and authority<sup>m</sup> by Christ's own commission, above and over<sup>m</sup> all other degrees, to erect and order the churches where they preached ; and they yield "pastors authority over their flocks to command in the name of the Lord<sup>n</sup>." Then, neither these places, nor any other in the scriptures, do bar pastoral power over the flock, nor distinction of degrees betwixt the teachers. Superior and inferior degrees, if Christ's words did exclude, no man might admit them or defend them as lawful. If the apostles to whom and of whom Christ there spake, did, notwithstanding his speech, retain diversities of degrees in the church, it is evident our Saviour did not forbid superiority, but impery ;

<sup>m</sup> De Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus, cap. vi. et xv.

<sup>n</sup> Ibidem, cap. xx.

not pastoral, but regal authority ; not fatherly, but masterly preeminence ; and that in respect as well of the people as of the presbyters ; Peter calling the people “ God’s heritage,” and before and after naming them, “ the Lord’s flock.”

Heb. xiii.  
17.

And how should it possibly be otherwise ! for since the Holy Ghost requireth the faithful to “ obey their leaders, and to be subject to them,” no scriptures do cross the authority and inspection which the guiders of Christ’s church should have over their flocks ; and God by his eternal law comprising pastors under the name of fathers, and assigning them the honour due unto parents, we may not by colour of any words bereave them of obedience and reverence, no more than of maintenance, which are the parts and effects of fatherly power and honour. So long then as we give bishops no charge but pastoral, no power but paternal, we are not in danger of violating either our Saviour’s or his apostle’s precept ; and consequently this kind of superiority may not be called or supposed to be dominion nor impery, without wrong to the Spirit of truth that hath confirmed it as needful and healthful for the house of God, even from the first foundation of the world.

They will easily grant fatherly moderation and pastoral power unto bishops over the people, but not over the presbyters ; on this they set up their rest, that no pastor should have power over others of the same calling, and hope assuredly to have the victory. But they must first reconcile their own contrarieties, they will triumph else before the conquest ; for each presbytery, as themselves confess, must have a president by God’s essential and perpetual ordinance. I ask now, whether God gave any man a bare title without any truth, and a regiment without all authority ; or whether in God’s law deeds and words concur, and he be called *προεστὼς*, “ a president,” that is appointed and authorized by God to execute that office ? The mouth of God intendeth not for mockeries as man’s doth, and therefore the name never goeth without the thing : he is just in his speech, and will not utter the

o Added L. “ Itaque suam istam interpretationem salvam si volunt et incolumem, omnem potestatem et auctoritatem pastoribus in populum eripiant, ne in suos dominari videantur. Nam omnis superior potestas, quidam istis dominatus censetur.”



word that shall delude the hearer. If then by God's law there must be presidents over presbyteries, inevitably there must be governors and superiors over them. If some must moderate the meetings of presbyters<sup>p</sup> and execute their decrees, of force they must have power and authority over presbyters; and so it is mainly consequent out of their own positions, which they most refuse.

Again, when Paul left Timothy at Ephesus to "impose hands," <sup>1</sup> Tim. v. to "receive accusations against presbyters," and "openly to re- <sup>22, 19, 20.</sup> buke such as sinned," did he not give him power over presbyters, and even the selfsame that is challenged at this day to belong to bishops? If it were lawful and needful at Ephesus for Timothy to have that right and authority over the presbyters that were joint pastors with him, how cometh it now to be a tyrannical and antichristian power in his successors?

Timothy, they will say, was an evangelist, and could have no successors. If none could succeed him in that power, how come their presbyteries to have it? will they be evangelists? what, lay elders and all? and shall the presbyteries of the whole world succeed Timothy in his charge at Ephesus? That were news indeed: if this authority to "impose hands," to "receive accusations," and "rebuke sins," must remain in the church for ever, as it is evident it must, then was it no evangelistical authority, but a general and perpetual function in the church of Christ, that might and did admit others to succeed Timothy in the same place and power; and the rest of the apostolic churches had the like order<sup>q</sup>, as appeareth by their successions of bishops set even from the apostles and their followers.

Of Timothy's successors if any man doubt, the council of Chalcedon will tell him the number of them: A sancto Timotheo usque nunc viginti et septem episcopi facti, omnes in Epheso sunt ordinati<sup>r</sup>: "From blessed Timothy unto this present, the twenty-seven bishops that have been made, have

<sup>p</sup> Added L. "Nulla enim cogitari gubernatio potest sine aliqua potestate, scilicet ut alius jubeat alius obsequatur."

<sup>q</sup> Thus L.; "quemadmodum aliæ præter Ephesum ecclesiæ apostolicæ pari et auctoritate fultæ, et necessitate coactæ idem munus retinuerunt,"

<sup>r</sup> Concil. Chalcedonens. actio xi. [t. iv. Concil. edit. Labbei, p. 699. Λεόντιος δ' εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Μαγνησίας εἶπεν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν.]

been all ordained at Ephesus." "Other apostolic churches," as Tertullian saith, "had the like order of bishops, so derived by succession from the beginning, that the first bishop had for his author and antecessor one of the apostles, or some apostolic man, which had continued with the apostles<sup>t</sup>." So the bishops of Cyprus in the third general council of Ephesus did witness for their island. "Troilus," say they, "Sabinus, Epiphanius, and the most holy bishops that were before them, and all that have been even from the apostles, were ordained by such as were of Cyprus<sup>t</sup>."

If Timothy's commission dipped too deep for the presbyter's store, (howbeit all the ancient fathers with one consent make that epistle a very pattern for the episcopal power and calling,) yet the authority which so many thousand learned and godly bishops have had and used with the liking and allowance of all churches, councils, and fathers even from the apostles' times, should to no reasonable man seem intolerable or unlawful; except we think that the whole church of Christ, from her first planting till this our age, lacked not only religion but also understanding to distinguish betwixt pastoral moderation and tyrannical domination; to which humour if any man incline, I must rather detest his arrogance, than stand to refute so gross an absurdity. I will therefore set down in a word or two the sum of that power which bishops have had above presbyters ever since the apostles' times; if the disciplinarians think it repugnant to the word of God, I would gladly hear, not their opinions and assertions, which I have often read and never believed, but some quick and sure probations out of the sacred scriptures, and those shall quiet the strife betwixt us.

<sup>s</sup> Tertulliani de Præscriptione Hæreticorum. [cap. xxxii. p. 213. Cæterum, si quæ audeant interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere: Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.]

<sup>t</sup> Concil. Ephesinum in Suggestione Episcoporum Cypri. [t. iii. col. 1324. "Sancta synodus dixit: Doceant et hoc pientissimi magistri, num Troilus ille sanctæ ac beatæ memoriæ episcopus, qui nunc requievit, vel sanctæ memoriæ Sabinus, qui illum præcessit, vel qui ante illos venerabiles Epiphanius ab aliqua synodo ordinati fuerint. Zenon episcopus dixit: Et nunc memorati, et qui a sanctis apostolis erant omnes orthodoxi, ab his qui in Cyprio constituti sunt."]

The Canons called Apostolic, alleged by themselves as ancient, say thus : "The presbyters and deacons let them do nothing without the" (knowledge or) "consent of the bishop. He is the man that is trusted with the Lord's people, and that shall render account for their souls<sup>u</sup>." Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, almost thirty years in the apostles' times, agreeth fully with that canon, and saith : "Do you nothing, neither presbyter, deacon, nor layman without the bishop, neither let anything seem *εὐλογον*, orderly," (or reasonable,) "without his liking :"  
 τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτο παράνομον, καὶ Θεοῦ ἔχθρον, "for it is unlawful and displeasing to God<sup>x</sup>." And again: *Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τί πραττέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* : "Without the bishop let no man do anything that pertaineth to the church<sup>y</sup>." The ancient councils of Ancyra<sup>z</sup>, Laodicea<sup>a</sup>, Arles<sup>b</sup>, Toledo<sup>c</sup>, and others, acknowledge the same rule to be Christian and lawful ; yea, no council or father did ever attribute any such power to the presbyters, as by number of voices to overrule the bishops in every thing, as our late reformers have devised : rather to retrieve the world to their pleasures,

<sup>u</sup> Canon. Apostol. xxxviii. [Concil. edit. Labbei, t. i. p. 34. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν· αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθσόμενος.]

<sup>x</sup> Ignatii Epistol. ad Magnesios. [Ed. Is. Vossius, Lond. 1680. p. 146. "Ὡς περ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ, φησί, ποιεῖν ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ οὐδὲν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ διάκονος, μηδὲ λαϊκός· μηδὲ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον, καὶ Θεοῦ ἔχθρόν.]

<sup>y</sup> Ignatii Epistol. ad Smyrnaeos. [p. 197. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τί πράσσει τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.]

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Ancyran. can. xiii. [Concil. edit. Labbei, t. i. col. 1461. Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.]

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Laodiceni, can. lvi. [t. i. col. 1505. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρεσβυτέρους πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσέραι καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ

ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνωμαλοῖη ἢ ἀποδημοῖ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Arelatensis I. can. xix. [t. i. col. 1429. "De episcopis peregrinis qui in urbem solent venire, placuit eis locum dari ut offerant."]

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Toletan. I. cap. xx. [t. ii. col. 1474. "Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur, ut absque episcopo chrisma nemo conficiat ; tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel provinciis, presbyteri dicuntur chrisma conficere, placuit ex hac die nullum alium, nisi episcopum chrisma facere, et per diocesis destinare : ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem paschæ diaconi destinentur, aut subdiaconi ; ut confectum chrisma ab episcopo destinatum ad diem paschæ possit occurrere. Episcopo sane certum est omni tempore licere chrisma conficere : sine conscientia autem episcopi, nihil penitus faciendum. Statutum vero est diaconum non chrismate, sed presbyterum, absente episcopo : præsentem vero, si ab ipso fuerit præceptum. Huiusmodi constitutionem meminere semper archidiaconus, vel præsentibus vel absentibus episcopis suggerendam : ut eam episcopi custodiant, et presbyteri non relinquunt."]

than to imitate any former example of Christ's church, or to reverence the rules that are delivered in holy writ.

If then we seek for right apostolic bishops, they were such as were left or sent by the apostles to be pastors of the churches and governors of the presbyteries in every city that believed, so long as they ruled well<sup>d</sup>; and in their stead, as their successors, to receive charge of ordaining others for the work of the ministry, and guiding the keys with the advice and consent of such as laboured with them in the word and doctrine. These parts, if I be not deceived, are fully proved in their convenient places; thither I remit the reader that is desirous to see more. It sufficeth me for this present, that no part of this power can be justly challenged as tyrannical or intolerable by the grounds of divine or human laws; and therefore the objection of domination<sup>e</sup> is a superfluous, if not an envious, quarrel of theirs, declaring they either do not, or will not, understand the matter for which we chiefly contend.

Touching synodal decrees, and princes' laws for ecclesiastical causes, since they must of force be committed to the care and conscience of some that shall execute them, I have examined who are the meetest men to be put in trust with those matters, in whom there can be justly no suspicion nor occasion of tyrannical dealing so long as diocesans and metropolitans are limited by written laws in each case what they shall do, and every man that findeth himself grieved, permitted to appeal from them to synods or princes; one of the which must needs take place, howsoever the church be either in persecution or peace. I have likewise shewed the necessity and antiquity of dioceses, of synods, of primates or metropolitans, as also whether the people by God's law must elect their pastors afore they can be rightly and duly called. Of these things and many such questions pertaining to the government of Christ's church, I have made special and full discourses, not omitting any point that was worth the searching. In all which, as throughout the whole book, when I object anything that is or may be said on their behalf that maintain these new found consistories, I have caused it to be printed in another

<sup>d</sup> Thus L. "quam dignitatem ad vitæ suæ terminum gerebant, nisi si quid præter opinionem accidisset." <sup>e</sup> Thus L. "de dominatu episcoporum nostrorum Anglicanorum,"

letter, and distinguished from the rest of the text with this mark ], as it were to inclose it.

What I have performed the Christian reader shall best perceive, if he take the pains to peruse it. All men's humours I do not hope, I do not seek to satisfy. Such as are deceived with ignorance of the truth, may haply by this be somewhat occasioned, if not directed, to a further search; singular conceits that are in love with their own devices, swelling spirits that endure no superiors, covetous hearts that hunt after spoils, when all is said, will have their dreams if they cannot have their wills; these diseases are so desperate they pass my skill, if it were a great deal more than it is.

My purpose was and is, the peace of God's church, so far as it may stand with the truth of his word and fellowship of his saints, that have gone before us with wonderful graces of his Spirit, as well for the greatness of their learning as holiness of their lives; and to that end have I so tempered and delayed my style, that I might not justly offend such as are otherwise minded, unless the refusing of their private fancies will provoke the heat of their displeasures. I have always had before mine eyes, the most of them are brethren for the truth's sake; howsoever some of them fall to open enmity for this humour of Jewish synedrions and lay presbyteries. Let them read; if they bring better, I am willing to learn; but I like no self-set assertions, as if all the world were bound to the very breath of our mouths or dash of our pens, without any other text or interpreter.

If I have said ought that is not allowed by the word, or not witnessed by the continual and universal practice of Christ's church, I desire not to be believed; I look for the like measure if any man reply; not to hear the conjectural and opinative guesses of some that lived in our age<sup>f</sup>, but such effectual reasons and substantial authorities as may press the gainsayer, and settle the consentor. God make us zealous for his, not for our wills; and so guide our labours, that we may lessen the troubles and not ripen the dangers of Zion: seeking rather how to amend, than how to multiply the rends and breaches of Jerusalem. *Amen.*

<sup>f</sup> Added L. "*licet doctorum virorum,*"





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THE  
PERPETUAL GOVERNMENT  
OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

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CHAP. I.

*The original and domestical discipline of the church before the law.*

WHAT need there is of order and government, as in all assemblies of men that will live together, so namely and chiefly in the church of Christ, the wisdom of God hath many ways witnessed unto us, both by the proportion of those natural and civil societies to which the church is compared, and by the perfection of that fellowship which the saints have had amongst themselves in all ages and places even from the foundation of the world, where the true worship of God hath prevailed. The first root of all human comfort and communion, I mean private houses, hath not the Lord distinguished by divers degrees and prerogatives of husband, parents, and master, above wife, children, and servants, and yet linked them all together in mutual correspondence with duties according<sup>a</sup>? The branches that thence rise, as cities, countries, and kingdoms, have they not their laws to prescribe, and magistrates to execute things needful for their common estate: God's ordaining powers and delivering the sword for the defence of the simple and innocent, and repressal of the

<sup>a</sup> Added in the Latin, "jubendique et parendi officiis devinxit."

wicked and injurious? Were we willing or constant in that which is good, discipline were not so requisite; but because the corruption of our nature is such, that we are soon deceived of ourselves, sooner seduced by others, and soonest of all averted and perverted with fear and desire; to settle the unsteadfastness of our hearts and bridle the unruliness of our affections, the Lord hath provided for all societies the line of direction and rod of correction, as well to guide the tractable as to repress the obstinate, lest disorder endured should breed confusion the forerunner of all ruin. Since then the church

<sup>15.</sup>  
1 Tim. iii. of Christ “is the house of God,” “the city of the living God,”  
Heb. xii. 22. and “the kingdom of his beloved Son,” shall we think that God  
Col. i. 13. is careful for others and careless for his own? or that confusion  
ought to be less doubted and feared in heavenly than in  
1 Cor. xiv. earthly things? “God is no where author of confusion but of  
33.  
1 Cor. xiv. peace,” especially in his church, in which he commandeth “all  
40. things to be decently and orderly done.” Where no man doth  
govern, what order can be kept? where no man doth moderate,  
what peace can be had? yea what greater dissipation can befall  
the church of God, than for every man to intrude where he list,  
and obtrude what he will, without restraint or  
1 Cor. iv. 1. reproof? Wherefore God hath appointed “stewards” over his  
Heb. xiii. household, “watchmen and leaders” over his flock, “labour-  
17.  
Luke x. 2. ers” in his harvest, “husbandmen” in his tillage, “divers ad-  
1 Cor. iii. 6. ministrations” as well for the “preservation” as “edification”  
1 Cor. xii. 5. of the church, which is the body of Christ, and so far forth  
Ephes. iv. answereth the frame of man’s body, that as there, so in the  
12. church, “God hath set some to be instead of eyes, ears,  
tongue and hands<sup>b</sup>,” that is, to be principal members for the  
guiding and directing of the whole, which without them is  
maimed and unable to provide for the safety and security of  
itself.

Neither may we think that order and discipline is needful  
for the people in God’s church, and needless for the pastors;  
that were to guard the feet and leave the head open to a  
more deadly wound; but rather as the more principal the

<sup>b</sup> Ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ποδῶν ἐπέχοντας λόγον. Basil in Psalm.  
μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς, τοὺς δὲ γλώσσας, ἑτέροους xxxiii. 16. [In quosdam Psalmos, hom.  
δὲ τὸν τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ ἄλλους τὸν τῶν ix. t. i. p. 197. edit. Par. 1638.]



part, the more perilous the disease, so the more disordered the pastors, the likelier the people to perish by their dissensions. The house cannot stand which the builders subvert; the harvest is lost where the labourers do rather scatter than gather. If the eye lack light, how dark is the body! if the salt be unsavoury, wherewithal shall the rest be seasoned? The followers cannot go right where the guides go astray; and forces distracted, be they never so great, are soon defeated. Discord and disorder in the pastors rent the church in pieces, whereas peace and agreement in the teachers confirm and establish the minds of the hearers. If they strive that sit at stern, the ship of Christ cannot hold a straight and safe course in the tempests of this world. Order then and discipline, the very nurse and mother of all peace and quietness, as well in divine as in human societies and assemblies, though it be not the life or spirit that quickeneth the church, yet doth it fasten and knit the members thereof, as joints and sinews do the parts of our bodies, insomuch that "the unity Ephes. iv. 3. of the Spirit" is not kept (as the apostle noteth) without "the band of peace;" and where there is dissension nourished, or confusion suffered, no peace can be preserved or expected.

Hence we must not frame what kind of regiment we list for the ministers of Christ's church, but rather observe and mark what manner of external government the Lord hath best liked and allowed in his church, even from the beginning. The external regiment of pastors and teachers among themselves and over their flocks, I distinguish from the internal, that God hath by his Spirit and truth in the hearts of the faithful, which cannot be varied, and is not questioned in the church of England. That I acknowledge to be the true kingdom of Christ; whereby he inwardly and effectually worketh in his saints the faith of his truth and feeling of his grace<sup>c</sup>, according to the purpose of his own will, for the praise of his glory; in which no earthly creature concurrerh or joineth with him; yet because he hath left the sound of his word and seal of his sacraments as external means for us to be made partakers of his heavenly graces, there must be fit persons to teach the one and dispense the other, and a power in them to

<sup>c</sup> Added in the Latin, "et æternæ salutis certissimos reddit."

admit the worthy and remove the unworthy, lest holy things be defiled, whiles they be "projected to dogs and swine." Hence riseth the necessity of external government in the church of God, which respecteth the appointing of meet men, and repelling of unmeet to be trusted with these heavenly treasures, as also the good using and right dividing of so precious jewels committed to their charge<sup>d</sup>.

What kind of external government God settled in his church even at the first beginning will soon appear, if we consult the scriptures. From Adam to Jacob as the church was contained in certain families mentioned by Moses, so was the discipline of the church domestical, and the government paternal: God leaving the father to be teacher and ruler of his household and offspring, and charging the children and their issues to honour with reverence and obedience their fathers delivering and prescribing unto them the true worship of God, agreeable to his will revealed to their fathers. The right and power the father had over his children and household before the law, is expressed in these words: "I know," saith God, "that (Abraham) will command his sons and his house after him to keep the way of the Lord;" which no doubt all the patriarchs that were faithful even from Adam carefully performed, and the children that were religious reverently obeyed: the blessing of God passing by the fathers' mouth unto the children in reward of their submission, or curse in revenge of their rebellion. So Noah blessed Sem for covering his nakedness, and by that blessing made him heir of the promise; and cursed Cham for deriding the shame of his father and insulting at it. So likewise Isaac and Jacob transmitted the blessing of God to their children and children's children that were dutiful, and pronounced his heavy judgments on their children that were wicked and obstinate.

As the patriarchs were prophets to declare to their children the promises and menaces of God, so were they magistrates to rule their families with fatherly coercion, such as God best allowed in the first world to govern his saints. And for that

<sup>d</sup> Added in the Latin, "*qui postea nisi recte et sincere se gesserint in ea quibus in ministerium accepti sunt, functione, ut fideles æconomos Dei gradu moveantur.*"

cause did God comprehend princes under the name of parents in the decalogue of Moses ; and every where in the Old Testament chief men and governors are called *fathers* ; and to this day by God's law, princes ought to have the same care and respect of their subjects that fathers have of their children, by reason the first fountain of princely power by God's allowance was fatherly regiment. Neither were the patriarchs only princes within their tents and dwellings, but also priests in the church of God ; God always referring the eldest and chiefest in those generations to serve him with sacrifice and thanksgiving. To which end God did consecrate the firstborn of their family as holy to himself, to be priests in his church, and increased their dignity with this princely prerogative, that they should be lords over their brethren, and honoured of their mothers' children, as succeeding their fathers in the government and priesthood, unless they were repelled from that honour by God's secret counsels or manifest judgments, and others named by God himself to sustain that charge. " In Isaac shall thy seed be called," said God to Abraham when he refused Ismael. " The elder shall serve the younger," said God to Rebecca when he preferred Jacob. " Reuben mine eldest son," said Jacob, " the beginning of my strength, excelling in dignity, excelling in power: thou shalt not excel, because thou wentest up to thy father's bed." For otherwise this was the blessing due to the elder brother in the first world, and part of his birthright, as well before as after the flood, which Isaac uttered to Jacob when he took him for his eldest son : " Be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's children honour thee." Which privilege of the firstborn God renewed and confirmed in the law of Moses throughout the commonwealth of Israel, that as they were eldest, so should they be chiefest in their fathers' houses, except their impiety provoked the contrary.

This then was the regiment of God's church from Adam to Sem<sup>e</sup>: the most ancient was always the most excellent, both in priesthood and civil government in the church of God ; and in his room deceasing, succeeded his eldest son, unless

<sup>e</sup> Added L. " Nohæ primogenitum."

he were rejected from it for his wickedness, as Cain was that killed Abel. And to the first patriarchs God gave so long life, that they might witness his truth<sup>f</sup> by word of mouth unto their children and children's children that would hear and regard the will of God; for this precept expressed in the

**Deut. iv. 9.** law, "Teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons," was the perpetual charge of all fathers as well before as after the deluge; and then most needful, when children had no teachers nor governors, save fathers: as whiles the word was yet not written, but the true worship of God was delivered by hand from the father to the son. During which time, as each father that inherited the promise was eldest, so was he chiefest in directing and commanding his offspring that believed, of whom the church then consisted.

Adam governed the church nine hundred and thirty years, confirming to all posterity the creation and fall of himself and all mankind with him, and likewise redemption and victory by the promised seed that should come of the woman<sup>g</sup>. Seth, the son of Adam, assisted his father five hundred years, and

**Gen. iv. 26.** taught his children, which were then the church, "to call on the name of the Lord<sup>h</sup>;" and continued that charge one hundred and twelve years after his father's death. Enosh did did the like to Seth<sup>i</sup>, and all the heirs of the promise before the flood to their fathers; God always stirring up the spirits of some excellent men to preach in his church, whiles their fathers yet lived and guided the number of the faithful. So Enoch pleased God<sup>k</sup>, and prophesied in his church three hundred years; first under Adam, and after under Seth, in

**2 Pet. ii. 5.** whose time he was translated. So Noah preached righteousness and repentance to the old world, beginning under Enoch the son of Seth, and holding on six descents, until the flood came, the very same year that his grandfather Methusalem died. After whose death, and the drowning of the world, Noah governed the church three hundred and fifty years; and left the regiment thereof, as also the inheritance of the

<sup>f</sup> Added L. "et rationem colendi Dei."

<sup>g</sup> Added L. "quod unicum in tantis malis erat solatium."

<sup>h</sup> Added L. "eumque sincere colerent."

<sup>i</sup> Thus L. "eadem divina doctrina Chanan filium suum imbuat."

<sup>k</sup> Thus L. "ambulavit cum Deo."

blessing and promise, to Sem his eldest son, that was saved with him in the ark from the waters, and blessed by him.

Sem succeeding his father in the covenant of peace, confirmation of the promise, and dignity of the firstborn, governed the church three hundred and fifty years under his father, and one hundred and fifty-two years after him, even till Abraham was dead, Isaac dim, and Jacob fifty years old; and might well for his age, birthright and blessing, be that Melchisedec, king of Salem, in Canaan, that "met Abraham returning from the slaughter of his enemies, and blessed him that had the promises<sup>1</sup>:" for he must be greater than Abraham that blessed Abraham, as the apostle inferreth; and greater than Abraham could none be, but one that had the same promises which Abraham had, and that before him. Now Noah was dead thirteen years before Abraham entered Canaan; and Sem, ten ascents before Abraham, inherited the same blessing and promise that Abraham did. During whose life (and he overlived Abraham) none of his offspring could have the honour of the kingdom and priesthood from him, much less could any stranger excel him, or come near him in the dignity of his priesthood.

For first in his house was the church, God vouchsafing to be called "the God of Sem," as he was after the God of Abraham; and so blessing his tents with righteousness of faith and heavenly peace, that Noah foreseeing it in spirit, besought God "to persuade and incline Japheth," his younger son, "to dwell in the tents of Sem." Next in his seed was the promised blessing, (the true cause of Abraham's greatness,) and that three hundred and sixty years before it was in Abraham; and from him God lineally derived it unto Abraham by that blessing, as from the father both of Christ and of Abraham<sup>m</sup>. Thirdly, in his person was the prerogative of the firstborn to be chief over his brethren, as well in religion as in civil regiment, and consequently to be king and priest in the house of God. Fourthly, by the length of his life he well resembled the true Melchisedec, who by his birth-

Heb. vii. 1.

Gen. ix. 26,

27.

<sup>1</sup> The diversities of opinions touching Melchisedec, may be read in Hierome, Epistola ad Evagrium, tom. iii. fol. 38.

<sup>m</sup> Thus L. "ut a patre ad filium."



right is king and priest for ever over the sons of God<sup>n</sup>: for he came out of the ark as from another world, no man living that knew his beginning, and he dured more than five hundred years, even twelve descents after the flood; and so neither the beginning nor end of his days were known to the heirs of promise. Lastly, successor on earth he left none, by  
 Gen. xii. 1. reason Abraham, whom God called from his “country, kindred, and father’s house,” to inherit the promise and blessing next after Sem, and likewise Isaac and Jacob heirs of the same promise with him, sojourned as strangers and peregrines, first in the land of Canaan, (where Sem yet lived, and by force of his birthright and blessing continued a king and priest in his father’s house and city, which was then the church of God,) and after in the land of Egypt, until the departure of Jacob’s posterity thence: amongst whose sons God divided the honours and dignities of Sem, appointing the sceptre and  
 1 Chron. v. 2. seed to Judah, the priesthood to Levi, the “birthright to Joseph,” and never conjoined them after in any but in Christ Jesus, the only priest that ever succeeded according to the order of Melchisedec, which far excelled the order of Aaron, that had the kingdom and birthright severed from it.

Whosoever Melchisedec was, this was the government of the church so long as Sem lived, which appeared in the person of Melchisedec; to wit, the father was ruler over his children, and the firstborn over his brethren, as well in piety as in policy; and this privilege of the eldest brethren to be kings and priests in their father’s house, represented the choice that God made of his saints in Christ his Son, to be  
 1 Pet. ii. 5. “a royal priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable unto himself by Jesus Christ.”

From Jacob to Moses, as the number of God’s children increased, so the royal priesthood utterly ceased, and the government of the church was much obscured by the perpetual pilgrimage of Jacob, and bondage of his offspring, till God by Moses wrought their deliverance; the church in the mean time being guided first by Jacob, then by Joseph, after by the heads and fathers of the twelve tribes, Judah being

<sup>n</sup> Added L. “jurejurando.”

always the chiefest both in Egypt and Canaan, and his "father's sons bowing unto him" according to the tenor of Gen. xlix.8. Jacob's blessing. And so from Adam to Moses we find a continual superiority of the father over his children, and the firstborn above his brethren, approved and established by God himself in the regiment of his church, and not any precept or precedent for equality°.

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## CHAP. II.

*The Levitical and national regiment of the church under the law.*

WHEN it pleased the goodness of God to extend the true knowledge of himself to the whole seed of Jacob, and to bring a people out of Egypt to be his peculiar, he severed from the rest the tribe of Levi, to attend the ark and offerings which he commanded, and to teach their brethren the judgments and statutes of their God. For the church being enlarged and spread over the whole nation, the domestical discipline that was before the law, could not so well fit the government of a people as of an household; and therefore out of twelve tribes God chose one to retain the priesthood, and have the oversight of all holy things, and execution of all sacred service. In which tribe, according to the number and order of the first fathers and families descended from Levi the son of Jacob, God did proportion and establish divers superiorities and dignities as well in answering the sentence of the law to the people, as in serving him at his altar; and those not only of priests above Levites, but of priests above priests, and of Levites among themselves.

The first distinction was of priests above Levites; that is, of Aaron and his sons above the rest of the same tribe: who were restrained from touching or seeing the holy things committed to the priests' charge, and ministered in the sanctuary at the appointment and commandment of the priests.

° Added L. "vel orbiculati regiminis."

- Num. iii. 6. "Bring the tribe of Levi," saith God to Moses, "and make  
9, 10. them stand before Aaron the priest, and they shall minister unto him. Thou shalt give the Levites to Aaron and his sons : they are given him for a gift from among the children of Israel. And Aaron and his sons shalt thou" (number or) "appoint to execute the priest's office<sup>p</sup>, which is theirs." And where the families of the Levites, derived from Gershon, Kohath and Merari, (the three sons of Levi,) were allotted to certain peculiar offices about the tabernacle, they were all to be directed and commanded by the sons of Aaron that were priests. "At the mouth" (that is, at the word and commandment) "of Aaron and his sons shall all the service of the sons of Gershon be done, in all their charge, and in all their service." And so for the sons of Kohath: "Let Aaron and his sons come and appoint them every man to his office and to his charge." And likewise for the sons of Merari: "The service of the sons of Merari, in all their service about the tabernacle, shall be under the hand" (or appointment) "of Ithamar the" (second) "son of Aaron the priest." Yea the Levites might not touch or see the things committed to the priests' custody. "When Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the sanctuary and all the instruments" (thereof), "the sons of Kohath shall come to bear it ; but they shall not touch any holy thing, lest they die : and let them not go in to see when the sanctuary is folded up, lest they die."
- Num. iv. 27.  
Num. iv. 19.  
Num. iv. 33.  
Num. iv. 15.  
Num. iv. 20.

The preeminence of priests above Levites is often iterated by God's own mouth ; and the murmuring against it re- venged in Korah, the son of Kohath, the Levite, by that dreadful opening of the earth, and swallowing him up and his confederates with all they had, for disdaining that degree in which God had placed him amongst the Levites, as "a small thing," and "aspiring to the priest's office."

Num. xvi. 9, 10.

Among the Levites were three chief and principal heads named by God himself, of the lineage of the three sons of Levi : Eliasaph for the Gershonites, Elizaphan for the Kohathites, and Zuriel for the Merarites. After these were other chief fathers of the Levites that directed and governed the rest of their brethren in all the several charges and

Num. iii. 24. 30. 35.

<sup>p</sup> Added L. "cujus ambitionis expetitique sacerdotii dignas pœnas luit."

courses allotted unto them by David, as appeareth, <sup>1</sup> Chron. xxiii — xxvi <sup>4</sup>, some also were “officers, judges,” and <sup>1</sup> Chron. xxvi. 29, “rulers,” as well amongst themselves, as “at large for God’s business and the king’s;” some were assessors and coadjutors in the great council of Jerusalem, together with the priests <sup>2</sup> Chron. xix. 8. and princes of the twelve tribes.

The priests also were of sundry sorts amongst themselves. The first and chieftest dignity belonged to the high priest, who by God’s appointment was “prince of the princes of Levi;” <sup>Num. iii.</sup> and “chief over” the supreme judges in Jerusalem, as well <sup>32.</sup> <sup>2</sup> Chron. xix. 11. priests as others, “in all matters of the Lord.” The which sovereignty was not given him in respect he was a figure of Christ, but by reason God approved superior and inferior callings in that commonwealth, as the best way to govern his church. Aaron’s priesthood, in approaching nearest unto God, and in entering the second tabernacle within the veil, whither none might come save the high priest alone, figured and shadowed the person of Christ; but by no means Aaron, nor none of his order, did represent the royal and judicial power of Christ. For then should Christ have been a priest after the order of Aaron, as well as of Melchisedec, if Aaron had resembled both his kingdom and priesthood, as Melchisedec did. But without all question the sceptre was severed from the tribe of Levi, and given to Judah; wherefore the high priest by his judicial dignity could not foreshew the kingly seat and throne of Christ, and that is manifest by the different execution of his office. The high priest had the seventy elders as coassessors with him in the same council, Christ hath none: he with the seventy received hard and doubtful matters by way of appeal from inferior judges; all matters without exception<sup>r</sup> pertain to Christ’s tribunal originally, and not by way of devolution: the high priest had a superior to control him and overrule him, even the lawgiver of Judah that held the sceptre; but Christ is far from any such subjection. Wherefore the high priest’s superiority to direct and determine in council such doubts as were brought unto him,

<sup>4</sup> Added L. “cum a Davide rege in diversos ordines ad varia ministeria per sortes distributi sunt.”

<sup>r</sup> In the Latin thus, “omnia dicta, facta, cogitata.”

was no figure of the sovereign and princely power that Christ hath in his church, and shall execute at the last day, but rather it was the regiment and external discipline which God then embraced in guiding the church of Israel. And that appeareth by the sequence and coherence of other degrees which accompanied the highest.

Next to the high priest, (which for ever should have been of the line of Eleazar and Phinees,) and as it were a secondary to him, was the chief of the offspring of Ithamar, another of Aaron's sons, "under whose hand" and appointment the Gershonites and Merarites (two parts of the Levites) were to do all their service about the tabernacle and temple. These two are joined in the execution of the priest's office, and are often reckoned together as the chief fathers of the priests, and are called the "rulers" (or princes) "of the sanctuary," and the "princes of God," that is, of things pertaining to the service of God<sup>s</sup>.

Out of their posterity came the twenty-four that were "heads and fathers," or chief fathers of the priests, amongst whom the lots to serve in the temple by course were divided by king David; and as they were subject to the two former, so had they substitutes "under them," to supply their places being absent, and assist them being present, and had also the oversight and directing of all such priests and Levites as served in their course. These (though the number continued not so certain, by reason of their captivities and decay of their families,) are often called in the Old Testament "the heads" (or chief) "of the priests," and every where in the New Testament, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς*, "the principal" or "chief priests."

And as within the temple for the service of God there were diversities of degrees amongst priests and Levites<sup>t</sup>, so for the preservation of civil right and peace, and execution of Moses' law, some of the priests and Levites not only were judges and elders in their own cities which were allowed them to the number of forty-eight in the whole, but sat with the elders of other cities, and were "judges and officers over Israel."

<sup>s</sup> Added L. "quamvis Eleazaris filius in summo sacerdotio præcelleret, Ithamaris autem illi secundus existeret."

<sup>t</sup> Added L. "dum alii juberent, alii parerent."



Yea many things by God's law were wholly or chiefly reserved to the knowledge and sentence of the priests, as "leprosy," "jealousy," "inquisition for murder," "false witness," and such like, in which cases the people and elders were to consult the priests and take direction from them. Lev. xiii. 2. Num. v. 14. Deut. xxi. 1, 2. xix. 17. xxi. 5. "The priests, the sons of Levi," saith God, "shall come forth," (out of the cities where they were placed in every tribe,) "and by their word shall all strife and plague be tried."

Remembering always that doubtful and weighty matters were referred to the council of priests and judges, that sat in the place which the Lord did choose for the ark to rest in. "If there come a matter too hard for thee" (either by reason of the weight or doubt thereof) "in judgment, between blood and blood, cause and cause, plague and plague, of matters in question within thy gates; thou shalt arise, and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and shalt repair to the priests of the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and ask; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment: and thou shalt do according to that, which they of the place which the Lord hath chosen shew thee, and shalt observe to do according to all they inform thee. Thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee, neither to the right hand nor to the left. And the man that will do presumptuously in not hearkening unto the priest, (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there,) or unto the judge, that man shall die." This council or senate of elders residing at Jerusalem in Jehosaphat's time, (who no doubt did not infringe, but rather observe the tenor of the law,) consisted of "Levites," and of "priests," and of the 2 Chron. xix. 8. 11. "heads of the families of Israel," and had "Amariah the" (high) "priest chief over them in all matters of the Lord:" and "Zebediah, a ruler of the house of Judah," (chief) "for all the king's affairs;" and was a continuance of the seventy elders, which God adjoined unto Moses "to bear the burden of the people with him." Num. xi. 17.

From these superior and inferior degrees amongst the priests and Levites under Moses, haply may no necessary consequent be drawn to force the same to be observed in the

church of Christ. First, for that the tribe of Levi might not be unguided without manifest confusion, and was not subjected to the regiment of any other tribe, but had the same manner of government by her prince, elders, judges, and officers over a thousand, a hundred, fifty, and ten, which other tribes had in that commonwealth. Next, the civil policy of the Jews being contained and expressed in the books of Moses, the judges and rulers of other tribes were to be directed and assisted by those that were most expert and skilful in the writings of Moses, (such as the priests and Levites by their profession and function were,) which in Christian kingdoms is not so requisite. For the gospel doth not express the manner and form of civil regiment and positive laws as the books of Moses do, but leaveth such things to the care and conscience of the magistrate, so long as their policy doth not cross the rules of piety and charity prescribed in the gospel: and therefore the pastors and preachers of the new testament must not challenge to sit judges in those cases, which the priests and Levites under Moses did and might hear and determine. Thirdly, this preeminence grew unto them according to their families by inheritance and birthright; the father was chief of his offspring whiles he lived, and after him his eldest son, which is no way imitable in the church of Christ. And though sometimes the father for good respect made the younger the chiefer, as it is written of Shuri, one of the line of Merari, that “though he were not the eldest, yet his father made him the chief,” yet the contrary was usually observed, and the privilege of the firstborn might not be changed “for affection” without just cause. Lastly, the services about the sanctuary and sacrifices (which none might do but Levites) were of divers sorts, and therefore not without great regard were there divers degrees established amongst them, though to serve God even in the least of them was honourable. Now in the church of Christ, the word and sacraments committed to the pastors and ministers have no different services, and so require for the discharge thereof no discrepant offices.

Notwithstanding, for the better ordering, overseeing, and containing such in their duties as be called to be the guiders and leaders of God’s people, that they may walk worthy their

1 Chron.  
xxvi. 10.

Deut. xxi.  
15-17.

vocation without reproach of life, and be found in faith without all leaven of false doctrine, the wisdom of God in appointing some amongst the priests and Levites to guide and govern the rest of their tribe, as well in the ceremonial as judicial part of Moses' law, is not hastily to be refused, nor lightly to be neglected. For if government be needful amongst them that will live in any society and avoid disorder, whereof God is no way author, we cannot yet, nor need not seek a fitter or better pattern to follow (as far as the difference of states and persons will permit) than that which God himself allowed and confirmed in the church and commonwealth of Israel. And though the certain form of their ecclesiastical government be neither exactly known in every point, nor precisely to be urged in the church of Christ, by reason of many dissimilarities betwixt us and them, yet this is evident, that God appointed the church of Israel to be guided, not by a general equality of the priests and Levites, but by certain superiorities among them in every calling, and that as well in their conversation as administration; and their seventy elders and supreme council, called their *συνέδριον*, consisted not of all that were and would be present, but of certain of the "chiefest," <sup>Num. xi.</sup> who for their nobility and authority were preferred above the <sup>16. Deut.</sup> rest, and admitted to be of that number. <sup>i. 15.</sup> So that the Levitical discipline under Moses doth clearly confirm a diversity of degrees amongst pastors and ministers in the church to be more agreeable to the wisdom of God revealed in his law, than a general equality or parity.

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### CHAP. III.

*The personal and perpetual kingdom of Christ after he took flesh.*

THE external regiment of the church the Lord declined whiles he lived here, and relinquished to others as a thing meet for the sons of men than for the Son of God. No doubt he was, even then, "the chief corner stone, elect and 1 Pet. ii. 6. precious, laid in Sion" by God himself; the "archpastor" over 1 Pet. v. 4.

Heb. iii. 1. the whole flock, and "high priest" over the house of God;  
 Isa. ix. 6. the prophets foretold "the government should be on his  
 shoulders, and he should order the throne of David with  
 Ephes. v. justice and judgment;" the apostle saith, "he is" (and then  
 23.  
 Col. ii. 10. was) "the head of his church," yea "the head of all power  
 John xiii. and principality;" he said of himself to his disciples, "Ye call  
 13.  
 Heb. i. 6. me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am;" "the angels  
 of God were to worship him when he was brought into the  
 Heb. ii. 8. world," much more the sons of men to be "in subjection  
 under his feet": but so wonderful was his patience and  
 Matt. xii. humility at his first appearing in our flesh, that "a bruised  
 20. reed he would not break, and smoking flax he would not  
 quench," yea "no man heard his voice in the streets:" for  
 Matt. xx. "he came to serve" and not to be served; to suffer for the  
 28.  
 John v. 27. world that he might save it, and not (as yet) "to judge the  
 world." All power then in heaven and earth belonged unto  
 him even when he was conversant with men; but he neither  
 declared nor challenged so much until he was risen from the  
 dead, and in the days of his flesh. as he was a prophet to teach  
 and instruct, a priest to cleanse and sanctify his church, so  
 was he a king to rule and govern the same, save that his  
 John xviii. "kingdom was not of this world:" and therefore he would  
 36. not reign in his church with the presence of his body as a  
 man, but with the power of his spirit as the Son of God.\* The  
 kingdom then and throne, which he reserved to himself, far  
 passeth the directing and ordering of outward things in the  
 church, which he hath left to others.

[Eph. iii. To the true kingdom of Christ belong the manifold wisdom,  
 10.] might, and mercies of God, shewed on us for our salvation<sup>x</sup>;  
 [Ps. lxxxiv. I mean all the "power, grace, and glory" that God vouch-  
 11.]safeth to bestow on his saints in this life, and keepeth in store  
 for them until the next; so that whatsoever effects of his  
 truth, gifts of his Spirit, and feeling of his promise we pre-  
 sently possess, or hope to have at the hands of God through  
 Christ our Lord, it proceedeth from the strength and favour  
 of this King.

By the mightiness of his power, though he sit in heaven,

<sup>u</sup> Added L. "honorem illi deferentes  
 et debitam venerationem."

<sup>x</sup> Thus in the Latin, "In electorum  
 salute patefacta."

we receive that continual protection, help, and deliverance, which we find in all our troubles and adversities. And so we see his arm stretched out for the repressing, scattering, and revenging of our enemies, whose pride and rage he doth so guide and order, that it tendeth only to the trial of such as fear him, and the confusion of their foes.

From the riches of his grace come all those heavenly gifts, fruits, and blessings of his Spirit, wherewith the church and every member thereof is furnished and adorned, as namely, the lightening of our minds, softening of our hearts, quenching of our lusts; the grounding us in faith, mooring us in hope, and rooting us in charity by the love of his truth, obedience of his will, and resemblance of his virtues, "that hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light." For "what have <sup>1 Cor. iv. 7.</sup> we, that we have not received?" and whence "cometh every <sup>James i. 17.</sup> good and perfect gift," but "from above;" even from him "of <sup>John i. 16.</sup> whose fulness we all have received?"

From the steadfastness of his promise are derived that peace, joy, and comfort of the Holy Ghost, which the godly feel within them, and whereby they are maintained and preserved against the day of Christ; and likewise that crown of righteousness and glory which he will give to all that love his coming, when he shall appear in the clouds to bring eternal life and bliss with him for all the children of God. Till then he must reign to subdue his enemies which now resist, and to fill up the number of his saints which yet are wanting. That judgment which finally rendereth to all flesh according to their works, and eternally dureth without altering or ending, shall be the very close and conclusion of his kingdom, which he shall then "deliver up to God" his Father, when he hath <sup>1 Cor. xv.</sup> crowned his servants with honour and immortality, and ad-<sup>24.</sup> judged his enemies for their cursed sins<sup>y</sup> to perpetual torments.

This is the true kingdom of Christ; and in this effectual, spiritual, and celestial manner he doth and shall govern his church here on earth, and every member thereof, till all his enemies be under his feet. After that general judgment, (sin, death, and hell being utterly conquered, as in himself

<sup>y</sup> Thus L: "ob perfidiam et cætera flagitia."



long ago, so then in all his members,) the administration of his kingdom shall cease<sup>z</sup>, (all his brethren being brought unto God,) but the fruition shall be everlasting, even as the joys thereof are exceeding above all that we can speak or think.

By the manner of his government it is soon understood, that the preeminence of his kingdom is personal, belonging wholly and only to the Son of God; insomuch that no earthly creature may claim without apparent blasphemy to be lieutenant under him, or communicant with him in his royal dignity. “Unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways unattainable. Who knoweth the mind of the Lord? or who was his counsellor?” “His hand is not shortened that it cannot help.” “The foolishness and weakness of God is wiser and stronger than men.” And therefore he will have neither partner nor helper<sup>a</sup>.

The outward face of the church, where the good and bad by the word and sacraments are gathered and mixed together, may be called *the kingdom of heaven* and of Christ; but we must take heed that we wisely distinguish, even in the word and sacraments, the mighty power of God from the outward service of men. The gospel which saveth “is not written with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart.” The seed of the word may be carefully cast by us, but it taketh no root, nor beareth fruit unless the Lord prepare the ground. We are “joint workmen” with God in his husbandry, and yet “neither he that planteth nor he that watereth is anything, but God that giveth the increase.” Circumcision, though it were “the seal of the righteousness of faith,” yet availed it nothing so long as it was “outward in the flesh;” but that is true circumcision which “is in the Spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is of God, and not of men.” The preacher is “the savour of death unto death,” until God lighten and open the heart; and “Christ crucified,” even when he is “preached, is a stumblingblock to the Jews, and foolishness to the Grecians,” except God give repentance and obedience of faith that they may believe and be saved. The

<sup>z</sup> Omitted L.: (“all his brethren being brought unto God.”)

<sup>a</sup> Added L.: “nec consiliarium, nec conscium.”

sacraments are dead elements in our hands, and the word a deadly sound in our mouths without "the Spirit that quick-<sup>2</sup> eneth." So that in them both it is no hard matter to dis sever the outward signs from the inward graces, and the corporal actions performed by men from the spiritual operations effected by the Holy Ghost, which properly pertain to Christ's kingdom.

I stand somewhat the longer in separating the true kingdom of Christ from the external order and discipline of the church; for that in our times some more zealous than wise, and too much devoted to their own fancies, have promoted their eldership and *presbytery* to the height of Christ's sceptre, and make grievous outcries as if the Son of God were spoiled of half his kingdom, because their lay elders are not suffered to sit judges in every parish, together with the pastor and teacher of the place. I dispute not, as yet, whether ever there were any such elders (as they talk of) in the church of Christ from the preaching of our Saviour to this present age, I reserve that to a further inquiry; but though there were such suffered or settled by the apostles in the primitive church, yet were they no part of Christ's kingdom, which is proper to his person, and by many degrees excelleth all other governments, for the divine force and grace that are eminent in the spiritual fruits and effects of his kingdom.

I do not deny but God hath ordained and established on earth many kinds of external governments: as in spiritual causes, the minister; in domestical, the master of the family; and superior to them both, the magistrate: and what is prescribed or exacted by any of those that God hath set over us for a quiet, honest, and Christian course of life in this world, according to his word and their charge, he doth ratify and confirm in heaven, accepting the submission, and punishing the rebellion of all that disobey in each degree: but neither prince, pastor, nor parent can search or change the heart, much less can they endue it with any heavenly grace and virtue, or settle it with expectance of life to come. They moderate and direct the outward actions which may be soon dissembled; further they neither see nor judge: they have not to do with the secret affections of the heart, with the

sacred gifts of the Spirit, the steadfast trust of future glory ; these always belong to the kingdom of Christ and of God, Eph. i. 11. which “worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, unto the praise of his glory.”

Eph. i. 18-<sup>23.</sup> Since then this King is “set at the right hand (of God) in the heavens far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in the world to come ; and all things are subjected under his feet, and he appointed head over all unto the church, which is his body, even the fulness of him that filleth all in all ;” and declareth daily from heaven, “what is the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints, and exceeding greatness of his power toward us which believe, by lightening the eyes of our understanding, and sealing us with the Holy Spirit of promise ;” the watchmen and leaders of his flock, though their service be needful and fruitful in his church, and they trusted with the keys and mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, yet may they not arrogate any part of Christ’s honour or power as incident to their calling or function<sup>b</sup>, but leave all entire and untouched to the Son of God, whose right it is ; much less may the several or synodal assemblies, proceedings, or censures of the supposed *presbytery*, be reckoned the half deal of Christ’s most righteous and glorious kingdom.

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## CHAP. IV.

*The synedrical jurisdiction, which some men think our Saviour in the gospel restored and recommended to his church.*

AS I avouch that Christ reserved to himself the mighty force and heavenly grace of his spiritual kingdom, so am I out of doubt he left the supervision and moderation of external things and actions, which respect the peace, order, and comeliness of his church, to such as he called to be the guiders

<sup>b</sup> Added L. : “sed nudum tantummodo ministerium et functionem quandam externam sibi datam agnoscant.”

of his flock and stewards of his household. Who they were is not so well agreed on. Some men imagine, Christ did refuse the Jewish synedrion, and thence extracted the lay-*presbytery*, that should govern his church. Their proof they take out of these words: "If thy brother trespass against thee, <sup>Matt. xviii.</sup> go and tell him between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, <sup>15-17.</sup> thou hast gained thy brother. If he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be confirmed. And if he will not vouchsafe to hear them, tell it unto the church: if he refuse to hear the church, let him be to thee as an ethnicks and publican." Hence they collect; first, that our Saviour spake to the Jews, by reason he said, "let him be to thee as an ethnicks and publican," whom the Jews and no people else abhorred and shunned; next, that he prescribed no new nor unknown form of judicial proceeding, but referred them rather to the usual and accustomed manner of their country, then generally received, and every where practised amongst them; which was by the elders of every place to determine their matters, or else to transmit them unto the sanhedrin or council of Jerusalem, which was the highest court in that commonwealth.

Thus far they seem to have some ground to support their opinion: but that our Saviour appointed the like order to take place for ever in his church, I see neither mention of it nor reason for it in the scriptures, and assure myself it can never be proved. For if our Saviour meant to transfer any kind of regiment from the church of the Jews to his own, it is certain he would not choose out the corruptions of time, nor inventions of men, but ascend to the original ordinance of God, and thence derive his platform. He would not follow, much less authorize in his church, any breach of God's law, grown by depravation and usurpation of wicked men that hated and pursued both him and his truth, that were with them to "transgress the commandment of God for the traditions of <sup>Matt. xv. 3.</sup> men," from which he was far: but if he purposed to deduce any form of government from the law to the gospel, it was the same that God by Moses erected and allowed. Now that cannot be urged and used in the church of Christ, without

apparent violence to the word of God, and evident injury to the Christian magistrate, as by the view thereof we shall easily understand.

First, therefore, let us shortly see what kinds of governments were authorized and established by Moses in the first erection of the commonwealth and church of Israel; and consequently, what coherence or resemblance there may be between those councils and synedrions of the Jews, and the *presbyteries* in every parish, which some men labour to impose on the church of Christ, in every Christian kingdom and country.

The sorts of regiments settled amongst the Jews by God's law were these. Under Moses the chief magistrate, by the counsel of Jethro, consent of the people, and allowance of  
 Deut. i. 13. God, were the "known and wise men of every tribe" set to be  
 15. 17.  
 Exod. xviii. "rulers and captains over thousands, over hundreds, over  
 25, 26. fifties, and over tens; and they judged the people at all seasons: and brought the hard matters unto Moses, and judged all small causes themselves." When matters of importance grew many, and wearied Moses, God willed him to "bring seventy men whom he knew to be elders and governors of the people; and they should bear the burden of the people with him," and assist him in hearing and ordering all matters of weight and difficulty. Besides these, God named twelve princes (of every tribe one) for oftener meeting and quicker dispatch, to be always present with Aaron and Moses; that is, with the high priest and the magistrate. Thus had every tribe their judges and officers, elders and princes, to direct and rule the rest of the multitude.

The same order was by Moses prescribed against they should recover and enter the land of promise, and was likewise there observed. "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy cities throughout thy tribes, and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment." And "if there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment within thy gates, thou shalt arise and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose;" where the seventy elders were to abide and attend such matters as were of greatest moment, both civil and sacred, and their sentence by God's law no man might refuse

Deut. xvi.  
18.

Deut. xvii.  
8.



without punishment of death. This manner of government Jehoshaphat restored together with religion, when “he set <sup>2 Chron. xix. 5. 8. 11.</sup> judges in the land throughout all the strong cities of Judah, city by city. Moreover in Jerusalem he placed of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chief of the families of Israel, for the judgment and cause of the Lord,” and said, “Behold Amariah the priest is chief over you in all matter of the Lord; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, a ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king’s affairs: and the Levites (are) officers in your presence.” Josephus repeateth the sum of these laws of Moses in this sort: “In every city let there be seven rulers, men chiefly regarding virtue and the love of justice. To every magistrate let there be allotted two of the tribe of Levi for assistance. If (these) judges cannot pronounce of any matter brought before them, let the whole cause be sent to the holy city, and the high priest, the prophet, and the senate (or council of elders) assembling, determine what they think right<sup>c</sup>.” The Jewish Thalmud varieth from Josephus in the number of their judges, and saith, that on small and pecuniary matters in every city sat three judges; on criminal and capital, three and twenty; on the highest affairs of the commonwealth, and causes sent from other cities, sat at Jerusalem the seventy-one elders and rulers of the people. The book of Ruth witnesseth, that “ten of the elders of the city” <sup>Ruth iv. 2.</sup> sat with Boaz in the gate, when the matter was ended betwixt him and his kinsman for the inheritance of Elimelech, and marriage of Ruth. The princes and elders of Succoth, even <sup>Judg. viii.</sup> of one city, were seventy-seven, whose flesh Gedeon did tear <sup>7. 14.</sup> with thorns for refusing to relieve his wearied soldiers.

The jar in the number of the judges I labour not to reconcile; they may speak of divers times and places without repugnance of each to other; this I observe, that Moses appointed neither judges nor elders in city or synedrion, but they were magistrates to execute the judgments of the law,

<sup>c</sup> Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 8. [tom. i. p. 163. edit. Oxon. 1720.] Ἀρχέσθωσαν δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προσησκηκότες· ἐκάστη δὲ ἀρχὴ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδύσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν φυλῆς. . . . \* Ἀν δ' οἱ

δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένων ἀποφύνασθαι, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀκέραιοι ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ὃ, τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν.

and had the sword to chastise the body, and punish with death. The supreme synedrion of Jerusalem heard and decided matters pertaining to God and the king, and the man that presumptuously disobeyed them, was by God's law to die. Under Esdras the punishment of him that neglected their commandment, was the "forfeiture of all his goods" and separation from the people of God. The elders of their cities were to "inquire and swear" for unknown murder; to "deliver" the wilful murderer unto the hand of the avenger of blood, to "adjudge" to death disobedient children, to "amerce" and "chastise" the slanderer of his wife's virginity, and to stone the adulteress to death, and in like manner to perform all the punishments and penalties of Moses' law. By which it is evident that their elders in every city were the magistrates and rulers of the people, and might inflict both loss of limb and life, and determine all causes, save such as for distinction of holy and unholy were peculiar to the priest, or for weight and difficulty were reserved to the council of Jerusalem.

In the days of our Saviour, though many things were corrupted and altered from Moses' law, and the power of their elders and sanhedrin much decreased, first by the kingdom of Herod, then by the Roman presidents, who not regarding Moses' laws, could not endure the sovereign authority of the high priest and elders so near their noses; yet for the better containing the people in obedience to their country rites and laws, without which they would in no wise be governed or quieted, the elders of each place were suffered to retain some show of their former power, as to hear and redress the private wrongs and injuries of their brethren; and the council of Jerusalem had authority left them to imprison and chastise with rods the contemners and disturbers of their religion, as ap-

Matt. xxvi. 67. "bearing" by their "binding" and "buffeting" of Christ, and Acts v. 40. "beating" his apostles, as also by Paul's letters "from the high priests and elders to prison and beat in every synagogue such as believed." "I send you," saith Christ to his disciples, "as sheep among wolves: they will deliver you up to councils, and scourge you in their synagogues." Yea by shewing themselves zealous for Cæsar, and by false suggesting

that the apostles under colour of religion laboured to "stir Acts xxiv. sedition among the Jews," as Theudas and Judas not long <sup>5</sup> before had done, the elders so prevailed with the Romans, that not only the presidents themselves persecuted the faithful to content and gratify the people, but suffered the synedrion at Jerusalem to have power of life and death when they saw cause, and to exercise the same in cases of defection from their law, or rebellion against their law.

Our Saviour saith of the scribes and Pharisees<sup>d</sup> sitting in Moses' chair, "Fulfil ye the measure of your fathers. Behold Matt. xxiii. I send unto you prophets and wise men; and some of them <sup>32. 34.</sup> shall you kill and crucify, and some shall you scourge in your synagogues, and pursue from city to city." Paul confessing how hot he was against the Christians in the time of his ignorance, saith, "I persecuted this way unto the death, binding Acts xxii. 4. and imprisoning both men and women." And "when the Acts xxii. blood of Stephen the martyr was shed, (he) stood by and con- <sup>19.</sup> sented unto his death, and kept the clothes (of the wit- Acts vii. 58. nesses) that slew him." "At that time" also, (when Stephen Acts viii. was stoned,) "there was a great persecution against the <sup>1. 3.</sup> church which was at Jerusalem, and Saul entered into every house, and drew out both men and women, and put them in prison; breathing out threats and slaughter against the Acts ix. 1. disciples of the Lord, and making havock of his church."

The stoning of Stephen some men suppose was done in a tumult without all lawful authority; because the chief priests not long before said to Pilate, "It is not lawful for us to put John xviii. any man to death." Tumultuous it was by reason of their <sup>31.</sup> immoderate rage shewed in the end of their judgment: yet so, that the witnesses were produced though false, the party suffered to answer for a season, Saul trusted to see execution done, and the witnesses, as by the law they were bound, the first that cast stones on Stephen. And when the tumult was ceased, the persecution increased; and Saul (afterward Paul) appointed by commission from the high priest and elders, to be a chief actor for the slaughter of Christ's saints both there and elsewhere. Their words to Pilate, "It is not lawful for

<sup>d</sup> Thus in the Latin: "Jus gladii scribis et Phariseis concessum fuisse, testatur Christus his verbis:"

us to kill any man," might be spoken either in regard of the present time, which was so sacred unto them, that they would not that day "go into the judgment hall" where Pilate sat; or in respect of the crime they accused him of, which was "affectation of the kingdom," and so nowhere determinable but in Cæsar's court; or lastly, by reason of Pilate's presence, without whose assent being there in person they could not proceed on life and death. Whatsoever power the Romans limited or enlarged to the elders of the Jews after they were lords over them, I greatly force not: this is evident, they were magistrates by Moses' law, and had the sword from God to execute his judicial ordinances, as I shewed before.

Neither did the Romans deprive the Jews of all power, but suffered their elders to end matters between man and man; and to prison and scourge in their synagogues the despisers and disturbers of their religion. "Take him, and judge him after your own law," said Pilate to them when they incensed him against our Saviour. "We took him and would have judged him according to our law," said they to Felix when they accused Paul. And every where in the New Testament are they called *οἱ ἄρχοντες*, "rulers" and "governors" of the people. Nicodemus, as St. John saith, was "a ruler of the Jews." The Pharisees, speaking in contempt of the people that followed Christ, said, "Doth any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees believe in him?" Peter, persuading the people to yield unto Christ whom they crucified, saith, "I know ye did it of ignorance, as did also your rulers;" and making answer before the council of Jerusalem for healing the cripple, that lay at the Beautiful gate of the temple, he beginneth thus: "Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel." And when they "threatened" and "charged" him and the rest of his fellows in no wise to teach in the name of Christ, he did not reply, they had no power to command, but saith, "Whether it be right to obey you rather than God, judge ye."

This being the power of the elders in every city amongst the Jews, and of the council at Jerusalem, when God first erected their commonwealth, and the same in part remaining under the Roman empire when our Saviour lived, I now demand which of these two senates or synedrions did Christ



proportion out unto his church<sup>e</sup>? the council of Jerusalem? That senate was singular and supreme, as well in all causes civil and sacred, as in all punishments corporal and capital. I trust we shall have no such *presbyteries* in every village; that were to make as many parliaments as there be parishes in this realm<sup>f</sup>. And indeed the council or synedrion of Jerusalem cannot amongst us be better resembled than to our parliament: for there was but one council of that nature in the whole land of Jewry, and that consisting of some of the chiefest of every tribe; and they not only debated and concluded the highest affairs of that realm, as war, peace, appeals from all places, punishments of whole cities and tribes, and such like, but also ruled and rectified all cases omitted or doubted in Moses' law, and were obeyed throughout the land upon pain of losing goods, or life, or being for ever excluded from the people of God, as they pronounced or prescribed. I hope our brethren do not think our Saviour made this a pattern for the *presbytery*<sup>g</sup>; their power must then be civil and supreme, which were a presumptuous and heinous intrusion upon the prince's sword and sceptre<sup>h</sup>. I say no more; they are wise enough to consider the sequel.

Was it the lesser senate and synedrion of every city that Christ did portraiture out for the regiment of his church? We incur the same danger that before, though the degree be somewhat diminished: for these elders also were inferior magistrates, and had the sword to chastise malefactors according to the tenor of Moses' law; and this was the settled form of their civil government established throughout their land, by God's own mouth, that certain elders in every city should end all strifes, repress all wrongs, and punish all vices according to the purport of the legal statutes and ordinances of Moses; save such as for the weightiness or doubtfulness of the matters were reserved to the supreme council and magistrate. By this precedent we must not frame *presbyteries* in the church of Christ; the difference is so manifest, and the inference so

<sup>e</sup> Thus in the Latin: "in singulis parœciis stabilitam Christus voluit?"

<sup>g</sup> Added in L.: "per vicus et parœcias."

<sup>f</sup> Thus in L.: "si hoc urgent, quot sunt in Anglia villæ, tot nobis parlamenta surrogant."

<sup>h</sup> Added in L.: "illos solio extrudere."



absurd, that the slowest will soon perceive the decay of the consequent. From the magistrate to the minister, from the sword to the word, from the law to the gospel, from cities to villages, from Canaan to Christendom, the leap is so great, that cart ropes will not tie the conclusion to the premises. These two councils have no manner of resemblance to the lay elders ; and besides these there was none appointed or warranted by the law of God.

The scribes and Pharisees, you will say, did in Christ's time excommunicate, and "thrust" such as they thought offenders, "out of their synagogues ;" the right use of which power Christ bequeathed unto his church in Matt. xviii. The Pharisees never learned that out of Moses. A separation of the leper from the company of men, and of the unclean from coming near holy places or things, Moses prescribeth, but not excommunication that I remember. "A bastard might not enter into the congregation of the Lord unto the tenth generation : " no more might the "Ammonites or Moabites ;" the children of the "Edomites and Egyptians" were received "in the third generation." Aliens were not admitted to be of the number of the Lord's people ; and any uncleanness of the flesh did separate for a season the Jews themselves from approaching near to the congregation or tabernacle of God ; but neither of these is excommunication. The strangers which were not yet admitted, could not be ejected ; the natural weakness and uncleanness of the body, as leprosy, pollution of seed, touching of the dead, and such like, are no just causes of excommunication, but rather remembrances of our corruption. For greater sins committed, if they could be proved, God by his law appointed corporal punishments ; for wrongs he required recompense ; for smaller matters he accepted sacrifices of confession and repentance : other censuring in Moses I read none commanded.

This phrase, "He shall be cut off from the midst of his people," so much used in the law, seemeth to some men to express a kind of excommunication and anathematization from the people of God ; but they must pardon me if I believe it not, until I see it proved by the scriptures. The rabbins write many things touching the traditions and customs of later

John ix. 34.  
xii. 42.

Deut. xxiii.  
2.

Deut. xxiii.  
3.

Deut. xxiii.  
8.

times, but what Moses ordained or intended by this speech, I look for proofs out of Moses himself, and not out of rabbins. And long we shall not need to search ; the places are so often and evident. In Levit. xviii. God threatening incest, adultery, sodomitry, buggary, and offering of children unto Molech, concludeth : " Whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, the persons that do so shall be cut off from among their people." <sup>Levit. xviii. 29.</sup> Whereby God meaneth, " they shall die the death" (as is expressed in Levit. xx. in the very same sins) ; and also that if man spare such and leave them unpunished, God himself from heaven, by his dreadful judgments, will root them and theirs out of the earth. " Whosoever shall give his children unto Molech, he shall die the death ; the people of the land shall stone him to death. And I will set my face against that man, and cut him off from among his people. And if the people of the land do hide their eyes, and wink at that man, and kill him not ; then will I set my face against that man and his family, and cut him off." <sup>Levit. xx. 2-5.</sup> So for incest : " They shall be," saith God, " cut off in the sight of their people," <sup>Levit. xx. 17.</sup> (that is, openly put to death.) And likewise for any wilful breach of God's law : " The person that doeth presumptuously, the same blasphemeth the Lord, therefore shall he be cut off from among his people," or " suffer death ;" <sup>Numb. xv. 30.</sup> for when this speech is referred to the magistrate, execution is enjoined, and such malefactors must be cut off from the earth by the loss of their lives ; but when it is referred to God, it is a commination denounced, that he will plague them with violent and hasty destruction, and root out themselves and their posterities, and even their remembrances from the people of God. Hereof are every where examples. " The sword shall cut thee off ;" <sup>Nahum iii. 15.</sup> " Let us cut him off from the land of the living, and destroy the tree with the fruit, that his name may be no more in memory." <sup>Jerem. xi. 19.</sup> " I will set my face," saith God, " against that man, and make him an example and a proverb, and will cut him off from the midst of my people." <sup>Ezek. xiv. 8.</sup> So again ; " I will come against thee, and draw my sword out of his sheath, and cut off from thee both the righteous and wicked." <sup>Ezek. xxi. 3.</sup> This signification is every where occurrent, but nowhere excommunication.

In Esdras, after the return of the people from Babylon, I find a “separation from the congregation” threatened to the disobedient; and in Nehemias a “chasing away” of some that married strange wives; but either of these proceeded from the magistrate, and so neither serveth for the ministers of Christ’s church. The separation in Esdras is joined with the  
 Ezra x. 8. “forfeiture of all their substance” which offended, (for so we read,) and is rather an exiling and banishing from the country, than barring from the temple. In Nehemias the curse of God’s law concurred with the magistrate’s power, which no  
 Nehem. xiii. pastor may imitate. “I reprov’d them,” saith he, “and  
 25. cursed them, and smote certain of them, and pulled off their hair, and took an oath of them by God,” not to commit the like: one of the high priest’s nephews that married the  
 Nehem. xiii. daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, “I chased him from me.”  
 28. This seizing of their goods, smiting of their bodies, separating them from the people, and chasing them from the place, shew the civil use of the sword in the prince’s hand, not the spiritual force of the word in the priest’s mouth; and therefore the one is no precedent for the other.

The casting of men out of their synagogues, first devised by the Pharisees to serve their proud and aspiring humour, for that the chiefest power of the sword was translated unto strangers, and “the highest dignities remained unto the Sadducees<sup>i</sup>:” and not only devised, but sharply pursued by them against our Saviour and his disciples, was no spiritual curse, but rather a temporal loss of all such honour, office, privilege, and freedom as the parties had in the country, city, or synagogue where they lived, and a plain thralldom to prisoning, whipping, and such other chastising as their synedrion by their laws might inflict. St. John’s report is, that “Joseph of  
 John xix. Arimathea was Christ’s disciple, but secretly for fear of the  
 38. Jews;” and that “many of the chief rulers believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be cast out of the synagogue.” Now no man believing in Christ “in whom all nations should be blessed,” could fear the spiritual curse and excommunication of the

<sup>i</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι [tom. ii. p. 793. sect. 4. εἰς ὀλίγους τε πρῶτους τοῖς ἀξιωμασι.]

Pharisees<sup>k</sup>. They knew the promise of God to Abraham, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee;" and were acquainted with Balaam's confession, "How shall I curse where the Lord hath not cursed?" yea "cursed is he that curseth thee;" what then did they fear but the loss of their earthly honours and dignities, from which they were dismissed and deprived when they were thrust out of the synagogue, and subjected to the lusts and spites of eager and cruel enemies? "They loved," saith St. John, "the glory of men more than the glory of God." Wherefore this casting them out of the synagogue was intermixed with the civil regiment, and the terror thereof wholly proceeded from the power of the sword, confirmed by God to the councils and elders of that commonwealth, which the pastors and leaders of Christ's church may not usurp nor challenge in whole or in part, unless the policy concur with them, and authorize their doings.

Since then the imagined presbyteries in every parish have no better concordance nor agreeance<sup>l</sup> with the councils and synedrions of the Jews, let us weigh the words of Christ, which they think conclude their purpose.

"If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother. If he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two. If he hear not them, tell it to the church." The party grieved must be man, not God; ourselves, not others. "If thy brother trespass against thee," (not against God,) "reprove him." The first admonition must be secret, "betwixt thee and him alone;" now in grievous or notorious sins against God or his church the reproof must be open. "Those that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear." Again, if the wrong doer repent himself, the sufferer must forgive him. "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; if he repent, forgive him: yea, though he sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee and say, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgive him;" and not seven times only, but "seventy times seven." We may and must

22.

<sup>k</sup> Thus in the Latin: "ne de populi Dei numero ejicerentur, aut a regno cœlorum exularent."

<sup>l</sup> Thus in the Latin: "nec ulla ratione pendeant ex illis, aut cum illis cohæreant."



Matt. vi.  
12.

forgive the sins that are committed against ourselves. So the Lord's prayer teacheth us : "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us:" but to remit other men's wrongs and harms, we have neither power nor leave, much less to acquit and pardon the sins and injuries offered unto God. Thirdly, if he repent not, we must yet give him a second admonition with one or two witnesses afore we publish him to the church ; and if he then relent, we must forgive, and go no further. These be no rules for open and known sins, dishonouring God, and scandalizing his church, but for private trespasses and offences betwixt man and man ; this is no judicial proceeding in the consistory, but a charitable warning in secresy by him alone that is oppressed and grieved with wrong or reproach.

Matt. xviii  
21.

So Peter conceived the speech of our Saviour when he straightway asked, "How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? seven times?" So the Lord opened his own meaning, when for answer he proposed the parable of

Matt. xviii.  
24.

the two debtors ; one that owed his master "ten thousand talents," and the other that owed his fellow "an hundred pence," where he maketh two sorts of sins ; the greater against

Matt. xviii.  
35.

God, the lesser against our brethren ; and addeth, "So will mine heavenly Father do unto you, except you forgive from your hearts each one to his brother their trespasses." This is a general duty binding every Christian, and not a special authority reserved to pastors and elders ; which Jerome well observed upon this place : "If our brother hurt us in anything, we may forgive him, yea we must, being commanded to forgive our debtors their trespasses. But if a man sin against God, it is not in our power ; for the divine scripture saith, 'If a man sin against man, the priest shall pray for him : but if he sin against God, who shall entreat for him<sup>m</sup>?' " And Chrysostom : "Why doth (Christ) charge him that hath suffered the wrong, and none other to reprove ? A man will not

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. lib. iii. in Matt. cap. 18. [tom. ix. canon. 54. edit. Frobenii Basileæ, 1537. "Si peccaverit in nos frater noster, et in qualibet causa nos læserit, dimittendi habemus potestatem, imo necessitatem : qua præcipitur ut

debitoribus nostris debita dimittamus. Si autem in Deum quis peccaverit, non est nostri arbitrii. Dicit enim scriptura divina : 'Si peccaverit homo in hominem, rogabit pro eo sacerdos. Si autem in Deum peccaverit, quis rogabit pro eo?'" ]



take it in so good part to be reprov'd at any man's hands, as at his that hath suffered wrong and been vexed with reproach, specially if he do it alone." Likewise Ambrose: "(Christ) said well, 'If thy brother trespass against thee;' for the rule is not like when we trespass against God, as when (we trespass) against men<sup>o</sup>." And Austin: "Go and be reconciled to thy brother, (that is,) ask pardon of him whom thou hast offended, whom thou hast harmed. This ought he to do, which offereth wrong. But he that suffereth wrong, what must he do? That which we hear this day (read). If thy brother trespass against thee, reprove him between thee and him alone. If thou neglect, thou art worse than he: he doth wrong, and by doing it grievously woundeth himself; thou regardest not the wound of thy brother, thou seest him perish, and carest not for it<sup>p</sup>." Our Saviour then in this place speaketh of private offences and grievances, which he only that is oppressed and no man else may reprove and forgive: of public sins he speaketh not; the doers whereof must not be reprov'd in secret, nor twice admonished, before they be censured by the church. The incestuous Corinthian had neither private nor double warning given him, before he was delivered to Satan by Paul; and we must not think the apostle would so soon forget, or so flatly cross his Master's meaning, if Christ had spoken this of open wickedness; hateful to God, and heinous in the eyes of men.

Some hold opinion, that these words, "against thee," do not concern private injuries, but distinguish between secret and manifest sins. Be the sin then never so heinous that is committed, no man must tell it to the church so long as the doer seemeth willing to repent. How this construction should stand

<sup>a</sup> Chrysostomi in cap. xviii. Matt. homil. lxi. [tom. vii. p. 659. edit. Par. 1636. Διατί δὲ τούτῳ κελύει ἐλέγξαι καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρως; ὅτι τούτων ἐπιεικέστερον ἂν ἦνεγκε τὸν ᾀδικημένον [τὸν λελυπημένον] τὸν ἐπηρεασμένον. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως τις παρ' ἑτέρου περὶ τοῦ ὕβρισθέντος ἐλεγχόμενος φέροι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕβρισμένου, [καὶ] μάλιστα ὅταν μόνος ᾗ διελέγχων αὐτόν.]

<sup>o</sup> Ambrosii Comment. lib. viii. in Luc. cap. xvii. [tom. v. p. 129. edit. Basileæ, 1555. "Pulchre autem posuit: 'Si peccaverit in te:' non enim æqua con-

ditio, in Deum hominemque peccare."]

<sup>p</sup> [August. de verbis Domini in Evang. sec. Matth. Serm. xvi. t. x. col. 69. Ed. Basil. Frobenii 1543. "Pete, inquit, veniam ab homine quem læsisti. . . . Hoc ergo debet facere qui fecit injuriam. Qui autem passus est, quid debet? quod audivimus hodie. Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum. Si neglexeris peior es. Ille injuriam fecit, et injuriam faciendo gravi seipsum vulnere percussit: tu vulnus fratris tui contemnis: tu enim vides perire et negligis."]

Deut. xiii.  
6. 8, 9.

with the circumstances and consequence of the text, I yet perceive not. For put the case in idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, perjury, murder, adultery, and such like grievous crimes, must the parties keep counsel that know any such offenders, so as they will say they repent the fact? Is that the tenor of God's law, or duty of a Christian man? I trow not. "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thine own son, daughter, or wife that is in thy bosom, or friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods; thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hear him; thine eye shall not pity him, nor shew mercy, nor keep him secret; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and then the hands of all the people." And so for all enormous sins against God and our neighbour, a concealer is a consenter and partaker of the wickedness committed. It is no piety, it is no charity, to be secret to malefactors and keep their counsel, when they dishonour God or damnify their brethren, although repentance follow. That may save the soul, if it be unfeigned, but that may not stay the just execution of God's or man's laws<sup>q</sup>. Again, what power have we to remit the wrongs that are offered to others? Our own injuries, if withal they be not public crimes against the laws of God, and the land where we live, we may forgive: other men's harms we may neither suffer nor smother. Since then Christ speaketh of such trespasses as each man must remit unto his brother upon repentance; it is evident he speaketh not of sins against God and our neighbours, hid from the multitude, and known to a few; but of such injuries as he that feeleth best knoweth, and may release, because they touch him alone, and no man else<sup>r</sup>. When we desire of God to be forgiven our debts, as we forgive our debtors, mean we the sins against others that we be privy to, or the sins against ourselves that we be parties unto? Is it silence that God requireth of us in this prayer, or patience? secrecy, or mercy? In secret sins we are but witnesses, in which case it is a sin to be silent; in private wrongs we be

<sup>q</sup> Thus in the Latin: "vincula laxentur, repagula perfringantur."

<sup>r</sup> The whole construction of this sentence is thus altered in the Latin: "Præterea cum Christus hic doceat Christianam clementiam et charitatem

mutuam cum fratribus fovere qui plane non sunt insanabiles et desperati, ut ex sequenti parabola liquet; magnam hic locus affinitatis habet cum illa Dominicæ precatonis parte," &c.

sufferers, under which burden it is a virtue to be patient. Lastly, this exposition overthroweth itself. For if thy brother "trespass against thee" in that sort, which they interpret, that is, if his sin be "known only to thee," and do not repent, how canst thou tell it the church? without proof the church must not believe nor regard thy speech, and proof thou hast none. One and the same person cannot be both accusant and deponent; and at the mouth of one witness, though his testimony were received, yet may no man be condemned. So that if the sin be secret to thee, how can it be told and justified to the church? If it may be proved to the church, how is it secret to thee alone? Our Saviour then had no such meaning that each man should conceal and forgive the sins that are done against God and his neighbour, so long as they be not notorious and public, but known only to some private persons; he rather enjoineth all men to remete the same measure unto others that God meteth unto them, and to forgive smaller injuries offered against them, as they are forgiven greater committed against God<sup>s</sup>. For that is thankworthy with God, not to be liberal in remitting other men's wrongs, nor to keep counsel with malefactors, but to pardon our brother that offendeth us, as we are pardoned when we offend our heavenly Father. 'This is it that Christ prescribeth in this place, that the scriptures so often iterate, and all the fathers with one consent subscribe unto.

But "charity covereth the multitude of sins," even as envy 1 Pet. iv. 8. doth blaze them abroad. Charity covereth all the sins that are committed against ourselves, by forgiving them, and refraineth the objecting and insulting at other men's sins after punishment or repentance, and hideth all the infirmities and oversights of our brethren, which our duty to God and our neighbour may endure; but it neither betrayeth the truth with silence, nor dispenseth with other men's harms, nor generally cloaketh, favoureth, or dissembleth any sin, be it never so secret, whereby the name of God is blasphemed, or the state of our neighbour endangered.

<sup>s</sup> Altered thus in Latin: "et quoniam decem millia talentum quæ solvendo non sumus, ab illo deleri petimus: centum denariorum nomen in illius gratiam dissolvere fratri ne gravemur."

- Matt. xviii. 17. "If he hear not (two admonitions), tell it the church: if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican." What is meant by *the church*, whether the church of Christ<sup>t</sup>, or the churches and assemblies of the Jews, that God ordained in that commonwealth to govern his people and determine their quarrels, this breedeth some question amongst divines; howbeit, the reasons are many and weighty that move me to think the church of Christ is not comprised in these words. First, this was a direction to the Jews, serving them for their present state and time; and then had Christ no church in Jewry to which they might complain, for he
- John xviii. 20. "ever preached in their synagogues and temple," whither all that would resorted, "and in secret said he nothing," much less did he gather and assemble churches apart from the rest of the Jews, to receive and consider the complaints of their brethren. Next, the matters of which they must complain were such as the church of Christ might not challenge to hear and determine. Private wrongs and offences betwixt man and man must be directed by laws and reformed by judgments, and consequently belong to the magistrate; the church of Christ hath no warrant to make laws or give judgment in civil and private trespasses. The Lord himself, when he was desired to make peace and end a strife about parting an inheritance, answered, "Man, who made me a judge or divider over you?" What he refused as no part of his calling, the pastors and elders of his church must not challenge as annexed to their vocation. "The scholar is not above his master;"
- Luke vi. 40. John xx. 21. "as his Father sent him, so sent he them," but not with a further or larger commission. Thirdly, that church is here spoken of which abhorred ethnicks as unclean persons, and shunned all society with publicans; but neither Christ nor his church did ever so; wherefore the church of Christ is not expressed by these words, "Let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican," for they never refused nor declined to converse with either.
- Luke iii. 12. "To the baptism of John came the publicans," and were received of him, and not willed by him to leave their calling, but to walk uprightly in it. Our Saviour accepted them to

<sup>t</sup> Added in the Latin: "nondum collectam et constitutam."



his company, and did not only eat with them, but was counted a "friend to publicans." Matthew the apostle was chosen <sup>Matt. xi.</sup> "sitting at the receipt of custom," Zaccheus a chief publican <sup>19.</sup> was "the child of Abraham," and the publican that prayed in <sup>Matt. ix. 9.</sup> the temple "was justified" before the Pharisee. Yea, the <sup>Luke xix.</sup> Lord saith of them, "Publicans shall go into the kingdom of <sup>9.</sup> heaven before (the scribes and elders that despised them.)" <sup>Luke xviii.</sup> The publicans then were members of Christ's church and inheritors of his kingdom; and therefore by flying and forsaking the fellowship of publicans, the church of Christ could not be described.

The Jews, you will say, to whom Christ spake, made that account of them, and as they were cast out of the Jews' synagogues, so doth Christ will disobedient and impenitent sinners to be used in his church, that is, to be separated and excluded from the number of the faithful. What account soever the perfidious and presumptuous Pharisees made of them, Christ and his disciples, which were also Jews, had as great regard of them as of the rest; yea, so far was he from allowing it in the Jews and proposing it to his church, that by his life and doctrine, as I have shewed, he openly disliked and dissuaded the contempt which the priests and people had of the publicans.

As for ethnicks and gentiles, though they were strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, when as yet they knew no God; yet never were they persons excommunicate, and since the appearing of our Saviour in flesh, through his mercy vouchsafed to be partakers of his promises, and the true members of his catholic church. So that this can be no rule for Christ's church to measure persons excommunicate by gentiles and publicans, since amongst the Jews publicans believed and entered the kingdom of God, and after the rejection of that nation, the church of Christ consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of gentiles and ethnicks. This then cannot be the true intent and purpose of our Saviour in that place, to authorize his church upon private quarrels between man and man to excommunicate, if her verdict be not obeyed. Where

" Added in the Latin: "Certe a bantur ut ex illa" [Luc. xviii.] "Christi templo et precibus publicani non arce- parabola manifeste colligere liceat."



Isa. i. 17.  
Ps. lxxxiii.  
3.

there is a Christian magistrate, the church may not claim or presume to decide such matters by public audience and sentence, without encroaching on the prince's sword and sceptre, whose right and charge it is "to relieve the oppressed, to judge the fatherless and defend the widow, and to execute judgment and justice," as well in private wrongs and injuries as in public crimes and enormities.

1 Cor. vi. 1. But Paul reproveth some of Corinth, for "going to law under the unjust (magistrates), and not rather under the saints (though private persons)." Paul did not debar the magistrates that were infidels of their jurisdiction, nor create new judges for civil offences in the church; it was beyond his calling and commission to do either of them: but perceiving that Christians pursued each other for private quarrels before unbelievers, to the shame of the church and slander of the gospel; he saith, they were better suffer wrong and loss in earthly things, than expose the doctrine of Christ to be derided of his and their enemies. And to appease their brabbles and end their strifes if they were so contentious, he willeth them to choose, if not the wisest, yet the worst and least esteemed in the church to arbitrate their causes, rather than to lay themselves and their whole profession open to the mocks and taunts of heathen and profane judges. To preserve peace and love in the church, the godly might then and may now mediate between brethren, as friends and well-willers to both parties, and likewise debate and conclude their cases, as arbiters chosen by consent of either side; but they may not interpose themselves as judges authorized by Christ to excommunicate all that will not hear them in private griefs and civil suits, that were to take the sword, which is not given them, and to thrust themselves by this pretence into prince's places, which neither Christ prescribed, nor Paul imagined, nor the church assumed.

And yet was here given unto Paul a just occasion to repeat and renew that order, if Christ had ordained any such in his church. For the Christians trespassed one another, and Paul by no means permitted them to pursue their brethren at the tribunals of infidels. What saith he then? doth he will them to tell the church; and if the wrong-doer hear not

the church, to account him as an ethnicks and publican? If Christ provided this as a redress for private wrongs and offences in his church, shall we think the apostle durst alter his Master's order, and abrogate the course that Christ laid down to pacify contentions in his church? No doubt he would rather have recalled them to it, than averted them from it. What doeth he now? "If ye have judgments," saith he, "for 1 Cor. vi. 4. things touching this life," (tell the pastor and *presbytery*? No, but) "set up (or, choose out) the worst in the church," and make them judges of your causes and quarrels. Then certainly our Saviour never meant the faithful should for private trespasses complain to the pastor and elders of every parish, and they should have power sufficient to hear and determine all such matters as were so offered unto them, and to excommunicate those that would not stand to their sentence and judgment.

What then is the meaning of our Saviour's words? Whatever it be, this it cannot be, to authorize the church to intermeddle with matters pertaining to the magistrate, and to exclude them all from the society and communion of the sacraments and saints, that obey not her resolution in civil and private trespasses. Yet lest I should return a text without any interpretation, though the sense seem hard to hit, by reason the state of the Jewish church is not so well known in our days as when our Saviour spake the words, I will not refuse to set down what I think; if any bring better, I am ready to learn.

We must first conceive that in the time of our Saviour and a little before his birth, the Romans had taken the sceptre and sovereignty from the Jews, as Jacob prophesied should Gen. xlix. come to pass in the days of the Messiah; leaving them in <sup>10</sup> private suits between man and man, and in smaller cases of correction, that kind of regiment and form of laws which God by Moses ordained; and excepting from their laws and tribunals all strangers that were amongst them or had any thing to do with them, (whom the Jews called ethnicks, and abhorred as profane persons,) and likewise publicans, that is, such of the Jews as did any service to the Romans in collecting and answering the tributes, taxes, and tolls due to the Roman

empire, whom the Jews pursued with greater dislike and despite than they did strangers, for keeping company with the heathen, and serving their turns against their own nation. Both these sorts of men, as well publicans as strangers, for the detestation and hatred the Jews had of them, were exempted from the laws and judgments of the Jews, and if any man had aught against them, he must convent them before the Roman president, and not in any court of the Jews, nor before any magistrate of the Jewish profession. The like liberty was left to any Jew that would appeal to the Roman governor, or impeach and molest his brother in any of the Roman consistories. For though the Jews in many things were left to their country laws, yet were the Roman courts amongst them so privileged, that who would might have recourse thither, and there recover his right, or redress the wrong offered him.

In this confusion of the Jews' estate, lately begun and every day increasing, our Lord and Master living, directeth the people what way they shall take, neither to break the law of God which Moses gave them, nor to impugn the Roman empire which then governed them. In their private quarrels and actions therefore he proposeth three degrees of proceeding: first, the rule of charity; next, the order of Moses' policy; lastly, the help of the Roman sovereignty. "If thy brother trespass thee, tell him privately" of the wrong offered thee; "if he regard not thy voice, take one or two with thee," that may be men indifferent betwixt you. This the rule of charity requireth, in secret and friendly manner; yea, by the mediation of well-willers and neighbours, to compose all private quarrels as much as in us lieth. If this take not place, "tell it unto the church," that is, unto the assembly and governors that are in thy city. For every city by God's law was to have her "judges and magistrates," there "to judge the people with righteous judgment." And their manner was to sit in the gates of their cities, whither the whole multitude did assemble unto them; not only to hear and see what they did, but in weighty matters to join with them and give their consents. Our Saviour then meaneth, that if charitable and brotherly admonitions be neglected, they should seek their

remedy from the judges and elders of their cities, as by God's law the Jews were directed and permitted to do.

"Tell it unto the church" then, is as much as, Tell it (not unto the church of Christ, which as yet was not severed from the Jews nor assembled together, and therefore had then neither places nor persons specified or authorized for that purpose, but) unto that council of magistrates, which God by Moses commanded to have the hearing and ending of those causes. For Christ by this precept doth not establish new judges, nor erect new consistories, but referreth the people to God's ordinance, expressed in the law of Moses, and already received and used in that commonwealth: thereby meaning, that if the doers of wrong to their brethren would not be reformed by private and friendly admonition and intercession, the parties grieved might with good conscience ask the aid and assistance of those magistrates, whom God had appointed over them to compel and force the trespassers to surcease their injurious dealings.

If it seem strange to any man that the word *ecclesia* should be taken here, not for the church of Christ, as we commonly use it, but for the assembly of any place or city, where the rulers and commons, be they Christians or infidels, are gathered together to consult or determine as well of civil causes as of religion; besides that the Septuagint do often use the word ἐκκλησία for any kind of meeting, as, ἐμίσησα ἐκκλησίαν τῶν πονηρευομένων, "I have hated the assembly of Ps. xxvi. 5. the wicked;" and again, "I was almost overwhelmed with all Prov. v. 14. evil" ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ συναγωγῆς, "in the midst of the church and synagogue:" St. Luke in Acts xix. useth the word Acts xix. in that sort thrice in one chapter. Beza, a man of great 32. 39. 41. learning, and one whom none can mistrust as not addicted enough unto discipline, writing on this place, saith<sup>x</sup>, "We must note, they are foully deceived, which would conclude out of this place, that the hearing of all matters must be referred to the assembly of the whole multitude. The name

<sup>x</sup> Theodor. Beza Annotat. in Evangel. secundum Matthæum cap. xviii. [Ed. Cantab. 1642. Not. in v. 17. p. 62. "Sed notandum est turpiter errare qui ex hoc loco confici volunt, de singulis

rebus referendum esse ad totius multitudinis cœtum. Aiunt enim *ecclesiæ* nomen nusquam aliter accipi: quod vel ex hoc ipso loco falsum esse convincitur. Nam certe tanquam de Judæis hæc dici



of *the church* say they is never otherwise used; which even out of this place is proved to be false. For surely it appeareth, that this is spoken as it were of the Jews, by that which is added, ‘Let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican.’ Now, that judgments amongst the Jews were exercised by the elders, and that their manner was not ever to assemble the whole multitude, all the writers of those matters do witness. And truly unless Christ had fitted all this speech unto the use that was in his time, who could have understood him what he said? It is lastly to be observed, that in this one place of all the New Testament the name of *the church* is spoken of the Jews.”

The words which follow, “If he hear not *the church*, let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican,” must import either the punishing his obstinacy which obeyed not the judgment of the rulers and magistrates that were of the Jews, or a further pursuing him before others that had more power to repress such insolency. If they express any punishment for his wilfulness, that must proceed either publicly from the judges, or privately from the plaintiff. The punishment of him that disobeyed the magistrate, by God’s law was death; that Christ would not alter. For he came not to change the civil government, or qualify the judicial punishments of Moses’ law, but to lead them the way to the celestial and eternal kingdom of God. The chief rulers and governors of the Jews, being his capital adversaries, and not acknowledging his authority, would never respect his counsel nor commandment. The words themselves have reference to a particular person, “Let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican.” Christ therefore in these words decreed no public punishment.

As for private revenge, he was far from liking it, and further from teaching it. False prophets we must beware,

Deut. xvii.  
12.

Matt. vii.  
15.

apparet saltem ex eo quod addit, ‘Sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.’ Sed judicia de his rebus penes seniores fuisse apud Judæos, nec semper cogi consuevisse totum populi cœtum, omnes illarum rerum scriptores testantur; et certe nisi Christus ad suorum temporum consuetudinem totum hunc sermonem

accommodasset, quis eum loquentem intellexisset? . . . . . Postremo observandum est, *ecclesiæ* nomen hoc uno loco totius Novi Testamenti de Judæis dici: [quorum alioqui generales cœtus solent synagogæ peculiari nomine vocari.”]



and with notorious wicked persons we must not keep company; but private injuries we must rather suffer with patience, than resist with violence, or requite with disdain. "Resist Matt. v. 39. not evil," saith Christ to all his disciples; "but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any will sue thee at the law to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." Then may we not reject and detest our brother that doth us wrong, as the Jews did an ethnick and publican. The mind that must quietly bear wrong once, twice, and oftener if need be, must not abhor and shun the person of his brother that wrongeth him as profane. It resteth then, that our Saviour in these words did permit the party oppressed to seek further remedy, when neither charity nor equity could prevail with the oppressor; and that was to do as they did to strangers and publicans, which was to convent him before the Roman magistrate, who had power to force him that did wrong to abide the judgment that should be given<sup>y</sup>. And so I suppose the words may be taken, "Let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican," that is, pursue him in those courts where thou wouldst a pagan and publican that should do thee wrong.

If any man like not to understand those words of a further pursuit before the magistrate, he may refer them to a private forsaking of all company with the wrong-doer until he reform himself. "Let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican;" that is, shun such wilful oppressors as much as thou dost pagans and publicans, but without bitterness of mind, or breach of patience. And so St. Augustine sometimes expoundeth them: "'If he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnick and publican;' that is<sup>z</sup>, account him no longer in the number of thy brethren, and yet neglect not his salvation. So the Lord warneth, when he by and by addeth,

<sup>y</sup> Thus in the Latin: "vinculis, exiliis, et capitis supplicio posset cogere."

<sup>z</sup> August. de Verbis Domini sermo xvi. [tom. 10. p. 70. Basileæ 1543. "Si nec ipsos audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus." Noli illum deputare jam in numero fratrum tuorum, nec ideo tamen salus ejus negligenda est. . . . . Hoc ergo audimus Dominum ita monentem, et tanta cura præ-

cipientem, ut etiam hoc adderet continuo, 'Amen dico vobis, Quæcunque ligaveritis super terram, ligata erunt et in cælo.' . . . . Cœpisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum, ligas illum in terra. . . . . Cum autem correxeris, et concordaveris cum fratre tuo, solvisti illum in terra. Cum solveris in terra, solutus erit et in cælo."]

‘ Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.’ Thou beginnest to account thy brother as a publican, thou dost bind him on earth. When thou dost correct and make agreement with thy brother, thou hast loosed him on earth; and when thou loosest him on earth, he shall be loosed in heaven.” Which of these twain be preferred I force not, so the first be not impugned as disagreeing from the text.

Some think our Saviour would not prescribe how the Jews should proceed in their private suits and quarrels; that care belonging rather to counsellors at the law, than to preachers of the word. Others see no use nor end of the words which immediately follow, “ Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever you bind or loose in earth, shall be bound and loosed in heaven,” unless it be to teach men to take heed how they incur the danger of excommunication, by disobeying the church; and then the words next before, “ Let him be to thee as an ethnack and publican,” must needs authorize the church to excommunicate such as persist in their wickedness. To the first I say, our Saviour might well direct them in any thing that concerned their duty to God or their neighbours, and this touched both. To the next I answer, the words which follow confirm not so much the latter as the former part of the sentence precedent. For as there is no doubt but God will confirm the judgment of the whole church justly given, so the Lord in this place affirmeth, that the consent of any two meeting and agreeing in his name (which is according to his will) shall be

Matt. xviii. 18. ratified in heaven. “ Verily I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree in earth upon any thing, whatsoever they shall desire, it shall be performed unto them of my Father which is in heaven.” And therefore not only the judgment of the church, but the reprehension and admonition of our meanest brother offended and injured by us must be regarded and revered, forsomuch as the Lord on high heareth the desires, and granteth the prayers of any two joining together for the glory of his name and good of each other; and in their own debts and trespasses, private persons have more right to bind and loose their oppressors before God, than either the pastors or presbyters.

Matt. xviii. 19.

This then I take to be the meaning of the words next ensuing; that though such as wrongfully oppress their brethren make light account of all warnings privately given them by the parties offended, and nothing regard the judgment of the magistrate, if by any pretence or appeal they conceive hope to bolster out the matter or weary the plaintiff in a higher court: yet our Lord and Master assureth them, that howsoever they can maintain and countenance the wrongs which they offer by corrupt means before men, they shall not so escape the hands of God. The just grief of any brother injured by them, and privately warning them, shall hold them guilty before God, much more shall the upright sentence of a magistrate be ratified and revenged from heaven.

It may be some will urge these words of our Saviour, "If he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnicks and publican," for the lawful use and force of excommunication, and the rather, because the ancient writers lean very much that way, from whose authority they think it not good to depart. I will not dispossess them of their desire, so as they take the full intent and purpose of the catholic fathers, and not distrust here and there a word to serve a turn against the author's meaning; for I rest secure, that no ancient father ever made the government of Christ's church answerable to the Jews' synedion, nor mixed lay elders with pastors in exercising the power of the keys, given to the apostles and their successors. Chrysostom: "Whatsoever you shall bind in earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose in earth shall be loosed in heaven. Earthly princes have power to bind, but only the body. This band of the priests which I speak of toucheth the soul itself, and reacheth even unto heaven; insomuch that whatsoever the priests below shall do, God doth ratify the same above; and the Lord confirmeth the judgments of his servants." Ambrose: "The church yieldeth her obedience in both, as well to

a Chrysostom. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii.  
[Ὅσα ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδε-  
μένα καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. καὶ ὅσα ἂν λύ-  
σητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τῷ  
οὐρανῷ. ἔχουσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ κρατοῦν-  
τες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐξουσίαν,

ἀλλὰ σωμάτων μόνον· οὗτος δὲ ὁ δεσμὸς  
αὐτῆς ἅπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διαβαίνει  
τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· καὶ ἅπερ ἂν ἐργάσωνται  
κάτω οἱ ἱερεῖς ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς ἄνω κυροῖ,  
καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων γνῶμην ὁ δεσπότης  
βεβαιοῖ.]

loose as to bind sin ; for the Lord would there should be the like right to loose and to bind, who permitted both with like condition. Then he that hath no right to loose, hath no right to bind ; how can the one be lawful, and not the other ? It is certain, the church may do both : this right is permitted only to priests. Justly therefore doth the church, which hath true priests, challenge it<sup>b</sup>." And so Hierome : " Because he said, ' If he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnich and publican ;' and this might be the privy answer or secret thought of the contemner : If thou despise me, I despise thee ; if thou condemn me, thou shalt be condemned likewise by me : (Christ) giveth power to (his) apostles that they should know man's judgment to be ratified by God's, and whatsoever is bound in earth, to be also bound in heaven<sup>c</sup>." And Hilary : " (Christ,) to strike the greatest terror, setteth down the unmovable judgment of the apostolic severity : that whom they bound in earth, that is, left snarled in the knots of sin, and whom they loosed, that is, upon asking pardon received unto salvation, those according to the condition of the apostles' sentence should likewise be bound or loosed in heaven<sup>d</sup>."

I conclude then, there can be no proportion nor imitation neither of the higher nor of the meaner synedrion amongst the Jews expected or admitted in the church of Christ : and as for the words of Christ in Matthew xviii. whereon some new writers build the foundation of their lay-presbytery, they

<sup>b</sup> Ambros. de Pœnitentia, lib. i. cap. 2. [p. 153. Basileæ, 1555. " Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam, ut peccatum et alliget et relaxet. . . . Dominus enim par jus et solvendi esse voluit et ligandi, qui utrumque pari conditione permisit. Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet. . . . Quinodo igitur potest alterum licere, alterum non licere ? . . . certum est ecclesiæ utrumque licere. . . . Jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc ecclesia vindicat, quæ veros sacerdotes habet." ]

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. in Matth. cap. xviii. [" Quia dixerat, ' Si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnich et publicanus ;' et poterat contemtoris fratris hæc occulta esse responsio, vel ta-

cita cogitatio : Si me despicias, et ego te despicio : si tu me condemnas, et mea sententia condemnaberis : potestatem tribuit apostolis ut sciant qui a talibus condemnantur humanam sententiam divinæ sententia roborari, et quodcumque ligatum fuerit in terra ligari pariter in cœlo." ]

<sup>d</sup> Hilar. in Matth. can. xviii. [Ed. Paris. 1652. p. 581. " Ad terrorem autem metus maximi. . . immobile severitatis apostolicæ judicium præmisit : ut quos in terris ligaverint, id est, peccatorum nodis innexos reliquerint ; et quos solverint, confessione videlicet veniæ, receperint in salutem : hi apostolicæ conditione sententiæ in cœlis quoque absoluti sint aut ligati." ]

be free and far from any such construction or conclusion; and the catholic fathers expounding that place, be further from the mention or motion of any such regiment.

## CHAP. V.

*The apostolical preeminence and authority before and after Christ's ascension.*

**A**LBEIT the Son of God assembled no churches whiles he lived on earth, nor settled the Jews' synedrion to remain amongst the faithful, for aught that we find by the sacred scriptures; yet lest the house of God should be unfinished, and his harvest ungathered, in his own person whiles he walked here, he called and authorized from and above the rest, certain workmen and stewards to take the chief charge, care, and oversight, after his departure, of God's building and husbandry; for which cause he made, when as yet he was conversant with men, a plain distinction betwixt his disciples; choosing twelve of them to be his apostles, and "appointing Luke vi. 13. other seventy to go before him into every city and place x. 1. whither he should come," and to preach the kingdom of God; giving those <sup>e</sup> twelve larger commission, perfecter instruction, higher authority, and greater gifts of his Holy Spirit than the rest of his disciples, which he made labourers also in his harvest, and messengers of his kingdom.

The twelve, not the seventy, were the continual and domestical hearers of all his sermons and beholders of all his wonders, as chosen to witness his doctrine, doings, and suffer-

<sup>e</sup> ["giving those," &c. Thus amplified L. "Illos duodecim ampliore delegatione, majori autoritate, potioribus Spiritus sancti donis cumulatōs, mandatis omnibus perfectissime instruxit: hos vero septuaginta, licet in eadem messe operarios, et ejusdem Evangelii nuncios, nec tanta potestate, nec tantis donis excellere voluit." Nam illi, non isti, quasi perpetui quidam comites et domestici sectatores omnes illius sermones audiebant, omnium ope-

rum spectatores aderant assidui, utpote delecti qui ipsius doctrinæ miraculorum, afflictionum, mortis, et resurrectionis universo mundo certissimi et locupletissimi testes essent futuri. Illi, non alii ad mensam assidebant, in qua postremam illam et cœlestem cœnam instituit; et soli sacras illas preces quas tunc fudit; consolationes illas dulcissimas quas tunc adhibuit, augustissima illa promissa, quæ tunc facit, auribus acceperunt."]



ings to the world; the twelve, and no more, were present when he did institute his last supper, and they alone heard and had those heavenly prayers and promises which then he made.

Matt.  
xxviii. 16.  
19.

To the eleven apart from the rest was given in mount Olivet the commission "to teach all nations;" and look how God sent his Son, so sent he them as apostles, that is, ambassadors from his side, not only to preach the truth and plant the church throughout the world, but in his name to command those that believed in all cases of faith and good manners: to set an order amongst them in all things needful for the government, continuance, peace, and unity of the church; sharply to rebuke, and reject from the society of the faithful such as resisted or disobeyed; to commit the churches to sound and sincere teachers and overseers; to stop the mouths of those that taught things they should not, for filthy lucre's sake; and to deliver them to Satan that persisted in their impieties or blasphemies.

As for the gifts of God's Spirit, they were so great in his apostles, that they both preaching and writing delivered infallible truth to the churches of God, and that "in all languages" of the world, and even the "shadows" and the "napkins that had touched their bodies" did "heal the sick, and cast out devils;" and these miraculous workings of the Holy Ghost not only themselves had in greater measure than any others, but they gave them unto others "by laying their hands on them." When Philip had converted and baptized the people of Samaria in the name of the Lord Jesus, yet none of them received the gifts of the Holy Ghost, until two of the apostles "came down to them, prayed for them, and laid hands on them," and then "was the Holy Ghost given them through laying on of the apostles' hands." Philip, though he preached and baptized the believers as well as the apostles did, yet could he not bestow on them the gifts of the Holy Ghost; that was referred to the apostles, as to persons of an higher calling in the church of Christ than Philip was; and yet was he one of the seven deacons, and also an evangelist, as St. Luke witnesseth; and well appeareth by his dispensing the word and sacraments<sup>ee</sup>. When Paul laid his

Acts ii. 4.  
Acts v. 15.  
Acts xix.  
12.

Acts viii.  
15, 17, 18.

Acts xxi. 8.

<sup>ee</sup> "and yet was he" to "sacraments" omitted L.

hands on the twelve disciples at Ephesus, they straightway “spake with (divers) tongues and prophesied.”

Acts xix. 6.

So that our Saviour, as well living on earth as ascending on high, kept a difference betwixt his apostles and the rest of his disciples, (that were preachers,) both in having them always with him, the better to acquaint them with the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; and in leaving unto them at his departure the converting and instructing of all nations; and in pouring on them after his ascension a greater abundance of his Holy Spirit than on the rest, for the better execution of the charge committed unto them.

For the plainer proof whereof, we may remember, that when our Lord and Master elected twelve apostles to be with him, and other seventy disciples to go before him at the first gathering of his church, he did imitate the choice which God made in the wilderness of “twelve chief princes,” and “se-<sup>Num. i. 5-</sup>venty elders,” to guide and govern the people of Israel; by <sup>16. xi. 16.</sup>their two several numbers distinguishing their two several degrees<sup>f</sup>; and when Judas by transgression fell from his apostleship, another was taken out of the seventy to supply his room, which needed not, if the seventy had had before equal place and calling with the apostles. Jerome saith, “He that is promoted, is promoted from the less to the greater<sup>g</sup>.” Now that Judas’s successor was taken out of the seventy, and not out of the laity, appeareth by this, that every apostle was to have his calling from Christ<sup>h</sup> as the seventy had, and not from men; and on Matthias the apostles imposed no hands, which argued that he was called before by Christ himself amongst the seventy. And so saith Jerome: “Matthias being one of the seventy, was chosen into the order of the eleven, in the place of Judas the traitor<sup>i</sup>.” And Epiphanius: “Christ sent seventy-two to preach, of whose number was Matthias, which

<sup>f</sup> Added L.: “ex qua diversitate tam numeri quam gradus, apparet non eandem omnibus nec in populo Dei, nec in ecclesia Christi gubernatoribus fuisse dignitatem.”

<sup>g</sup> Hieronymus Evagrio. [t. ii. p. 329. “Qui provehitur, de minori ad majus provehitur.”]

<sup>h</sup> Thus L.: “ipsius Christi voce ἀμέσως vocari.”

<sup>i</sup> Hieronym. Catal. Scriptor. Eccl. [t. i. 265. “Matthias cum unus esset e numero septuaginta, allectus est in ordinem undecim apostolorum in locum Judæ Iscariotæ, qui fuit proditor.”]

in Judas's place was numbered amongst the apostles<sup>k</sup>." Eusebius also confirmeth the same report: that "Matthias, which was chosen to be an apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, had (before that) the calling of one of the seventy<sup>l</sup>."

Paul, numbering the diversities of gifts and administrations in the church, saith, "God hath ordained in the church, first, apostles; next, prophets; thirdly, teachers;" then "those that do miracles;" after that, "the gifts of healing, helping, governing, &c.; reckoning the apostles first, not in order only, but in excellency also, as appeareth by his similitude of man's body, whose parts are some "comelier," some "feebler;" and his comparison of spiritual gifts, whereof some be more excellent, and some of less regard and account in the church of Christ. And so Chrysostom well observeth: "Because some did mightily swell with the gift of tongues, he placeth that last of all; for first and second are not used here for tale's sake, but he noteth what is higher in degree, and what is lower. Wherefore he set the apostles before, as those that were endued with all sorts of gifts. He saith not, God hath placed some to be apostles, some to be prophets; but he saith, in the first place, in the second, in the third<sup>m</sup>." And Ambrose: "The chief in the church he placeth the apostles, which are Christ's ambassadors<sup>n</sup>." Hierome, writing of the twelve fountains and seventy palm trees that the Israelites found in Elim, saith, "There is no doubt but the twelve apostles are hereby meant, from whose fountains the streams running along do water the dryness of the whole world. Near to these springs grew seventy palm trees, whom we understand to be the teachers of the second order, Luke the

<sup>k</sup> Epiphanius adversus Hæreses, in fine lib. i. [Ed. Paris. 1622. p. 50. 'Ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐβδομήκοντα δύο κηρύττειν, ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χήρων τεταγμένοι. . . . . πρὸ τούτων δὲ Ματθίας, ὃ ἀντὶ 'Ιούδα συμψηφισθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων.]

<sup>l</sup> Euseb. lib. i. cap. 12. et lib. ii. cap. 1. [Ματθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀντὶ 'Ιούδα τοῦ προδότου τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐγκαταλεγέντα — τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα κλήσεως ἡξίωσθαι κατέχει λόγος.]

<sup>m</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Cor. [cap. xii.] Hom. 32. [t. xi. p. 342. Ed. Paris.

1636. 'Ἐπειδὴν μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ ταῖς γλώτταις, ἔσχατον αὐτὸ τίθησι. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δεύτερον οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἰρηκεν, ἀλλὰ προτάττων τὸ προτιμότερον, καὶ τὸ καταδεέστερον δεικνύς. διὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους προῦθκεν, οἱ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἶχον τὰ χαρίσματα. καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, οὗς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀποστόλους ἁπλῶς ἢ προφήτας, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον τίθησι.]

<sup>n</sup> Ambros. 1 ad Cor. cap. xii. [t. iv. p. 279. "Caput itaque in ecclesia apostolos posuit, qui legati Christi sunt."]

evangelist witnessing, that there were twelve apostles, and seventy disciples of a lower degree, whom the Lord sent two and two before him<sup>o</sup>." And Augustine: "As when the sun riseth, it first shineth on the hills, and thence the light descendeth to the lowest places of the earth; so when Christ Jesus our Lord came, he first spread his beams on the height of the apostles, he first lightened the mountains, and so his light went down to the valleys of the earth<sup>p</sup>." "The palm trees," saith Theophilact, (alluding as Hierome doth to the twelve fountains and seventy palm trees in Elim,) "are these" (seventy disciples) "which are to be nourished and taught by the apostles; for though Christ also chose those" (seventy), "yet were they inferior to the twelve, and afterward their scholars and followers<sup>q</sup>." Which we may the rather believe, because Eusebius and Clemens long before testified, that "Christ delivered the (full) knowledge of himself to the apostles, and the apostles afterward to the seventy disciples<sup>r</sup>."

And that the apostles had a superior vocation above prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, and whomsoever in the church of God, and even the government and oversight of them, will soon appear, if we consider what Paul the apostle writeth of himself, and unto them, directing, appointing, and limiting as well prophets as evangelists (and therefore much more pastors and teachers) what to do, and how to be conversant in the church of God; what to refrain in themselves,

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. Epist. ad Fabiolam de xlii. mansionibus Israelitarum in deserto. Mans. 6. [tom. ii. p. 590. ed. Par. 1699. "Nec dubium quin de duodecim apostolis sermo sit, de quorum fontibus derivatæ aquæ, totius mundi siccitatem rigant. Juxta has aquas septuaginta creverunt palmæ, quos et ipsos secundi ordinis intelligimus præceptores, Luca evangelista testante duodecim fuisse. Apostolos et septuaginta discipulos minoris gradus, quos et binos ante se Dominus præmittebat."]

<sup>p</sup> August. in Psal. xxxv. [t. viii. p. 268. "Et quomodo quando oritur sol, prius luce montes illustrat, et inde lux ad humillima terrarum descendit: sic quando venit Dominus noster Jesus

Christus, prius radiavit in altitudinem apostolorum. Prius illustravit montes, et sic descendit lux ejus ad convellum terrarum."]

<sup>q</sup> Theophilact. in Lucam cap. x. [Φοίνικες δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκτρεφόμενοι καὶ διδασκόμενοι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξελέξατο, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑποδεέστεροι ἦσαν τῶν δώδεκα. καὶ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν, ὕστερον δὲ ἀκόλουθοι γέγονασιν.]

<sup>r</sup> Enseb. lib. ii. cap. i. [Ἰακώβω τῇ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνώσιν ὁ Κύριος. οὗτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς ἐβδόμηκοντα.]



and what to repress in others; in which cases we must not dare say or think the apostle presumed above his calling, or had a several commission from the rest of the apostles to do that he did; but in his doings and writings, we may perceive the height and strength of apostolic authority, so guided and tempered with the spirit of wisdom and humility, that it grieved or displeased none in the church, but such as did either swell with pride, diverted to fables, or troubled the church with their contentions.

- From an apostolic spirit and power proceeded these speeches that follow, and many such that may every where be observed in his epistles: “We charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother which walketh unorderly, and not after the rule” (or, direction) “which he received of us.” “We are persuaded of you in the Lord, that you do and will do those things which we charge you.” “Brethren, I commend you that you remember all mine, and hold fast the ordinances as I delivered them to you.” “Other things when I come I will set in order.” “Concerning the gathering for saints, as I have ordained in the churches of Galatia, so do you.” And redressing abuses both in pastors and prophets, he saith: “If any speak with tongues, (let it be) by two or three at most, and let one interpret: if there be none to interpret, let him keep silence in the church. The prophets, let them speak, two or three, and the rest judge. Your women, let them keep silence in the churches, and if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home. If any seem to be a prophet, or to have the Spirit, let him agnize the things that I write to be the commandments of the Lord.”
- And hearing of the “strife, envy, contentions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, discords,” and sundry other enormities that were at Corinth, not in the people alone, but even in such as came to preach the gospel amongst them, and undermined the apostle’s credit and authority with them, he saith: “The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down forts, and all height that lifteth itself against the knowledge of God; and having in readiness wherewith to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience
- 2 Thess. iii. 6. 4.  
1 Cor. xi. 27-29. 34, 35-37.  
1 Cor. xvi. 1.  
2 Cor. xii. 20.  
2 Cor. xi. 4.  
2 Cor. x. 4-6. 8.



is fulfilled. If I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given me for your edification, and not subversion, I should not be ashamed." "I write now being <sup>2</sup> Cor. xiii. absent to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all <sup>2, 3. 10.</sup> others, that if I come again, I will not spare, forso much as you seek experience of Christ that speaketh in me. I write these things being absent, lest when I am present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction."

Directing Timothy how to guide the church of Ephesus, he giveth him this instruction and this commission: "As I prayed <sup>1</sup> Tim. i. 3, thee to stay at Ephesus when I went to Macedonia, that thou <sup>4.</sup> mightest command certain not to preach any (strange or) other doctrine, and that they intend not to fables;" so "this charge I commit to thee, son Timotheus." "Hymeneus and Alexander <sup>1</sup> Tim. i. 20. I have delivered unto Satan, that they may be taught not to blaspheme." And expressing at large in the third chapter, how the bishops and deacons ought to be qualified before they be admitted, he addeth: "These things I write to thee, that if I <sup>1</sup> Tim. iii. tarry long, thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the <sup>15.</sup> house of God." "Refuse the younger widows; I will that <sup>1</sup> Tim. v. they marry and govern (their) household. Let not a widow <sup>11. 14.</sup> be chosen under the age of sixty." "Receive no accusation <sup>1</sup> Tim. v. against an elder, but under two or three witnesses; those <sup>19, 20. 22.</sup> that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear. Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins." And having delivered divers and sundry points of wholesome doctrine, godly life, and seemly government, too long to be here inserted, he authorizeth and requireth Timothy to see them performed in this sort: "These things command and <sup>1</sup> Tim. iv. teach; let no man despise thy youth." "I require thee <sup>11, 12.</sup> <sup>1</sup> Tim. v. 21. before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and his elect angels, that thou observe these things without prejudice or partiality." And in the very close of his epistle: "I charge <sup>1</sup> Tim. vi. thee before God and Jesus Christ, that thou keep these pre- <sup>13, 14.</sup> cepts without spot or reproof."

In like manner to Titus, another of his helpers and coadjutors in the gospel: "For this cause I left thee in Crete, to supply <sup>Tit. i. 5. 10.</sup> those things that want (or, rectify those things which remain), <sup>13, 14.</sup>

and to ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee. There are many vain talkers and deceivers of minds, whose mouths must be stopped, that subvert whole houses for filthy lucre's sake. Rebuke (the Cretians) sharply, that they may be sound in faith, and not take heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men." "These things speak and exhort, and reprove with all authority. Let no man despise thee." "Reject him that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition." By these and the like precepts, shewing himself every where to speak as Christ's ambassador<sup>s</sup>, and in matters of faith, good behaviour, and needful discipline, to be the apostle and teacher of the Gentiles; for in all these things, not only the people that were believers, but even the godly pastors, prophets, and evangelists perceiving his sincerity, and reverencing his authority, obeyed the apostle's voice, as "having the Spirit of Christ" given him for the perfect directing and guiding<sup>t</sup> of the church amongst the Gentiles.

1 Cor. vii.  
40.

Much more might be said to this effect, but by this it is evident that the apostles' function and calling was superior to all other degrees and offices of the church of Christ, were they deacons, doctors, and pastors, prophets or evangelists, or of the seventy disciples; and this their superiority was given them by Christ himself, whiles he lived on earth, and confirmed unto them by the mighty gifts and power of his holy Spirit after his ascending into the heavens, and acknowledged and honoured by all the faithful; so long as the apostles lived, none spurning at it or contradicting it, but such as drew disciples after them to reign over their brethren, or seduced the simple to serve their own bellies.

St. John noteth Diotrephes for not acknowledging his apostleship in this wise: "I wrote to the church; but Diotrephes, that loveth to be chiefest among them, receiveth us not: wherefore, when I come, I will declare his works which he doeth, prating against us with lewd words<sup>u</sup>." Far other-

<sup>s</sup> Added L.: "amplissima dignitate prædito."

<sup>t</sup> Thus L.: "plantaret, rigaret, doceret et instrueret quam perfectissime."

<sup>u</sup> Ep. Joan. iii. 9, 10. "Ἐγραψα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἀλλ' ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρεφῆς οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦτο,

ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖ, λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς· καὶ μὴ ἀρκοῦμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει.

wise were the godly pastors and teachers minded in the church of Christ, yielding with all submission unto the apostles, as unto the express messengers of God's will, and disposers of his mysteries, and putting a great difference betwixt the apostolic function and theirs, as Ignatius confesseth in his epistle to the Romans: "I prescribe (or, enjoin) nothing unto you as Peter and Paul did, they were the apostles of Jesus Christ, but I the least<sup>x</sup>." And again, "I command not as an apostle, but keep myself within my measure<sup>y</sup>." Whereof we need no further nor surer proof than this; that the whole church then, and ever since, did, and doth hold all the precepts, rules, orders, and admonitions of the apostles contained in their epistles for authentic oracles of the Holy Ghost, and parts of the canonical scripture; and they no doubt had the same authority speaking which they had writing, and consequently no pastor or teacher might then more resist or refuse the apostles' doctrine, decrees, or doings, than we may now their letters, sermons, or epistles<sup>z</sup>.

This prerogative, to be best acquainted with the will and meaning of our Saviour, and to have their mouths and pens directed and guided by the Holy Ghost into all truth, as well of doctrine as discipline, was so proper to the apostles, that no evangelist nor prophet in the New Testament came near it; and therefore the stories written by Mark and Luke were not admitted to be canonical in respect of the writers, but for that they were taken from the apostles' mouths, and by the apostles perused and confirmed as true and sincere. So saith Luke of Luke i. 2, 3. his own Gospel: "As they delivered unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word; as soon as I searched out perfectly from the first all things, it seemed good to me in order to write them." And those his writings, St. Paul saith, were ratified and received in all

<sup>x</sup> Ignatii Epist. ad Romanos. [Ed. Lond. 1680. p. 58. Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος.]  
<sup>y</sup> Ejusdem ad Trallianos Epist. [p. 158. Οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι,

ἀλλ' ἐμαντὸν μετρῶ, [ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσει ἀπόλωμαι.]

<sup>z</sup> Added L.: "ex quo in omnes et supra omnes eorum autoritas aperitissime concluditur."

2 Cor. viii.  
18.

churches: "I have sent the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches;" which could not have so generally been accepted with good liking, but that the apostles, who then governed and directed the churches, had first viewed and approved the same; else neither would the faithful have so esteemed it, nor St. Paul so commended it. The Gospel of Mark had the like approbation from Peter, as Jerome<sup>a</sup> and others do testify. "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, according as he had heard Peter make relation, wrote a short Gospel, being thereto desired by the brethren at Rome. The which Gospel when Peter heard, he allowed it, and by his authority published it, to be read of the church, as Clemens in his first book *Hypotypōseōn* writeth<sup>b</sup>."

Can any man doubt, reading the words of St. Paul which I have cited, but the apostles had in the church of Christ right to require and command, power to rebuke and revenge, authority to dispose and ordain in all such cases as touched the soundness of faith, sincereness of life, or seemliness of order amongst the faithful; and that in so doing they did not usurp upon their brethren, nor tyrannize over them, but were guided by God's Spirit, and obeyed as Christ's messengers and legates in every place where the truth was admitted? Neither did Paul resolve and conclude in such cases by number of voices, or assent of the presbytery; but, as himself speaketh<sup>bb</sup>: "So I teach in all churches:" "If an angel from heaven teach otherwise, hold him accursed:" "Some are puffed up, as if I would not come to you: but I will come to you shortly, by God's leave, and know, not the words, but the power of those that swell thus:" "If any man obey not our sayings, note him by a letter, and keep no company with him."

1 Cor. vii.

17.

Gal. i. 8.

1 Cor. iv.

18, 19.

2 Thes. iii.

14.

Under the apostles were a number of their disciples whom

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Marc. Præfatio. [t. ix. can. 87. "Marcus evangelista Dei, Petri discipulus Leviticus genere, et sacerdos in Italia hoc scripsit evangelium."]

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 15. Μάρκον . . . ἀκόλουθον ὄντα Πέτρου λιπαρήσαι ὡς ἂν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου

παράδοθεις αὐτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας . . . γνόντα δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον . . . κυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Κλήμης ἐν ἑκτῷ τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων παρατίθεται τὴν ἱστορίαν.

<sup>bb</sup> Thus L: "fulminantem audi-amus."

the apostles carried with them as companions of their journeys, and helpers of their labours; and whom, when they had perfectly trained, and thoroughly tried, they left any where behind them at their departure, or sent any whither in their absence to finish things imperfect, to redress things amiss, to withstand or prevent false prophets and seducers, to survey the state of the churches, and to keep them in that course which was first delivered by the apostles. These men, for their better instruction, served with the apostles, as children with their fathers. So Paul saith of Timothy: "Ye know the proof of him, that as a son with his father he hath served with me in the gospel." Touching these, the churches "had commandment if they came to receive them;" that is, to believe them and trust them as men sincerely minded and sent from the apostles: yea "to admit them with all gladness, and highly to esteem of them."

Philip. ii.

22.

Col. iv. 10.

Philip. ii.

29.

From their mouths (as perfectly understanding the apostles' doctrine, doings, and meaning, by reason of their continual society with them,) were other pastors of the church to be directed and instructed. "Persist thou," saith Paul to Timothy, "in those things which thou hast learned and are committed to thee, knowing of whom thou hast learned them." And "what things thou hast heard of me in the presence of many witnesses, the same deliver to faithful men, that they may be able to teach others." And again, "I have sent unto you Timotheus, which is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall put you in remembrance of my ways, as I teach every where in every church." These were charged by Paul "to require and command" the pastors and preachers to refrain from false doctrine, and "to stop their mouths" or "reject" them that did otherwise, "to ordain elders" according to the necessity of the places, and "receive accusations against them," and "sharply" and "openly to rebuke" them if they sinned, and that "with all authority." These things the apostle earnestly requireth, and before Christ and his elect angels, chargeth Timothie and Tite to do. It is then evident they might so do; for how vain and frivolous were all those protestations made by St. Paul, if Timothie and Tite had only voices amongst the rest, and nothing to do but as the rest?

2 Tim. iii.

14.

2 Tim. ii. 2.

1 Cor. iv.

17.

1 Tim. i. 3.

Tit. i. 11.

Tit. iii. 10.

Tit. i. 5. 13.

1 Tim. v.

19, 20.

Tit. ii. 15.



How far was the apostle overseen to adjure them, and not the whole presbytery, to keep his prescriptions inviolable, if the elders might every hour countermand them and overrule them by number of voices ?

Since then they were willed and consequently warranted by the apostles to “ordain, examine, rebuke,” and “reject” pastors and elders, as just occasion served, and equal over equal hath no power nor preeminence ; it is certain that as well the apostles authorizing, as their disciples authorized so to do, were superiors in the church of Christ to pastors and elders, and likewise that they might and did perform and execute the apostles’ rules and prescriptions, without expecting the consent of pastors or presbyteries ; and the churches of Christ knew they were bound to obey and be subject to them in those cases guided by the apostles’ mouths or letters, as well as if the apostles had been present, and that to resist them was to resist the order which the Holy Ghost had approved in governing the church.

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## CHAP. VI.

*What dominion and titles Christ interdicted his apostles.*

THE power and prerogative of the apostles above evangelists, prophets, pastors, doctors, and all others in the church, would the sooner be granted were it not that certain places in holy scripture seem repugnant to it ; as where

Luke xxii.

24-26.

Matt. xx.

25-27.

Acts vi. 2, 3.

Acts xv. 4.

22.

1 Tim. iv.

14.

1 Cor. v. 4.

Christ forbade his apostles all dominion over their brethren ; and the apostles in electing to offices, assembling in council to determine of faith, imposing of hands, and putting the wicked out of the church, seemed not to challenge all to themselves, but to associate others with them, as if the right thereof appertained so well to the church and presbytery as to the apostles ; which particular actions cause many men to think, that alone the apostles could not execute these things, but jointly with others. It shall therefore not be amiss to consider the places.

In the contention amongst the disciples for superiority, we must observe the occasion of their strife, and the affection of the strivers. The occasion was ministered by James and John, the sons of Zebedee, who by their mother importuned Christ, that in his kingdom her sons might be the chiefest men about him, and sit the one at his right hand, the Matt. xx. other at his left. These two dreamed, as the rest of the Jews,<sup>21.</sup> and also the other apostles did, (whiles they were weak, until they were endued with the power of the Holy Ghost from heaven,) that the Messias should "restore the" (temporal) Acts i. 6. "kingdom to Israel;" and sit as an earthly prince in great glory on the throne of David his father, and rule all nations with a rod of iron, receiving of them subjection, service, and tribute as other princes used; and whatsoever the prophets foretold of the wonderful plenty, tranquillity, and excellency of the kingdom of Christ, these two "not savouring" (as yet) Matt. xvi. "the things that were God's," nor "understanding any thing"<sup>23.</sup> of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, applied to fit their earthly Luke xviii. desires, and hoped for great promotions by serving their Master, and looked to bear rule and to be chief men about him, when he came to his glory. The other ten being deceived with the same error, and carried with the like hope, though not expressed in so ambitious manner, "disdained the Matt. xx. two brethren," and the nearer their Master drew towards<sup>24.</sup> his death, the sharper grew the strife amongst them who should be greatest and chiefest about him when he came to his kingdom, which they supposed should be earthly.

This vain expectation and contention of his disciples the Lord utterly suppresseth at his last supper, (for there the strife revived,) by assuring them that his kingdom was no Luke xxii. worldly kingdom, and therefore they might not look to be<sup>24-26.</sup> great commanders and rulers over others; for so his words import: "Princes of the Gentiles bear rule (over them), and Matt. xx. great states exercise authority on them; with you it shall not<sup>25.</sup> be so;" that is, You shall not have any such rule or dominion as they have. He doth not say, You shall have no prerogative nor preeminence above others, but, You shall have "no such," or, "It shall not be so with you" as it is with them. By this all civil jurisdiction, and power of the sword to command,

compel, and punish by loss of life, limb, or liberty, is secluded from the minister's function, and reserved to the magistrate's; but Christ never meant by those words to bar all degrees and diversities of gifts and administrations in his church; he rather expresseth the contrary even in the same place. "Ye are they," saith he to his apostles, "which have continued with me in my tentations; and I" (for recompense) "appoint you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me, that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

Luke xxii.  
28-30.

And not depriving them of that honour which he had, or would bestow on them to be chief in his kingdom, but instructing them how to use it without offending God, or grieving their brethren, he addeth: "He that is greatest amongst you, let him be as the least; and he that is chiefest, as he that serveth." In which words the Lord noteth a manifest distinction amongst his, of some greater, some less; some chiefer, some lower; and chargeth his apostles to use that greatness and authority which they had in such sort, that thereby they should serve even the meanest of their brethren to do them good, and "become all things to all men that they might win some." This he taught them that very time, not in words only, but by deeds also; for having washed their feet, and wiped them dry, he saith unto them, "Understand you what I have done to you? you call me Master, and Lord: and you say well; for I am so. Then if I your Lord and Master have washed your feet, you ought to wash one another's feet. I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, you should also do the like." They should be so far from striving who should be greatest, that even the greatest and chiefest should strive to prevent the lowest and meanest with honour and service, after the example of their Master.

Luke xxii.  
26.

1 Cor. ix.  
22.

John xiii.  
12-15.

These texts then confirm two special doctrines unto us. The first, that apostles and preachers may not challenge by virtue of their office, any compulsive dominion or violent jurisdiction over their brethren, but leave that to princes. The next, the greater our calling is in Christ's church, the readier we should be to make ourselves even with those of the lowest degree, to gain them thereby; but that Christ intended in

those places to give all sorts of ministers and helpers in his church equal power and authority with his apostles, I am not persuaded, and that for these causes. What Christ had already given, or after meant to give to his apostles, he would never cross with any speech of his. The Son of God cannot repent his fact, or alter his mind; but the same kingdom that was appointed to him he appointed to them, and “as his Father sent him, so sent he them” into all the world with a larger warrant from his mouth, and greater power and wisdom of his Holy Spirit, to teach all nations what he commanded them, and to open all the counsel of God unto them, than was given to other teachers and helpers in the church. He therefore never recalled nor rebated any part of their apostolic preeminence above others; but only taught them to use it to God’s glory, and the edifying of his church.

Again, what Christ had prohibited, no apostle guided by his Spirit would ever have used or challenged: but Paul in his writings both challengeth and useth an apostolical power and preeminence above other pastors and teachers in the church, as is already declared: it was therefore never intended by our Saviour to make all others equal with his apostles in the direction and regiment of his church. Lastly, if those places did conclude any thing for an equality, that must be referred to the apostles amongst themselves, to whom Christ gave equal power and honour<sup>c</sup>, as Cyprian noteth of them: “The apostles were endued with like fellowship of honour and power<sup>d</sup>.” And Jerome<sup>e</sup>: “All (the apostles) received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the church is equally grounded on them<sup>f</sup>.”

But Paul, speaking of himself, saith, “not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy;” and Peter admonisheth all pastors “to feed the flock of God, not

<sup>c</sup> Added L.: “Non est ad ceteros extendendum, qui dignitate, et potestate ab apostolis superantur.”

<sup>d</sup> Cypriani de Unitate Ecclesiæ Tract. [t. ii. p. 107. edit. Oxon. 1682. “Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.”]

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. lib. i. adversus Jovinianum. [t. i. p. 35. “At dicis, super

Petrum fundatur ecclesia licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant; et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur.”]

<sup>f</sup> Added L.: “non igitur si apostoli gradu et autoritate inter se fuerunt æquales, idcirco pastores ac doctores pari cum illis jure censebuntur.”]

Luke xxii.  
29.  
John xx. 21.

as if they were lords over (Christ's) inheritance, but as examples to the flock." He that is called to be a bishop, is called not to the sovereignty, but to the service of the whole church<sup>g</sup>. Let the bishops understand they are priests, not lords (or, masters)<sup>h</sup>. The pattern for the apostles themselves is this: Dominion is interdicted, a ministration is enjoined<sup>i</sup>.

These and such like speeches in the scriptures and fathers, do neither prove all ministers to have equal power and honour with the apostles, nor impugn the regiment which the pastors have over their flocks; but as we learned before by the words of our Saviour, they distinguish between pastoral and princely regiment, and direct both apostles and pastors how they shall govern. The thing so much prohibited by Christ and his apostles, whose words the ancient fathers do follow, is, that preachers and pastors should *κυριεύειν*, behave or think themselves to be lords and masters over their brethren. What word is opposed to *κύριος* in the scriptures, and wherein consisteth the relation betwixt them, if we call to mind, we shall not be deceived in the right sense of these words. Christ saith, "The servant is not above his lord (or, master)<sup>j</sup>:" and, "No servant can serve two masters<sup>jj</sup>." The power of lords and masters over their servants, is likewise expressed by our Saviour. "The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doeth not according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes." And again, "I say to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it." "Ye servants," saith Paul, "obey the masters of your flesh in all things;" for "know ye not that his servants you are, whom you obey?" Whereby, as by infinite other places, it is evident, that opposite to lord and master, are neither children nor brethren, but servants; and he is a servant that is under the yoke, and bound to obey his master's will; even as he is a lord or master that may command his servant to execute his will, or thereto compel him with stripes:

Luke xii.  
47.

Luke vii. 8.

Eph. vi. 5.

Col. iii. 22.

Rom. vi. 16.

<sup>g</sup> Origen. in Esaïam, hom. vi. [fol. 105. edit. Parrhis, 1512. "Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ."]

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. ad Nepotianum de Vita Clericorum. [t. i. ep. 2. p. 11. "Episcopi sacerdotes se esse noverint, non dominos."]

<sup>i</sup> Bernard. de Consideratione, lib. ii. [cap. vi. p. 669. edit. Lut. Par. 1632. "Forma apostolica hæc est: Dominatio interdicatur: indicitur ministratio."]

<sup>j</sup> Matt. x. 24. Οὐκ ἔστι δούλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ.

<sup>jj</sup> Matt. vi. 24. Luke xvi. 13. Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυοῖν κυρίοις δουλεύειν.



for that is the right of a lord and master, to command and punish his servant that disobeyeth.

What marvel then, if Christ forbade his apostles to be lords and masters over their brethren, that is, to command them and compel them as their vassals, since the believers are no servants, but brethren, and the pastors no lords over God's inheritance, but fathers unto the faithful? Whereby the honour due unto the leaders of Christ's flock is not diminished, but augmented; and the people not licensed the sooner to condemn them, but thereby required the rather to regard them: for to whom is more honour due, to master or father? and who loveth most, a servant or a son? "A son doth love, a servant doth fear<sup>k</sup>;" which God expresseth by his prophet, when he saith, "If I be a father, where is mine honour? Mal. i. 6. if I be a master, where is my fear?" Wherefore, to increase the love of his sheep towards their shepherds, Christ would not have his apostles to be feared as masters, but to be honoured as fathers: and consequently pastors not to force, but to feed; not to chase, but to lead the flock committed to their charge; neither roughly to entreat them as servants, but gently to persuade them as coheirs of the same kingdom. If at any time they require and command, they do it in God's name, as messengers sent to declare his will; who only and rightly may command in such cases; and as fellow-servants set over their Master's household, to divide them meat in due season, and to put the rest in mind of their Master's pleasure. For which cause their office is rather a service than a sovereignty in the church of Christ, as Origen noteth; and as Jerome saith, "If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work; (if he desire) the work, not the dignity; the pains, not the ease; the labour whereby he should wax low with humility, not swell with arrogancy<sup>l</sup>." "The office of a bishop," saith Austen, "is a name of labour, not of honour; to let him understand, that he is no bishop which loveth the

<sup>k</sup> Hieron. ad Nepotianum de Vit. Cler. [t. i. ep. 2. p. 14. "Amare filiorum, timere servorum est."]

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. ad Oceanum de Vit. Cler. [t. iv. p. 317. edit. Basil. 1537. "Si

quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat: opus, non dignitatem; laborem, non delitias; opus per quod humilitate decreseat, non intumescat fastigio."]

preferring of himself, not the profiting of others<sup>m</sup>." So Bernard: "It is a watch sounding unto thee in the name of a bishop; not an impery, but a ministry<sup>n</sup>."

If any man think I debase the office of a bishop more than needs, in that I say he must rather serve than rule in the church of Christ, let him remember the Son of God, though he were heir and lord of all, "came to serve and not to be served;" to whose "example" all his disciples must conform themselves, by his express commandment; and the elect angels, "though greater in power" and excellency than we, yet are they all "ministering spirits" for our sakes, that shall be heirs of salvation; yea kings and princes are not approved of God, if their "hearts be lifted up above their brethren," but rather in all societies of the righteous and faithful, as Austen observeth, "They that rule, serve those whom they seem to rule. For they rule not with a desire to master them, but with a purpose to advise them; neither with pride to be chief over them, but with merciful care to provide for them<sup>o</sup>." It is no shame then for a Christian bishop to say with the apostle, "We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ (to be) the Lord; and ourselves (to be) your servants for Jesus' sake." "We are not bishops for ourselves," saith Augustine, "but for their sakes to whom we minister the word and sacraments of the Lord<sup>p</sup>." "If therefore any man desire the office of a bishop," saith Chrysostom, "not for pride to be chief and bear rule, but for care to govern and charitable desire to do good, I mislike it not; he desireth a good work<sup>q</sup>."

<sup>m</sup> August. de Civitate Dei, lib. xix. cap. 19. [t. v. 1176. edit. Basil. 1542. "Exponere voluit" (apostolus sc.) "quid sit episcopatus, quia nomen est operis non honoris. . . ut intelligat non se esse episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse."]

<sup>n</sup> Bernard. de Consideratione, lib. ii. [p. 669. "Blanditur cathedra? Specula est. Inde denique superintendis sonans tibi episcopi nomine non dominium sed officium."]

<sup>o</sup> August. de Civitate Dei, lib. xix. cap. 14. [t. v. p. 1170. edit. Basil. 1542. "[Sed in domo justī viventis ex fide, et adhuc ab illa cœlesti civitate peregrinantis, etiam] qui imperant serviunt eis quibus videntur imperare. Neque enim

dominant cupiditate imperant, sed officio consulendi; nec principandi superbia, sed providendi misericordia."]

<sup>p</sup> August. contra Cresconium, lib. ii. cap. 11. [t. vii. col. 226. edit. Basil. 1542. "Neque enim episcopi propter nos sumus, sed propter eos quibus verbum et sacramentum dominicum ministramus."]

<sup>q</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. hom. x. [t. xii. 463. Εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, οὐκ ἐγκαλῶ, φησί· προστασίας γὰρ ἔργον ἐστίν. Εἴ τις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥστε μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αὐθεντίας ἐφλεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῆς προστασίας, οὐκ ἐγκαλῶ. καλοῦ γὰρ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ, φησίν.]

Our Saviour, you will say, forbiddeth his disciples, not only the power, but the very name of *lord*, in saying, "They that Luke xxii. bear rule, are called gracious lords, but you shall not be so." <sup>25, 26.</sup> I hear the translator, but I find no such text. *Εὐεργέτης*, which word St. Luke useth, is a *benefactor*, or a *bountiful man*; it soundeth nothing near neither *grace*, nor *lord*. The simple may so be deceived, the learned cannot so be deluded; but they must find it is a glose besides the text. If so small a title be denied them, it is clear, you think, that higher styles (as *gracious lords*) cannot be allowed them. That is an illation out of the words, no translation of the words. Besides, it is more clear that the name of master is forbidden them; Christ saith in precise words, *Nolite vocari rabbi*: "Be not called Matt. xxiii. master;" and yet I ween the meanest presbyter will look <sup>10.</sup> sourly, if he be not vouchsafed that name. If we were disposed to quarrel, as some are, we could say, no man may be called father; for Christ saith, "Call no man father on earth; Matt. xxiii. there is but one, even your Father which is in heaven:" no <sup>9.</sup> creature, man nor angel, may be called lord; *Nobis unus est* 1 Cor. viii. *Dominus Jesus Christus*: "To us there is but one Lord Jesus <sup>6.</sup> Christ." The truth is, if we attend either the right or force of the Creator, or the worthier part of the creature, which is the soul, no man on earth can justly be called master, father, or lord; for none doth effectually fashion, teach, and govern man, specially the soul of man, save only God who worketh all in all: but if we respect the proportion and resemblance derived from God, and approved by God in his word, then those that beget, or govern our bodies as God's instruments and substitutes on earth, may be called masters, lords, and fathers; yea, for submission or reverence, strangers unknown, and known superiors, either spiritual or temporal, may be called by those names; which as well the custom of the scriptures as the consent of all nations will confirm unto us.

The French have no higher word for lord than *seigneur*, which they attribute to Christ and God himself, as *Le Seigneur Jesus*, "the Lord Jesus:" *Le Seigneur Dieu*, "the Lord God;" and yet they call every one by that name, which is of any credit or reputation with them. With us every

mean man is lord of his own, and tenants have no name for the owner of the land or house which they inhabit, but their *lord*; yea every poor woman that hath either maid or apprentice, is called *dame*; and yet *dame* is as much as *domina*, and used to ladies of greatest account, as *dame Isabel*, and *madam*. In Latin, *dominus* soundeth more than *master*, and yet the boys in the grammar school do know how common the style of *dominus* is, and usually given to every man that hath any taste of learning, show of calling, or stay of living. *Κύριος* is the chiefest word the Grecians have for lord, either

1 Pet. iii. 6. on earth or in heaven; and yet St. Peter willeth every Christian woman, after Sarah's example, to call her husband, whatsoever he be, *κύριον*. Mary Magdalene, supposing she had spoken to the keeper of the garden where Christ was buried, said, "Κύριε, (which is, *lord*,) if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him." The Greeks that were desirous to see Christ, came to Philip the apostle and said,

John xx. 15. "Κύριε, (lord,) we would see Jesus." The Hebrew word

John xii. 21. *adoni*, (my lord,) which otherwise the Jews did attribute to kings and princes, and even to God himself, was for honour and reverence yielded to any superior or stranger. When Loth prayed the two strangers (whom he then did not think

Gen. xix. 2. to be angels) to lodge with him that night, he said, "See, my lords, I pray you, turn into your servant's house." Rebecca, when Abraham's servant, not known to her, prayed he might

Gen. xxiv. 18. drink a little water of her pitcher, answered, "Drink, my lord."

The places of John, as also that of Peter, you suppose may be better translated *sir*, which is more familiar with us than *lord*. The word in Greek is *κύριος*, the selfsame that the scriptures every where give to God himself, when they call him *Lord*; and Sarah's words, alleged by Peter, cannot be

Gen. xviii. 12. translated *sir*. For thus they stand in Moses, "After I am old, and my lord also, shall I lust?" where to say, "and my sir also," were somewhat strange to English ears. Besides, the Hebrew word is *adoni*, the very same that servants and subjects in the scriptures always give to their lords and princes. Lastly, the selfsame translators retain the name of



*lord* in Moses, howsoever afterward they changed it in Peter. And touching the signification of *sir*, by which they interpret the Greek word κύριος, though the honour thereof be somewhat decayed by reason it is now grown common, yet anciently it was, and originally it is, as much as *lord*. *Sir* is the only style we have at this present to distinguish a knight from lower degrees; yea the French to this day call their king *sir*, and in former ages it was no disgrace with us to say *sir king*: and no marvel. For if it come from the French *syre*, which is all one in sound with *cyre*, *c* being changed into *s*, then it is a contraction of the Greek word for *lord*, as *cyre* for *cyrie*. If we fetch it from *seigneur* by shortening it into *sieur*, as in *monsieur* for *monseigneur*, “my lord,” yet so is it equivalent with the French word for *lord*. If, with the Germans and Italians, we derive it from ἥρως, as first *her*, then *sere*, *heros* is he that for his valour and virtue cometh nearest to divine perfection and honour. But with titles and terms the church of Christ should not be troubled; only this I say, that (if *sir* be not as much as *lord*) in all tongues, save ours, the name of *lord* is as common as *sir* with us, and given to far meaner men than bishops, both of the clergy and laity; and for the Hebrew tongue the scriptures themselves do witness no less.

The prophets of God did both give and receive this title of honour, without blemish to their calling. “Art not thou my lord Elias?” said Obediah the governor of Achab’s house, <sup>1 Kings xviii. 7, 12, 13.</sup> when he fell on his face before the prophet; and said further, “I thy servant fear the Lord from my youth; hath not my lord heard, how I hid an hundred prophets in a cave,” when Jesabel would have slain them, “and fed them with bread and water?” The children of the prophets, both at Bethel and Jericho, said to Eliseus, when Elias should be taken from him, “Knowest thou not, that God will take thy lord from <sup>2 Kings ii.</sup> thine head this day?” And when Elias was taken up by a <sup>3.</sup> whirlwind, the children of the prophets “met him, and fell to the ground before him,” and said, “Behold there are with thy <sup>2 Kings ii.</sup> servants fifty strong men; let them, we pray thee, go and <sup>16.</sup> seek thy lord.” The inhabitants of Jericho misliking the barrenness of the soil, said likewise to Eliseus, “The situation <sup>2 Kings ii.</sup> of the city is good, as thou, my lord, seest; but the water is <sup>19.</sup>



2 Kings iv. 16. naught, and the ground barren." "O, my lord, delude not thine handmaid," said the godly Shunnamite, when Eliseus first told her she should have a son. And when the child was dead, she fell at his feet and said, "Did I desire a son of my lord?" The children of the prophets, intending to make them a larger place to dwell in, said to Eliseus, "Vouchsafe to go with thy servants." And as one of them was felling a tree by the river's side, the head of his ax fell into Jordan; and he cried to Eliseus, "Alas, my lord, it was borrowed." Hazael, the great commander of Syria under Benhadad, when Eliseus wept, foreseeing the evil that he should do to the children of Israel, said, "Why weepeth my lord?" And when Eliseus lay sick on his death bed, Joash the king of Israel said unto him, "O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and horsemen (or, safeguard) of the same."

Why then doth our Saviour debar his apostles from all such titles, by saying, "You shall not be so?"] He doth not forbid his apostles to admit that honour which God hath commanded and allowed to their calling: the scriptures should so be contrary to themselves: "Fear God," saith the wise man, "and honour his priest." "They that govern well are worthy of double honour," saith Paul: and again, τοὺς τοιούτους ἐντίμους ἔχετε: "have such in (great estimation, or) honour." Yea the Lord himself saith, "A prophet is not without honour but in his own country." If honour by God's law must be yielded unto prophets and pastors, honour by God's law may be received by them; but to admit titles of honour above and against their calling, or to expect and affect that honour which is due unto them, this is it that Christ forbiddeth. "How can you believe," saith he to the Pharisees, "when ye receive honour one of another," he meaneth greedily or gladly, "and seek not the honour which is of God alone." "Beware of the scribes," saith he to his disciples, "which desire to go in long robes, and love salutations in the markets, and the chiefest seats in the synagogues, and the highest rooms at feasts." The desire and love of these things is ambition and vanity, as Christ noteth in the Pharisees: the accepting them when they are by others forced on us, or in respect of our place appertain unto us, so as we neither seek after them, long for

them, or swell with them, is not against the rule of Christian modesty and humility.

Though pastors by God's law must be honoured with reverence and maintenance, yet titles and appellations of honour, you think, are not incident to their calling: Whom we must honour in heart and deed, why not in words? Can the lips neglect whom the heart regardeth? Is not the mouth made to express as well the reverence as "abundance of the heart?" Luke vi. 45. Would God the contempt of the truth did not so fast follow the contempt of the persons, as we find by too much experience of our times. The clergy should, you say, be honoured for their virtues: and what for their profession and function? Is learning, wisdom, and religion become so servile in a Christian commonwealth, that they deserve not the name of honour? Paul commended the Galathians for receiving him with such submission and reverence, as if he had been an "angel of God." The Lord himself in the Revelation, speaking of the bishops of the seven churches in Asia, calleth them "the stars and angels" of the seven churches. In the gospel Rev. i. 20. he nameth his apostles, "the salt of the earth, and light of the world." The scripture, which cannot be broken, "calleth Matt. v. 13. them gods, to whom the word of God came." "How beautiful are the feet of them," saith Paul, "which bring glad tidings of peace?" "Our eyes, if it were possible, are not too Gal. iv. 15. dear for them." We "owe them" not only honour, but Philem. 19. "even ourselves." And to speak uprightly, if every man on earth be measured by the degree of his master, and dignity of his service, I see no cause why "Christ's ambassadors," and 2 Cor. v. 20. the "stewards and rulers of God's household," should be 1 Cor. iv. 1. contemptible in the eyes of their fellow-servants, that should Matt. xxiv. 45. "obey" them, and "be subject" to them, as unto their spiritual leaders, teachers, and fathers. Heb. xiii. 17.

Is this assertion strange or new in the church of Christ? "Be subject," saith Jerome, "to thy bishop, and reverence him as the father of thy soul<sup>r</sup>." "For good cause ought we," saith Chrysostom, "not only to stand in more awe of priests than of kings and princes, but also to give them more honour

<sup>r</sup> Hieron. ad Nepotianum de Vita Clericorum. [t. i. p. 14. "Esto sub- jectus pontifici tuo, et quasi parentem animæ suscipe."]

than our natural parents<sup>s</sup>." "The king," saith Austin, "beareth the image of God, even as the bishop doth of Christ. As long then as he holdeth that office he is to be honoured, if not for himself, yet for (his) order<sup>t</sup>." And Ambrose, "The honour and height of a bishop's (function) can be matched by no comparison; (the sheep) that are committed to priests (or, pastors) are truly said to be under their leaders; (the gospel determining that) the scholar is not above his master<sup>u</sup>." And again; all this to shew, "that no (condition) in this world can be found more excellent than a priest's, no (calling) higher than a bishop<sup>x</sup>." "If you compare it to the brightness of kings, or diadems of princes, that is more inferior to it," saith Ambrose, "than lead unto gold<sup>y</sup>;" yea, "they have that power given them," saith Chrysostom, "which God would not give to angels, nor archangels<sup>z</sup>." "Jesus Christ," saith Cyprian, "our King, Judge, and God, even unto the day of his death yielded honour unto the priests and bishops (of the Jews), though they retained neither the fear of God, nor knowledge of Christ; teaching (us) lawfully and fully to honour true priests by his behaviour unto false priests<sup>a</sup>."

These fathers in your judgment do not mean, that external and civil honour should be yielded to the persons of teachers

<sup>s</sup> Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. [c. 6. t. iv. p. 30. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κολάζειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ, μείζονα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔδωκε δύναμιν τῶν φυσικῶν γονέων ὁ Θεός.

<sup>t</sup> August. *Quæstiones ex Veteri Testamento*, xxxv. [t. iv. col. 719. "Dei enim imaginem habet rex, sicut et episcopus Christi. Quamdiu ergo in ea traditione est, honorandus est, si non propter se, vel propter ordinem."]

<sup>u</sup> Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdot. cap. ii. [t. iv. p. 448. "Honor et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. . . . Unde regendæ [sc. oves,] sacerdotibus contraduntur, merito rectoribus suis subdi dicuntur, quia evangelico coruscante mandato videmus nihilominus esse præfixum, 'Non est discipulus super magistrum,' &c.]

<sup>x</sup> Ambros. de Dignit. Sac. cap. iii. [tom. iv. p. 448. "Hæc vero cuncta, fratres ideo nos præmisisse debetis co-

gnoscere, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil episcopis sublimius reperiri."]

<sup>y</sup> Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. cap. ii. [t. iv. p. 448. "Si regum fulgori compares, et principum diademati, longe erit inferius quam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares."]

<sup>z</sup> Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. [t. iv. p. 29. Ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβον, ἣν οὐτε ἀγγέλοις οὐτε ἀρχαγγέλοις ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.]

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 9. [Edit. Oxon. 1682. ep. 3. "Dominus etiam noster ipse Jesus Christus, Rex, et Judex, et Deus noster, usque ad passionis diem servavit honorem pontificibus et sacerdotibus, quamvis illi nec timorem Dei, nec agnitionem Christi servassent. . . . Docuit enim sacerdotes veros legitime et plene honorari, dum circa falsos sacerdotes ipse talis exstitit."]

and bishops, but spiritual and inward reverence to be due to their calling. Much less do they mean that contempt and reproach should be requited them for their pains. If we stick at titles, Christ himself calleth them, *stars, angels, and gods* ; if we doubt of their power or honour, they have more power than the angels, as Chrysostom saith ; and must have more honour than the fathers of our flesh. If any like not the conclusion, let him read Chrysostom's probation more at large in the place afore cited. As for the distinction of outward or inward honour due to their persons or professions, if the men be good, it is superfluous, we must honour both ; if the men be bad, their vocation must be honoured though their vices be condemned, and that honour, as I said before, must appear in heart, word, and deed. For if one of these fail, it is not honour, but neglect and contempt, which God will revenge. Non te rejecerunt sed me, "They have not rejected thee but me," is an ancient verdict of God's own giving.<sup>1</sup> "He that despiseth you, (in heart, word, or deed,) despiseth me." "Honour thy father," bindeth the whole man, not this or that part of man ; and duty to parents and superiors is violated even with words and looks.<sup>2</sup>

1 Sam. viii.

7.

Luke x. 16.

Exod. xx.

12.

But godly teachers must look for reward and honour at God's hands, and not from men.] I know it well ; the world shall use them, as it used their Master, yet doth not that excuse the neglecters and contemners of them ; yea rather it is an evident sign he loveth not God, that despiseth his prophets ; and reproacheth Christ, that dishonoureth his ministers.

God is my witness, I smooth no man's pride, I seek no man's favour ; I wade as sincerely as my simple learning will suffer me ; and by that, as I find Christ forbiddeth his disciples all affectation of honour, and desire of superiority, and requireth the greatest after his example to serve the lowest, so I see no reason why it should grieve any godly mind to hear a bishop called by that name, with which St. Peter will-eth every woman to honour her husband. For to me it is strange it should be a proud and antichristian title in a pastor, which may be given to every artisan with duty and humility. Howbeit, what external appellation or honour is meet or unmeet for the pastors and fathers of Christ's church, I leave it



wholly to the wisdom and consideration of the state, who are fit judges thereof, and not every curious head, or covetous heart, to order the clergy at their pleasures.

With truth and sobriety I may affirm this, that the first Christian princes and emperors, to cause religion the more to flourish, did what they could to make the people honour and reverence their bishops ; permitting them to hear and determine all quarrels and strifes between man and man, for debts, goods, or lands, and confirming the judgments of the bishops even in such cases by public laws, and by their own example teaching all men to submit their heads under the bishops' hands. "Place you such a one in the episcopal seat," saith Valentinian to the synod assembled for the choice of a bishop of Milan, "to whom we ourselves, the rulers of the empire, may sincerely (or, willingly) submit our heads, and whose reproofs we may receive as an wholesome medicine<sup>b</sup>." "Thou mayest see," saith Ambrose, "the necks of kings and princes bowed down to the priests' knees, and kissing the right hands (of priests) think themselves guarded with their prayers<sup>c</sup>." "To a king," saith Chrysostom, "are bodies committed ; to a priest, souls : the one hath sensible armour, the other spiritual ; he fighteth against the barbarians, I against devils. This is the greater sovereignty, therefore the king submitteth his head to the priests' hands<sup>d</sup>." Constantine the Great by his laws "gave leave, that those which would decline the civil magistrates, might appeal to the judgment of their bishops, and commanded the sentence of the bishops to take place before the sentence of other judges, as if it had been pronounced by the emperor himself, and to be put in execution

<sup>b</sup> Theodoretī Episc. Cyri Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 5. [edit. Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 954. Τοιοῦτον δὴ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐγκαθιδρύσατε θώκοις, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλινόμεν κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ἐλέγχους, [ἀνθρώπους γὰρ ὄντας καὶ προσπατεῖν ἀνάγκη], ὡς ἱατρικὴν ἀσπαζοίμεθα θεραπέαν.]

<sup>c</sup> Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerdot. cap. ii. [t. iv. p. 448. "Quippe cum videas regum colla et principum summitti ge-

nibus sacerdotum, et exosculatis eorum dexteris, orationibus eorum credent se communiri."]

<sup>d</sup> Chrysost. de Verbis Esaiæ 'Vidi Dominum,' hom. iv. [t. iii. p. 758. 'Ὁ βασιλεὺς σάματα ἐμπιστεύεται, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ψυχάς. . . . ἐκεῖνος ὅπλα ἔχει αἰσθητὰ, οὗτος ὅπλα πνευματικά· ἐκεῖνος πολεμεῖ πρὸς βαρβάρους, ἐμοὶ πόλεμος πρὸς δαίμονας. μείζων ἢ ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ χεῖρας τοῦ ἱερέως ἄγει.]



by the presidents and their officers<sup>e</sup>." And lest we should think this law reached only to spiritual things, St. Augustine sheweth in his time with what matters they were troubled. "Men," saith he, "desiring to finish their secular causes by our judgment, call us holy and the servants of God: about gold and silver, lands and chattels, we are every day saluted with low bowing the head, to determine the strifes of men<sup>f</sup>."

I allege not these things to have them revived; too much honour inflameth ambition, as too little engendereth contempt: I only observe in the best ages how careful good princes were in their own persons to honour the bishops of Christ's church, and by their laws to make them acceptable to the people; whereas in our days, some wayward spirits think it a great point of piety by despising and reproaching their state and calling as unchristian and ungodly, to make them contemptible and odious to the meanest of the multitude. A better way to reform the faults of bishops is that admonition, which Ambrose gave them when he said: "Let not the honour (of bishops) be lofty, and their life loathsome; their profession divine, and their action unlawful; their state high, and their excess shameful. For the higher a bishop's degree is above the rest, the grievouser is his fall, if he slide by negligence. Great dignity ought to have great wariness. Much honour should be kept with much carefulness: to whom more is committed, of him more shall be required<sup>g</sup>." He impeacheth not the honour of their calling, but assureth

<sup>e</sup> Sozomen. lib. i. cap. 9. [Τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἣν βούλωνται τοὺς πολιτικούς ἄρχοντας παρατεῖσθαι· κυρία δὲ εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν ψῆφον, καὶ κρείττω τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν, ὥσαντι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξενεχθεῖσαν· εἰς ἔργον δὲ τὰ κρινόμενα ἄγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τοὺς διακονομένους αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας.]

<sup>f</sup> August. Epist. 147. [t. ii. col. 685. "Et homines quidem causas suas seculares apud nos finire cupientes, quando eis necessarii fuerimus, sic nos sanctos et Dei servos appellant, ut negotia terræ suæ peragant: aliquando agamus et negotium salutis nostræ et salutis ipsorum,

non de auro, non de argento, non de fundis et pecoribus, pro quibus rebus quotidie submisso capite salutamur, ut dissensiones hominum terminemus."]

<sup>g</sup> Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdot. cap. iii. [t. iv. p. 449. "Ne sit honor sublimis et vita deformis. Ne sit deifica professio, et illicita actio. Ne sit gradus excelsus, et deformis excessus. Nam quanto præ cæteris gradus episcopalis altior est, tanto si per negligentiam dilabatur, ruina gravior est. Magna sublimitas, magnam debet habere cautelam; honor grandis, grandiori debet solitudine circumvallari. Cui plus creditur, ab eo plus exigitur, sicut scriptum est."]

them their judgment shall be increased, and punishment aggravated, if their care and diligence do not answer that honour and reverence, which they have in the church of God above their brethren. Then, as they that “affect this dignity because they would be honoured before men, are condemned before God<sup>h</sup>,” so this “is the cause of all evil,” saith Chrysostom, “that the authority of (ecclesiastical) rulers is decayed, and no reverence, no honour, no fear is yielded to them. He that is religiously affected to the priest, will with greater piety reverence God; and he that despiseth the priest, cometh by degrees to this at last, that he waxeth contumelious against God himself<sup>i</sup>.”

The sum of all is: first, that our Saviour interdicted his apostles, and consequently the pastors of his church, by virtue of their ministry, to claim any civil dominion to command and compel, which is the power that princes and lords use over their subjects and servants. Next, they must neither desire nor delight any titles of honour and praise from men, but expect the coming of the Archpastor, when every one shall have praise from God. Thirdly, how great soever they be, they must serve the lowest of their brethren to do them good, and watch over them for the saving of their souls; yet this nothing hindereth the rule and government that pastors have over their flocks by the word of God, neither doth it bar them or deprive them of that honour and obedience, which in heart, word, and deed is due to the “fathers of our faith, the ambassadors of Christ, and stewards of God’s household.”

I Cor. iv.  
I. 15.

<sup>h</sup> Chrysost. in Acta Apost. hom. iii. [tom. ix. cap. 2. Νῦν δὲ ὡς περ τὰς ἐξωθεν ἀρχὰς, οὕτω καὶ ταύτην διώκομεν. ἵνα γὰρ δοξασθῶμεν, ἵνα τιμηθῶμεν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, ἀπολλύμεθα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.]

<sup>i</sup> Chrysost. in Ep. 2. ad Tim. cap. i. hom. 2. [t. xii. p. 547. Τοῦτο πάντων

τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον, ὅτι τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἠφανίσθη, οὐδεμία αἰδώς, οὐδεὶς φόβος· . . . . . ὁ τιμῶν τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τιμήσει· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τοῦ ἱερέως καταφρονεῖν, ὁδὴ προβαίνων καὶ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὑβρίσει ποτέ.]

## CHAP. VII.

*Who joined with the apostles in election of presbyters and imposition of hands.*

**I**N choosing of elders and deacons, and laying hands on them, many think the whole church, or at least the presbytery, joined with the apostles; and to that end sundry precedents are alleged, as namely, the choice of Matthias, of the seven deacons, of the elders of Lystra, Iconium, and other churches in Acts xiv. and of Timothy; all which seem to prove, the apostles did nothing of themselves, but with the consent and concurrence of others. To come by the truth what the scriptures resolve in these two points, the best way will be to examine the places in order, as they lie.

In the choice of Matthias it is not expressed that the church intermeddled. Peter acquainted all the disciples, that one must supply the room of Judas; but who named those two that were appointed, whether the apostles or all the disciples, it is not decided in the text: the force and coherence of the words convince neither. For thus they stand: "And they appointed two—and they prayed, saying—and they cast lots." Acts i. 23, If prayers and lots were performed by the apostles, as by the principal directors of that action, and thereto led by the instinct of God's Spirit, consequently it was their deed to present them both to God, that he might shew which of them he had chosen. Besides, an apostle might not be chosen by men, much less by the people; and therefore no question, the Spirit of God made this election, and the disciples afterward acknowledged it for God's doing, and accounted Matthias with the eleven.

But<sup>1</sup> Chrysostom saith: "(Peter) himself did not appoint

<sup>k</sup> The following sentence is prefixed in the Latin version: "Quæstione illa de dominatu interdicto absoluta, sequitur ut secundam illam de electione presbyterorum et diaconorum discutiamus; cui necessario annexa est tertia

de manuum impositione."

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed L. "Ut interim taceam ab extraordinaria et plane singulari apostoli designatione ad ordinariam et quotidianam ministrorum electionem nullam duci posse necessariam consequentiam."

those (two), but all (did it).” Yea he saith further: “Mark how Peter doth all things by the common consent of the disciples, nothing by his own authority, nothing by commandment<sup>m</sup>.” He saith so indeed, but the text saith not so; only the verb is the plural number, which may be referred to the apostles as well as to the rest of the disciples; yet the reason why Peter did it not, was not for that it was not lawful for him without the multitude to do it<sup>n</sup>, but as Chrysostom noteth, lest he should seem to gratify the one and not the other, as also that, as yet, he had not received the Holy Ghost<sup>o</sup>. “Might not Peter have chosen him? He might most lawfully; but he did it not, lest he should seem to gratify either part. Albeit as yet he was not partaker of the Holy Ghost<sup>p</sup>.” And for that cause, as Chrysostom thinketh, they cast lots: “Because the Holy Ghost was not yet poured on them, therefore they determine the matter by lots<sup>q</sup>.”

The choice of the seven deacons<sup>r</sup> was referred to the multitude; the approbation of them reserved to the twelve, and that not without cause. For by this choice, the deacons (as you say) received not charge of the word and sacraments, but a care to see the saints provided for, and the collections and contributions of the faithful sincerely and uprightly employed, according to the necessities of the persons. Now that the people should very well like, and fully trust such as should be stewards of their goods, and dispensers of their substance, had evident reason; and the apostles in so doing stayed the murmuring of the disciples, and freed themselves from all suspicion of neglecting their widows, (which was the cause of their dislike,) by praying them to choose out of themselves such as they best trusted, to care for their tables and distribute their store. By the circumstance of the text it seem-

<sup>m</sup> Chrysost. in Acta Apost. hom. iii. [tom. ix. pp. 30. 28. Οὐχὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστήσεν· ἀλλὰ πάντες. Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς.]

<sup>n</sup> Added L.: “aut sua singulari auctoritate presbyteros ordinare.”

<sup>o</sup> Added L.: “Nihil itaque Chrysostomus illorum causam adjuvat, quin contra potius graviter vulnerat.”

<sup>p</sup> Chrysost. in Act. Ap. hom. iii. [t. ix. p. 30. Τί οὖν, ἐλέσθαι [τὸν Πέτρον] αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν; καὶ πάνυ γε. ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ δόξη χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦτο οὐ ποιεῖ ἄλλως δέ. καὶ πνεύματος ἁμοιρος ἦν ἔτι.]

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. [p. 31. Καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν οὐδέπω γὰρ πνεῦμα ἦν.]

<sup>r</sup> Added L. (“Si tamen ita vocandi sunt,”)

eth, that where “the believers lived in one place and had all things in common,” “and selling their lands, possessions, and goods, they brought the price thereof and laid it down at the apostles’ feet, to be distributed to every man according as he had need;” the apostles had put some in trust to bestow the church’s treasure, I mean the disciples’ goods, who of like being Jews, regarded the widows that were Jews, more than the Grecians’ widows. And hence arose the grudging of the Grecians, that their widows were neglected. The apostles then excused themselves, for that they might not leave the preaching of the word and attend for tables, to see their widows indifferently used, and willed the “whole multitude to look out from amongst themselves such as were replenished with the Holy Ghost and with wisdom, and best reported of (for fidelity and industry) to take the oversight of that business.” This is all that can be pressed out of this story. For answer hereof, first by your own doctrine: the parties there chosen received not power to preach and baptize, but to dispense the goods of the church for the daily provision of the saints, who then lived together, and yielded all their ability to be used in common, at the discretion of these parties appointed by themselves. And though Philip did preach and baptize at Samaria, and did the like to the eunuch of Ethiopia, yet you avouch he did that, not as a deacon, but as an evangelist; both which titles indeed St. Luke giveth him in Acts xxi. Next, if it be true that Epiphanius writeth of them<sup>s</sup>, these seven were “all of the number of those seventy disciples,” which Christ himself called whiles he lived on earth and sent to preach, as well as Matthias and Barnabas, that were named to succeed in the room of Judas the traitor, and then by this election they had no ordinary function in the church, but an extraordinary charge to provide for the widows; since none of the seventy disciples could begin again at the lowest degree and become deacons. Chrysostom, reasoning what office they had by this imposition of hands, saith: “What dignity these (seven) had, and what manner of

<sup>s</sup> Epiphanii adversus Hæreses, lib. i. in fine. [edit. Paris. 1622. p. 50. Μετὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἑπτὰ, καὶ Ματθίαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν, Μάρκον, Λουκᾶν, Ἰούστον, Βαρνάβαν, καὶ Ἀπελλῆν, Ῥούφον, Νίγερα, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἑβδομηκονταδύο.]



imposition of hands they received, it shall not be amiss to learn. Was it the office of deacons? This (now) is not in the churches, but this charge (to look to widows) belongeth to presbyters; and as yet there was no bishop, but the apostles only. Wherefore I think it was neither the name of deacons nor presbyters expressly and plainly<sup>t</sup>," which these seven received. If these seven<sup>u</sup> were expressly neither deacons nor presbyters, as Chrysostom thinketh they were not, and the council in Trullo joineth<sup>w</sup> with him in the same opinion, then can their election be no proof, that others joined with the apostles in the choice of presbyters or bishops.

If with Ignatius<sup>x</sup>, Cyprian<sup>y</sup>, Jerome<sup>z</sup>, and others we take these seven for deacons, such as served in the church, and attended on the Lord's table when the mysteries of Christ

<sup>t</sup> Chrysost. in Acta Apost. hom. xiv. [t. ix. p. 134. 'Οποῖον δὲ ἄρα ἀξίωμα οὗτοι εἶχον, καὶ ποῖαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίαν, ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν. ἄρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων; καὶ μὴν τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκονομία: ὅθεν οὔτε διακόνων οὔτε πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι δῆλον καὶ φανερόν.]

<sup>u</sup> Thus amplified in the Latin: "Huic Chrysostomi iudicio subscribit concilium Constantinopolitanum sub Justiniano celebratum. Sive igitur isti septem ministerio mensarum et ecclesiasticorum bonorum dispensationi tantummodo præfati fuerunt, ut ipsi docent; sive ex septuaginta discipulorum numero ut Epiphanius et Chrysostomus putant, delecti fuerunt, non ad diaconorum aut presbyterorum functiones, sed ad novam quandam et inusitatum administrationem illis temporibus et personis necessariam, nostris autem rebus et moribus tam inutilem, quam incognitam; nullum inde præjudicium vel levissimum fieri potest, ut in eligendis presbyteris et episcopis juris idem apud nos populus haberet."

<sup>w</sup> [Concil. in Trullo. sub Justinian. edit. Labbei, 1671. tom. vi. col. 1150. Ταῦτα διερμηνεύων ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος, οὕτω διέξεισι' θανατάσαι ἄξιον, πῶς οὐκ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ αἰρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπεδοκιμάσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἀπόστολοι. ὅποῖον δὲ ἄρα ἀξίωμα εἶχον οὗτοι, καὶ ποῖαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίαν, ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν. ἄρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων;

καὶ μὴν τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡ οἰκονομία ἐστὶ; καὶ τοι οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀπόστολοι μόνοι' ὅθεν οὔτε διακόνων, οὔτε πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι δῆλον καὶ φανερόν. ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖν κηρύσσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὥστε τοὺς προειρημένους ἐπὶ τὰ διακόνους, μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμένων λαμβάνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν προερμηνευθεῖσαν διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς κοινῆς χρείας τῶν τότε συνθηροισμένων ἐγχειρισθέντας τοῖτους ὑπάρχειν, οἱ τύποις ἡμῖν κἂν τοῦτω γεγονῶσι τῆς περὶ τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς.]

<sup>x</sup> Ignatii Epist. ad Heronem. [edit. Lond. 1680. p. 92. Μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε, ἱερεῖς γὰρ εἰσὶ, σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων. ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱεουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθετοῦσι. σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακονεῖς, ὡς Στέφανος, ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβω καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.]

<sup>y</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 9. [ep. 3. edit. Oxon. 1682. "Meminisse autem diaconi debent, quoniam apostolos, id est episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit: diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cælos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministros."]

<sup>z</sup> Hieron. adversus Luciferianos. [t. ii. p. 139. "Non quidem abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat."]

were dispensed, yet the apostles made this no perpetual rule for all elections ; otherwise neither Paul, nor any other apostle could have imposed hands but on such as the people named and elected, which is evidently repugnant to the scriptures<sup>a</sup>, as in place convenient shall appear. Again, this singular example concludeth no more for electing by voices, than the choice of Matthias doth for retaining of lots. For since two sorts of elections were used by the apostles presently the one upon the other, who can determine which of those twain was prescribed to the church as of necessity to be continued<sup>b</sup> ? Lastly, examples are no precepts ; and the reasons that moved the apostles to refer the choice of those seven to the liking of the multitude, admit infinite varieties and circumstances, which being altered, the effect must needs alter according to the cause. And therefore no general rule can be drawn from a particular fact without a strong reason to maintain the coherence ; much less may you leap from the choice of deacons in the apostles' time, to conclude the like of the election of presbyters and bishops which then did, and now do greatly differ both in gifts and calling from the deacons.

That the ministers and elders of Lystra and Iconium, and of the churches confining, were ordained by Paul and Barnabas, can be no question : the text doth clearly avouch it ; only the signification of the Greek word χειροτονήσαντες there used, is forced by some to prove that those elders were chosen by the consent of others, besides Paul and Barnabas ; because χειροτονεῖν, say they, is to choose by lifting up of hands, which was the use amongst the Grecians for the people to do in their elections.

The advantage taken upon the word χειροτονεῖν is not so sound as they suppose. For first, if that were the right etymology of the word, yet as most words in Greek and Hebrew, besides the external action and circumstance which they first import, do signify the effects and consequents depending on that action and circumstance, and are by translation generally and usually applied to other things, so this word doth signify

<sup>a</sup> Thus L. : "quod non scripturis modo contrarium, sed in Dei gratiam est injurium."

<sup>b</sup> Added L. : "An potius ista diver-

sitas rem totam in ecclesiæ positam arbitrio declarat, ut quid tempori, loco, personis maxime conveniret, ipsa pro sua prudentia judicaret."

Acts x. 40,  
41.

to elect and appoint, though no hands be held up, because electing and appointing was the effect and consequent of lifting up the hands. To prove this we need go no further than chap. x. of this very book, where St. Luke, without all contradiction, useth the word in such sort and sense as I mention. "This Jesus of Nazareth God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly; not to all the people, ἀλλὰ μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν, but to us witnesses chosen (or, appointed) beforehand of God." It were more than absurd to imagine, that God did choose the apostles to be witnesses of his Son's resurrection by lifting up of hands: God hath not hands to lift up: the apostles neither were, nor could be chosen by the people's hands; wherefore χειροτονεῖν doth signify simply to choose and appoint, though it be not done with holding up of hands, nor by the people.

Again, were the word in Acts xiv. used in that signification which they urge, as namely, to consent or elect with holding up the hands, yet the text doth manifestly restrain it to Paul and Barnabas, that they did elect and appoint by stretching out their hands, such elders as the churches then needed<sup>c</sup>. For χειροτονεῖν is for a man to hold up, or stretch out his own hand, and not other men's hands; and no example will ever be brought that χειροτονῆσαι is to gather voices, or take the consents of others; but for men to give voices themselves, and

<sup>c</sup> Added L. : " 'Reversi sunt' (Paulus et Barnabas) 'Lystram et Iconium et Antiochiam, confirmantes discipulorum animos, et hortantes ut in fide permanerent. Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: Et creantes illis presbyteros per singulas ecclesias commendarunt eos Domino in quem crediderant.' Creantes aut constituentes, vel cum creassent et constituissent illis presbyteros. Quinam alii quam Paulus et Barnabas, qui Lystram, Iconium et Antiochiam reversi, confirmabant discipulorum animos et commendabant eos Domino postquam 'illis presbyteros creassent?' Sic enim contextus et coherencia verborum postulat: nec sine summa scriptoris injuria, participium possis, quantumcunque pugnes, alio torquere. Quibus autem constituerunt presbyteros? Illis, populo videlicet aut discipulis. Sit igitur χειροτονεῖν consensus exprimendi causa manum ex-

tollere: certe Paulus et Barnabas suis ipsorum manibus elatis presbyteros illis in locis designabant. Non enim aliorum manus, multo minus totius populi, sed suas ipsorum efferebant. Nam ut χειροτονεῖν sit populi manus in altum attollere, aut alte sublatas numerare, nullo nec argumento nec exemplo doceri potest. Non ergo suffragia colligebant Paulus et Barnabas, quod multi somniant ex hoc loco: nec rem tanti ponderis et momenti multitudinis arbitrio permiserunt, sed suis ipsorum manibus et suffragiis quicquid id fuit, perfecerunt. Quapropter ex his verbis nunquam efficient aliquos presbyteros populi votis delectos fuisse: de Paulo dicitur et Barnaba quod presbyteros creaverint ac ordinaverint in illis ecclesiis: de populo nihil hujusmodi vel exprimitur vel colligitur; nisi commenta nostrarum opinionum de industria velimus Spiritus Sancti verbis supponere."

signify their own consents by stretching forth their hands. And so, howsoever the word be pressed, it cannot prove that others concurred with Paul and Barnabas in that action.

But to speak somewhat more of the signification of the word χειροτονεῖν, not as the profane orators amongst the Grecians applied it, but as the church stories and ancient councils in Greek ever used it<sup>d</sup>; χειροτονεῖν is properly χεῖρας τείνειν, that is, to stretch or extend the hand, as well forthright as upward; and for that cause with ecclesiastical writers it importeth as much as χειροθετεῖν, that is, to lay hands on another man's head. For the hands must first be stretched forth, which is χειροτονία, before they can be laid on, which is χειροθεσία, and then χειροτονῆσαι, Acts xiv, is nothing else but imposing of hands<sup>e</sup>; even as Paul did, Acts xix, on the twelve disciples whom he found at Ephesus.

If my affirmation for the use of the word be not trusted, let the places following be considered. Eusebius reporting Cornelius' words, how Novatus' gat to be an elder or minister in the church by the immoderate favour of the bishop that made him, saith, "The bishop being prohibited by all the clergy and many of the laity, desired he might be suffered to impose hands on him only<sup>f</sup>;" χειροτονῆσαι in this place cannot be to gather voices, for the whole clergy, and a great number of the laity, were against the making of Novatus priest, as a thing repugnant to the canons: it doth therefore signify imposition of hands, which the bishop gave though the clergy and people dissented.

The great council of Nice, as Socrates writeth, was content that the ministers and priests made by Miletius the schismatic, "being admitted and ordained by a more sacred imposition of hands<sup>g</sup>" (than that they received of Miletius),

<sup>d</sup> Added L.: "qui vera Græciæ lumina fuerunt, et istius verbi nec vim ignorarunt, nec usum occultarunt, Paulo longius si repetamus, operam et oleum, opinor, non perdemus."

<sup>e</sup> Added L.: "qua ceremonia Spiritus Sanctus ab apostolis dabatur his qui ad ecclesiæ ministerium vocandi essent."

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 43. [edit. Par. 1678. p. 199. 'Ὁς διακωνό-

μενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἤξιωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.]

<sup>g</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 9. [edit. Cantab. 1720. p. 27. "Ἐδοξεν οὖν . . . . τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας, μυστικωτέρα χειροτονία βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν.]



should retain the honour of their place and office<sup>h</sup>. The holding up of the people's hands to signify their consents is no way mystical or sacred ; but the laying on of hands by the bishop is a mystical and sacred action derived from the apostles, and ever since continued in the church of Christ. The same author likewise affirmeth, that the Homoousians or true Christians in Constantinople, after the death of Eudoxius the Arian, named or elected "one Evagrius, and Eustathius" (once bishop of Antioch lying secretly in Constantinople) "imposed hands on him<sup>i</sup>." Eustathius did not the second time elect Evagrius, he was chosen before by the people, but he gave him imposition of hands, which there is expressed by χειροτονεῖν ; and Valens the emperor, when he heard it, commanded<sup>j</sup> "the party that imposed hands, and the party that received imposition of hands, to be banished each of them to a several place<sup>k</sup>." The electors were not banished, for then the whole number that named him must have gone into exile, but that he imposed hands and created Evagrius bishop of Constantinople, he alone and Evagrius were thrown into banishment. Χειροτονεῖν therefore is, for a bishop to confirm and consummate the nomination and election before made, with laying his hands on the party elected. And that the same writer most manifestly expresseth<sup>l</sup> in the choice both of Ambrose and Chrysostom.

When Auxentius the Arian, bishop of Milan, was dead, the people were ready to go together by the ears about the choice of a new bishop. To repress which sedition, Ambrose, then lieutenant of the province, came into the church amongst the people ; and as with many good persuasions he endeavoured to stay the rage of the people, "suddenly there was a general consent of them all ; and they cried out that he was worthy

<sup>h</sup> Added L. : " Quid aliud potest esse χειροτονία hoc in loco quam χειροθεσία ?

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 14. [p. 230. Καιροῦ δὲ νομίσαντες δεδράχθαι οἱ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου τῆς ἐαυτῶν πίστεως Εὐάγριον τινα προεβάλλοντο.]

<sup>j</sup> Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 15. [ed. Cantab. 1720. p. 231. Ἐκέλευσέν τε ἐν ταῦτῳ συλληφθέντας τὸν χειροτονήσαντα καὶ

τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἄλλον ἀλλαχοῦ περι-  
ορί(ε)σθαι.]

<sup>k</sup> Added L. : " Rem gestam si breviter percurramus, Evagrium populus elegit : et, electum offerunt Eustathio, non iterum eligendum, sed certe consecrandum."

<sup>l</sup> Added L. : " rerum gravis explicator, et verborum satis intelligens."



of the place ; and they all desired he might be created<sup>m</sup>,” or receive imposition of hands. The emperor, when he heard this, wondering at the sudden consent and agreement of the people, and perceiving it to be God's doing, willed the bishops “to yield their service unto God, (as it were,) bidding (them) to impose hands<sup>n</sup>.” The people, after they had with one consent chosen Ambrose, desired to have him, not elected again, (that was already finished,) but confirmed with imposition of hands, which is there signified by χειροτονεῖσθαι; and the emperor being advertised that the people had elected him, required the bishops<sup>o</sup> “to yield their service unto God<sup>p</sup>,” which is there expressed by χειροτονεῖν: χειροτονεῖν is therefore a stretching forth of the hands belonging to the bishops after the people's choice is made, which can be nothing else by the canons of the primitive church, but imposition of hands; whereby the party chosen is allowed and authorized to execute his function.

The like will appear in the choice of Chrysostom. After the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom, one of the priests or ministers of Antioch, was sent for by Arcadius the emperor, to succeed in the room of Nectarius. This the emperor did, “by the (general consent, or) common decree of all joining together, as well of the clergy as laity<sup>q</sup>.” And when by the emperor's commandment many other bishops were come to Constantinople, and amongst them Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, to consecrate the bishop newly chosen, Theophilus, for the desire he had to promote a priest of his own to the place, refused to give Chrysostom imposition of hands. Upon which refusal, Theophilus was detected to the bishops then assembled, of many crimes, and sundry complaints were offered against him. And Eutropius, high chamberlain to the emperor, taking the bills of complaint,

<sup>m</sup> Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 30. [ed. Cantab. 1720. p. 252. Αἰφνίδιος μία συμφωνία τῶν πάντων ἐγένετο: καὶ ἐβόων Ἀμβρόσιον ἕξιον εἶναι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, αὐτόν τε χειροτονεῖσθαι πάντες ἤξιον.]

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. [p. 253. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θανάσας τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ὁμόνοιαν, Θεοῦ τε ἔργον εἶναι γνοὺς τὸ γενόμενον, ἐδήλου τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, ὑπουργεῖν τῷ Θεῷ κελεύοντι

χειροτονεῖν.]

<sup>o</sup> Added L.: “non ut denuo rogationem ferrent, aut suffragia colligerent,” p Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 30.

<sup>q</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 2. [edit. Cantab. 1720. p. 309. Ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε φημὶ καὶ λαοῦ, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Ἀρκάδιος μεταπέμπεται.]

shewed them to Theophilus, and bad him make his choice, ἢ χειροτονεῖν Ἰωάννην, “either to impose hands on Chrysostom,” or to answer the things objected against him. Theophilus, fearing the accusations, τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐχειροτόνησε, “gave Chrysostom imposition of hands.” The election was fully made by the general consent of the prince, people, and clergy, and a synod of bishops called to consecrate or lay hands on him that was chosen. The archbishop therefore of Alexandria meddled not with the choice of Chrysostom, which was before concluded, but withheld imposition of hands, which by the prerogative of his place and dignity of his see appertained to him, and so χειροτονεῖν most manifestly by the ecclesiastical writers is used for imposition of hands; which no way belonged to the people, but was always reserved to the apostles and their successors†.

And so much Chrysostom himself will witness unto us; who intreating of the choice of the seven deacons, made in Acts vi., upon the words, καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας, “and (the apostles) praying, laid hands on them,” writeth thus: “Hands were laid on them with prayer. This is (that which the Grecians call) χειροτονία, the hand of man is laid on; but God worketh all, and his hand it is that toucheth the head of him that receiveth imposition of hands, if they be laid on as they ought.” Where, ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας, “they laid hands on them,” standeth for the active to ἐχειροτονήθησαν, “they received imposition of hands,” and equivalent with both is χειροτονία, which is expounded by these two circumstances, ἡ χεὶρ ἐπὶ τίθειται τοῦ ἀνδρός, “the hand of man is laid on,” and ἡ αὐτοῦ χεὶρ ἅπτεται τῆς κεφαλῆς, “the hand (of God) toucheth the head of him that is ordered‡.” Again, debating the words of St. Paul to Timothy, “Neglect not the gift, which was given thee by prophecy;” μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν

† Added L.: “qui presbyteros, quacunque ratione delectos et designatos, impositione manuum suarum et approbabant, et ordinabant.”

§ Chrysost. in Act. Ap. hom. xiv. [t. ix. 133. Ἐχειροτονήθησαν διὰ προσευχῆς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ χειροτονία ἐστίν. ἡ χεὶρ ἐπὶ τίθειται τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ Θεὸς ἐργάζεται. καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ χεὶρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἅπτο-

μένη τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου, ἐὰν ὡς δεῖ χειροτονῇται.]

‡ Added L.: “χειροτονεῖν igitur, Chrysostomi iudicio prorsus idem valet quod manus extendere super caput ordinandi: vulgi vero consensum aut populi suffragia, scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quod ego legerim, nunquam designat.”

χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, “with the imposition of hands of the presbytery;” he saith, “(Paul) speaketh not here of elders but of bishops; for elders laid not hands on a bishop, which Timothy was<sup>u</sup>.” Where χειροτονεῖν is used by Chrysostom to import and express these words of St. Paul, τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις, “imposition of hands.”

The very same exposition of the word χειροτονεῖν is often used in the ecclesiastical history. When Moses was to be made bishop of the Saracens before the Roman emperor could have peace with them, and was brought to Lucius, an Arian and bloody persecutor, then bishop of Alexandria, to be consecrated by him, “he refused imposition of hands with these words to Lucius: ‘I think myself unworthy for the place of a bishop; but if the state of the commonwealth so require, Lucius shall lay no hands on me, for his right hand is full of blood;’ and so his friends led him to the mountains, there to receive imposition of hands of those that were banished (for the truth).” Likewise when Sabbatius the Jew, that was made priest by Marcianus a bishop of the Novatians, began to trouble the church with observing and urging the passover after the Jewish manner, Marcianus, misliking his own error, “for imposing hands on him,” said, it had been better for him “to have laid his hands on thorns<sup>v</sup>,” than on such priests. And so Basil expressing the words of St. Paul to Timothy, “Lay hands hastily on no man,” saith, “We must not be easy (or, over ready) to impose hands<sup>x</sup>.”

There can then be no question, but as amongst the profane Grecians χειροτονεῖν did signify to lift up the hand in token of

<sup>u</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. cap. iv. hom. xiii. [t. xii. p. 486. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτονούν.]

<sup>v</sup> Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 36. [ed. Cantab. 1720. p. 258. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα τότε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Λούκιον ἤχθη, τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀπέφυγε, τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν πρὸς Λούκιον· Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμᾶντὸν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀνάξιον· εἰ δὲ λυσιτελεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, οὐκ ἐπιθήσει μοι χεῖρα Λούκιος, πεπλήρωται γὰρ αὐτοῦ αἱμάτων ἡ δεξιὰ . . . . Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντα τὸν Μωσῆν, ἀπήγον οἱ ἐπιτήδευοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος,

ὅπως ἂν τὴν χειροτονίαν παρὰ τῶν εἰς ἐξορίαν τυγχανόντων δέξηται.]

<sup>w</sup> Socrat. lib. v. cap. 21. [ed. Cantab. p. 289. Ταῦτα γινούς ὁ Μαρκιανός, ἐμέμφετο μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ πλάην, ὅτι οὕτω κενοδόξους ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτερίον προηγάγετο· καὶ δυσφορῶν ἔλεγε, βέλτιον ἦν ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις τεθεικέναι τὰς χεῖρας τὰς αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτε τοὺς περὶ Σαββάτιον εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτερίον προεβάλλετο.]

<sup>x</sup> Basil. Definit. 70. [Regula 70. ed. Paris. 1638. Οὐ δεῖ περὶ τὰς χειροτονίας εὐχερῆ εἶναι.]

liking, because that was their manner in yielding their consents, so amongst all ecclesiastical writers<sup>y</sup>, *χειροτονεῖν* is, to lay hands on another man's head, which the church of Christ used in calling and approving her bishops and presbyters, to whom she committed the cure of souls.

And in this sense shall we find the word every where occurrent in the Greek canons of the ancient councils; as by five hundred examples more might be shewed, if these were not enough which I have produced. Whose liking and leisure serveth him to make trial hereof, let him read the councils and fathers here quoted, though not discussed for brevity's sake, lest in a matter more than plain I should be tedious, and spend both pains and time more than sufficient. The canons called the apostles', (which I allege not as theirs, but as agreeing in many things with the ancient rules and orders of the primitive church<sup>z</sup>,) the council of Ancyra<sup>a</sup>, the council of Neocæsaria<sup>b</sup>, the great council of Nice<sup>c</sup>, the council of Antioch<sup>d</sup>, the council of Laodicea<sup>e</sup>, the general council of Constantinople<sup>f</sup>, the great council of Chalcedon<sup>g</sup>, the council of Africa<sup>h</sup>; Basil<sup>i</sup>, Nazianzen<sup>k</sup>, Chrysostom<sup>l</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>m</sup>, Gregory<sup>n</sup>; and so the Greek historiographers,—Eusebius<sup>o</sup>, Socrates<sup>p</sup>, Theodoret<sup>q</sup>, Sozomen<sup>r</sup>, Evagrius<sup>s</sup>:—All which<sup>t</sup> places, and infinite others prove the word *χειροτονεῖν* to be taken amongst the Greek divines, as I have said, for “imposition of hands,” and to be an act proper to the bishops, not common to the people; and therefore by no means to import a col-

<sup>y</sup> Thus L.: “sic apud ecclesiasticos authores, fere semper hanc habet notionem, ut attentius capiti, cum certa quadam consecratione manus imponatur: quæ consuetudo benedicendi ac manus imponendi presbyteris et episcopis cum ordinantur, a fontibus apostolicis deducta, per mille quingentas sæculorum ætates et amplius, in ecclesia Dei religiose semper retenta est et observata.”

<sup>z</sup> The 1. 2. 29. 35. 68.

<sup>a</sup> Can. 10. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Can. 9. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Can. 4. 16. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Can. 9. 10. 18. 19. 22.

<sup>e</sup> Can. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Can. 2. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Can. 2. 6. 15. 24.

<sup>h</sup> Can. 13. 18. 50. 51. 56. 90. 95.

<sup>i</sup> Epist. 74. 76.

<sup>k</sup> In Epitaph. Patris.

<sup>l</sup> De Sacerdotio, lib. ii. and iv.

<sup>m</sup> Hæres. 75.

<sup>n</sup> In Vita Nazianz.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. vi. cap. 20.

<sup>p</sup> Lib. i. cap. 15. ii. 6. 12. 13. 24. 26. 35. 44. iii. 9. iv. 29. v. 5. 8. 15. vi. 12. 14. 15. 17. vii. 12. 26. 28. 36. 37.

<sup>q</sup> Lib. iv. cap. 7. 13. v. 23.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 3. 4. 6. iv. 8. 12. 20. 22. 24. v. 12. 13. vi. 8. 13. 23. 24. 38. vii. 3. 8. 9. 10. 18. viii. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 5. 8. 10. iii. 7.

<sup>t</sup> [“All these places” would make the sentence smoother, if not more grammatically complete.—ED.]



lecting of the people's voices, or gathering their consents, although I deny not but sometimes it signifieth simply to choose, by whomsoever it be done, one or many.

St. Paul so useth the word, commending Luke unto the Corinthians: "We have sent the brother whose praise is in the Gospel; not only so, but also he is chosen of the churches to be a companion with us in our journey (or, to go with us)<sup>u</sup>, to carry this grace or contribution which is ministered by us." In collecting and conveying the liberality of the Gentiles unto the saints at Jerusalem, St. Paul would not intermeddle alone, lest any should distrust him, or misreport him, as covetously detaining, or fraudulently diverting any part of that which was sent; but he took such to go with him, and to be privy to his doings, as the churches that were contributors liked and allowed; those he calleth "the messengers of the churches<sup>v</sup>," and they were chosen by the churches themselves, not by the apostle, because he would avoid all suspicion and blame in this service, and provide for the sincere<sup>2 Cor. viii.</sup> report and opinion of his doings "even with men." I find<sup>21.</sup> the word likewise used once or twice<sup>w</sup> in epistles that are attributed to Ignatius; where χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον<sup>x</sup>, is to choose some bishop that should be sent as a legate to Antioch in Syria to procure and confirm the peace of that church, and not to choose one that should be bishop of Antioch; for as yet Ignatius their bishop was living, who wrote that epistle; and what had the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna to do with the choosing of a new bishop for the church of Antioch? but as other churches used in any contention or unquietness of their neighbours to send, some their bishop, some an elder or deacon, to appease the strife, and reduce the church to concord, so Ignatius prayed them in his absence, being now

<sup>u</sup> Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν. 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19.

<sup>v</sup> Ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν. 2 Cor. viii. 23.

<sup>w</sup> Ignatii Epist. ad Philadelphios. [ed. Lond. 1680. p. 187. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς

Συρίας, πρέπον ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον, εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβεῖαν.]

<sup>x</sup> Ignatii Epist. ad Polycarpum. [ed. Lond. 1680. p. 15. Πρέπει Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι τινα δι' ἀγαπήτην λίαν ἔχετε καὶ δοκνον, ὃς δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι.]



Christ's prisoner, to send some sufficient legate to heal the breach that was made, and quench the flame that was kindled in his church at Antioch.

For the signification and etymology of the word χειροτονεῖν this may suffice; by which it is evident, no proof can be made from the fact of Paul and Barnabas, in Acts xiv., that the people or presbytery concurred with them in the election of elders, or imposition of hands; yea, rather, since χειροτονεῖν with all Greek councils, fathers, and stories, is "to ordain by laying on of hands," both the general use of the word amongst all Greek divines, and the coherence of the text do enforce, that Paul and Barnabas, without assistance or consent of others (for any thing that is expressed), imposed hands on meet pastors in every place and church that was destitute. And this translation of the word hath far better warrant than that which is lately crept into some English Bibles, "they ordained elders by election."

The place, 1 Tim. iv. is left; whereas some think St. Paul confesseth, that others joined with him in the calling of Timothy: but what if the word πρεσβυτέριον signify there, not the college of elders, but rather the degree and office of an elder; how can we thence infer<sup>xx</sup> that others joined with Paul in laying hands on Timothy? The commentaries under Jerome's name do so expound it, "He received the grace of prophecy, together with the order (or, calling) of a bishop<sup>y</sup>." And so Primasius, Haymo, and others understand it. Yea, Lyra himself could find that " (the word) *presbyterium*" (in this place of St. Paul) " is the dignity or office of an elder<sup>z</sup>;" and he speaketh nothing amiss, for the Greek word hath that signification as usual as the other.

In the second canon of the great Nicene council, the fathers misliked that some were promoted "together with their bap-

<sup>xx</sup> Altered thus: " Num homonymiam verbi, præsidium causæ suæ collocabunt? et hoc fundamento totam disciplinæ superficiem excitabunt?"

<sup>y</sup> Hieron. in 1 Tim. iv. [t. ix. 385.

" Prophetiæ gratiam habebat cum ordinatione episcopatus."]

<sup>z</sup> Nicolai de Lyra Librorum Nov.

Test. Exposit. [Romæ, 1472. fol. 124. in 1 Tim. iv.] " Est autem presbyterium, dignitas vel officium presbyteri [et accipitur hic presbyterium pro episcopatu sicut e converso sub nomine episcopi vel episcopatus comprehenditur presbyter seu prælatus in principio capituli præcedentis.]"

tism unto the office or dignity of a bishop, or of an elder<sup>a</sup>;" that is, unto a bishopric or an eldership. The council of Antioch, the eighteenth canon, taketh order, that such as were appointed to be bishops, and could not be received in the places to which they were named, should return to the churches where they were before, and retain their former degree and calling of an elder; but if they troubled or disquieted the bishops already settled, ἀφαιρείσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, "even the (degree and) honour of the eldership (which they had) should be taken from them<sup>b</sup>." The council of Africa in their epistle to Bonifacius bishop of Rome, advertising him what they had done with Apiarius for whom he had written unto them, saith in this wise: "We thought good, that Apiarius the priest should be removed from the church of Sica, but retain the honour of his degree, and receiving our letters of testimony, might" in any other church "where he would and could, execute the office of his priesthood<sup>c</sup>."

Eusebius useth the word in that sense very often. The bishops, saith he, of Cæsaria and Jerusalem, judging Origen to be worthy of the highest degree, "laid hands on him for an eldership<sup>d</sup>;" or to make him an elder. Again, the bishops of Cæsaria prayed him to expound the Scriptures unto the whole congregation, "when as yet he had not received imposition of hands of an eldership, or of priesthood<sup>e</sup>." Not long

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Nicæni can. ii. [t. ii. col. 29. Ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ ἦτοι ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιγεγομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο παρὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ὥστε ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ ἐθνικοῦ βίου ἄρτι προσελθόντας τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατηχηθέντας, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν λουτρὸν ἄγειν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ βαπτισθῆναι προάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ πρεσβυτερίον· καλῶς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο γίνεσθαι.]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. xviii. [t. ii. col. 569. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς παροικίαν μὴ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς ἣν ἔχειροτονήθη, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἦτοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραίτησιν, ἢ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην, τοῦτον μετέχειν τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας μόνον μηδὲν παρενοχλοῦντα τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐνθα ἂν συνάγοιτο.]

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Afric. can. cxxxiv. [t. ii. col. 1139. Ἦρσεν ἡμῖν ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Σίκῃ ἐκκλησίας ἀποκινήθῃ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀπιδίριος, φυλαττομένης, αὐτῷ δὲ δηλονότι τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ βαθμοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ λαμβάνων ἐπιστολὴν, ὅπουδῆποτε ἀλλαχοῦ βουλευθείη καὶ δυνηθείη, τῷ καθήκοντι τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου λειτουργήσῃ.]

<sup>d</sup> Eusebius, lib. vi. cap. 8. [ed. Par. 1678. p. 170. "Ὅτε τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι καὶ διαπρέποντες Καισαρεῖας τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβείων τὸν Ὠριγένην καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαντες, χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτερίον αὐτῷ τεθείκασι.]

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 20. [ed. Par. 1678. p. 180. Ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο· ἐνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, τὰς τε

after, being sent into Palestine upon some urgent ecclesiastical affairs, “he received imposition of hands of priesthood by the bishops of those parts<sup>f</sup>.” And Cornelius speaking of Novatus, saith, he gat his priesthood or eldership by the favour of the bishop, “that laid hands on him for the lot or office of an eldership<sup>g</sup>.” Socrates telling how Proclus rose to be bishop of Constantinople, saith that Atticus first placed him “in the order of deaconship<sup>h</sup> ;” after he was thought worthy *πρεσβυτερίου*, and by Sisinnius preferred “to the bishopric of Cyzicum<sup>i</sup> ;” where *διακονία*, *πρεσβυτερίον*, *ἐπισκοπή*, stand in order for the degree and place of a deacon, elder, and bishop. And surely either the Greek tongue wanteth a word to express the office and calling of an elder derived from *πρεσβύτερος*, which were absurd ; or else the two words *πρεσβυτερίον* and *πρεσβυτέριον* must signify as well the office and degree of every elder, as the whole number and assembly of elders.

If any man think this exposition to be frivolous or curious, let him read what Calvin<sup>j</sup> confesseth of it ; “They which think the word *presbyterium*, to be here a noun collective, and put for the college of elders, think well in my judgment. Though all things weighed, I confess the other sense agreeth well” with the words, “that it should be a name of office<sup>k</sup>.” Then doth this place make no forcible proof that the presbytery did concur with Paul in laying hands on Timothy. That Paul laid hands on Timothy, cannot be doubted ; the words

2 Tim. i. 6. of Paul unto him are plain : “Stir up the grace of God, that is in thee, by the imposition of my hands.” That the presbytery joined with him in that action is supposed out of the

θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ τῆδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα αὐτὸν ἤξουν.]

<sup>f</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 23. [p. 182. Καθ’ οὗς δ’ Ὀριγένης ἐπειγούσης χρείας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἕνεκα πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στείλαμενος τὴν διὰ Παλαιστίνης, πρεσβυτερίον χειροθεσίαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπων ἀναλαμβάνει.]

<sup>g</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 199. Καταλιπὼν γὰρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρας

εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον.]

<sup>h</sup> Socrates lib. vii. cap. 41. [p. 386. ed. Par. 1688. Ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς διακονίας.]

<sup>i</sup> [Πρὸς τὴν Κυζίκου ἐπισκοπὴν. Ibid.]

<sup>j</sup> Added L. : “vir longe doctissimus,”

<sup>k</sup> Calvinus in 1 Tim. iv. 14. [ed. Genevæ, 1600. p. 495. “Presbyterium qui hic collectivum nomen esse putant, pro collegio presbyterorum positum, recte sentiunt meo iudicio; tametsi omnibus pensis, diversum sensum non male quadrare fateor, ut sit nomen officii.”]

words of Paul, 1 Tim. iv, but cannot thence be concluded ; as we see by the diverse signification of the word *πρεσβυτεριον*, and by the confession of old and new writers.

But Calvin, you say, affirmeth the other exposition to be the better ; and so do Chrysostom, Ambrose, Theodoret, Theophylact and others. Nay, what if Calvin<sup>l</sup> reject the other exposition as contrary to Paul's own words elsewhere uttered ? Look his Institutions ; his words be these : “ Paul himself saith, that he, and no others mo, laid hands on Timothy. ‘ Stir up the grace,’ saith he, ‘ that is in thee by the laying on of my hands :’ for that which is written in the other epistle of imposition of hands of the eldership, I do not so take it, as if Paul spake of the college of elders, but by that word I understand the very ordering (of Timothy) ; as if Paul had said, Look that the grace be not in vain, which thou receivedst by imposition of hands when I created (or made) thee an elder<sup>m</sup>.”

If, supposing a little the names of men, we examine the grounds of both interpretations, or remember but your own positions, we shall soon perceive which is the likelier. That the presbytery joined with Paul in laying hands on Timothy, no reason evicteth ; only the ambiguity of the word, which hath those two significations, leadeth some writers to that surmise : on the other side, that Paul himself laid hands on Timothy without others to conjoin with him ; besides the words of Paul, which are plain enough<sup>n</sup> for that purpose, the excellency of Timothy's function<sup>o</sup>, were he evangelist or bishop, and sufficiency of Paul's hands do strongly induce p. Yourselfs say, Timothy was an evangelist, that is, one which

<sup>l</sup> Thus altered in the Latin : “ Calvinus, ut antea vidimus, utramque partem æqua lance sustinet : sed idem alibi re tota diligentius et accuratius ponderata, in nostram plane propendet sententiam.”

<sup>m</sup> Calvini Instit. lib. iv. cap. 3. [ed. Genevæ, 1608. fol. 218. “ Paulus ipse alibi æ, non alios complures, Timotheo manus imposuisse commemorat. ‘ Admoneo te,’ inquit, ‘ ut gratiam suscitēs, quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum.’ Nam quod in altera epistola de impositione manuum presbyterii dicitur, non ita accipio, quasi Paulus

de seniorum collegio loquatur ; sed hoc nomine ordinationem ipsam intelligo ; quasi diceret, Fac ut gratia, quam per manuum impositionem recepisti, quum te presbyterum crearem, non sit irrita.”]

<sup>n</sup> Thus L. : “ præter ipsius manifesta verba brevissime simul ac verissime a Calvino superius exposita.”

<sup>o</sup> Added L. : “ supra sortem presbyterorum,”

<sup>p</sup> Added L. : “ Ut interim istorum hominum confessionem taceam, qui si constare sibi velint, nulla potuit in ordinando Timotheo, quippe evangelista, presbyterorum autoritas intercedere.”



Acts xv.  
36—40.

attended and helped the apostle in his travels for the gospel; and to appoint who should follow the apostle in his voyages, pertained not to the presbytery of any one church, but lay wholly in the apostle's own choice and liking; as appeareth by his refusing Mark, and taking Silas, when Barnabas departed from him, because he "would not take Mark into his company." Again, the power and gifts of an evangelist or bishop so far exceeded the degree of presbyters, that they could not be derived from them, but from the apostles<sup>a</sup>. As therefore Timothy could not have the calling neither of an evangelist nor of a bishop, from the presbytery, but from the apostle; so was he to receive imposition of hands (the sign and seal of his calling) from the apostle, and not from the presbytery. Lastly, since Paul saith, his hands were laid on Timothy, what needed the help of other men's hands? were not Paul's hands sufficient without assistance to give him the grace either of a prophet, evangelist, bishop or pastor? The first prophets and pastors to whom the apostle committed the churches of the Gentiles; from whose hands did they receive their gifts? not from Paul's? Then if Paul's hands were able to make the pastors and prophets, when as yet there was no presbytery, had he now lost his apostolic power, that he could not do the like to Timothy<sup>r</sup>?

But Chrysostom and others affirm, that mo besides Paul laid hands on Timothy.] Chrysostom cleane excludeth<sup>s</sup> the presbytery by saying, "The presbyters could not impose hands on a bishop<sup>t</sup>;" those are his words before alleged. Theodoret saith, "Paul here calleth them the presbytery, which had apostolic grace<sup>u</sup>," that is, episcopal, as himself expoundeth it. Theophylact followeth Chrysostom, and taketh the presbytery for the bishops, saying; "Mark what force

<sup>a</sup> Thus L.: "Deinde charismata Spiritus in Timotheum collata, quæ Paulus jubet exsuscitari; et potestas evangelica si istis credimus; aut episcopi, si priscis patribus consentimus, presbyterorum vocationem longe superabant, et a nullis præterquam apostolis dari potuerunt."

<sup>r</sup> Added L.: "An ita vecordes erimus et amentes, ut apostolicam in Paulo potestatem exaruisse dicamus?"

<sup>s</sup> Thus L.: "Chrysostomus adjungit

alios, sed illos quidem episcopos; presbyteros autem verbis disertis excludit."

<sup>t</sup> Chrysostom. in 1 Tim. Hom. xiii. [t. xii. 486. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν.]

<sup>u</sup> [Theodoreti Interpret. Epist. i. ad Tim. cap. v. [ed. Halæ. 1771. t. iii. 662. Χάρισμα τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκάλεσε.] πρεσβυτέριον δὲ ἐνταῦθα, τοὺς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς χάριτος ἡξιωμένους.]



the imposing of hands by bishops hath<sup>v</sup>." Ambrose inclineth to one rather than to many; his words are: "That the grace of the ordainer was given, he signifieth by prophecy and imposition of hands<sup>w</sup>."

As yet then we have no proof by the scriptures, that in elections of elders the people concurred with the apostles; nor that in imposing hands the presbytery joined with them: the places cited to that intent, prove no such thing. Matthias was chosen by lots; the seven deacons<sup>x</sup>, yourselves say, had no charge of the word and sacraments: at Lystra and Iconium, Paul and Barnabas laid hands on such as they found meet to be elders; and Timothy being superior to presbyters, was of force to have the gifts and grace of his calling, not from them, but from the apostle's hands. I have not racked nor wrested the places from their natural sense, nor the words from their proper significance. *Χειροτονεῖν*, with ecclesiastical writers, to him that will not purposely shut his eyes against the truth<sup>y</sup>, is to impose hands; *πρεσβυτέριον* is the office and calling of an elder, as well as the number of elders<sup>z</sup>; and that sense Calvin not only confesseth "to agree well<sup>a</sup>" with the text, but resolutely upholdeth it in his Institutions, as the right meaning of St. Paul's words; the presbytery must go seek for some other hold for the imposition of their hands. The fathers Greek and Latin, repel that as an oversight or conceit in our late writers.

How then were elections made, and imposition of hands given in the apostles' time? I confess I had rather read other

<sup>v</sup> Theophylacti in 1 Tim. iv. Comment. [v. 14. "Ὅρα δὲ φρικτὸν τί δύναται ἡ ἐπίθεσις τῶν ἱερατικῶν χεῖρων."]

<sup>w</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iv. [t. iii. 405. "Gratiam tamen dari ordinatoris significat per prophetiam et manuum impositionem."]

<sup>x</sup> Thus L.: "Septem diaconorum fidelitas, universæ multitudini fuit prius approbanda, quam cæterorum omnium facultates illis crederentur, ad communem totius ecclesiæ victum et cultum comparandum."

<sup>y</sup> Thus L.: "*Χειροτονεῖν* si morem conciliis, patribus, et historiis usitatum spectemus," &c.

<sup>z</sup> Added L.: "et hunc germanum esse loci Paulini sensum quem nos ad-

ferimus (præterquam quod Paulusserit Timotheum *suis manibus* consecratum) Calvinus istorum nemini secundus in suis Christianæ religionis fundamentis, ingenue confitetur et libere. Veritatis quanta vis quantum est lumen, nisi aures ad omnia libeat occludere, et oculos ob-signare? Eant isti nunc et sua commenta pro sancti Spiritus institutis venditent: populares electiones jure divino stabilitas jacent, apostolos sine presbyteris manus imponere non potuisse clamitent."

<sup>a</sup> Calvinus in 1 Tim. iv. 14. [ed. Genevæ 1600. p. 495. "Tametsi omnibus expensis, diversum sensum non male quadrare fateor, ut sit nomen officii."

men's judgments herein, than write mine own, so as they take the pains soberly to prove that they say, and not peremptorily to avouch what they like<sup>b</sup>; the which, if it might be observed in the church of Christ, would a great deal the sooner appease and decrease the strifes that now afflict the minds, and quench the zeals of most men, not knowing where to rest, or what to believe: yet lest our silence should animate others to fall further in love with their fancies, I will not be grieved to express what I suppose was the authentical and apostolical manner of electing elders, and imposing hands: and first of imposing of hands; whence it was derived, and to what end it was used.

The laying of hands on another's head was an ancient rite amongst the Jews, used in making their prayers for any, and bearing witness with, or against any, confirmed and ratified by God himself<sup>c</sup>. Jacob, when he blessed the children of Joseph, laid his hands on their heads. Moses was willed by God "to put his hands upon Joshua, before all the congregation, and in their sight to give him his charge," that he might be ruler of the Lord's people. Every man by the law of Moses was to "lay his hand on the head of his sacrifice" that he presented unto God. The two elders that falsely accused Susanna, "laid their hands on her head," whiles they gave evidence against her. The Son of God when he came in flesh, did not reject that ceremony, but did rather strengthen it. When little children were brought unto him, "he laid his hands on them, and blessed them." The sick, and such as were possessed with devils, were healed by the laying on of his hands; and to the faithful he gave that power, that they "should lay their hands on the sick and recover them."

The apostles, receiving it from their Master, not only used it in curing of diseases, and in their public blessings, prayers, and supplications for any man that his labour might succeed to the glory of God and good of others, but also retained it in the calling and confirming of such as the spirit of grace would make meet for the service of Christ's church, and in conferring the gifts of the Holy Ghost on them. "Paul laid

<sup>b</sup> Thus L.: "vel firmis rationibus pugnare non recusent;"

<sup>c</sup> Thus L.: "ac tandem a Servatore nostro in evangelio confirmatus."

hands on the father of Publius, when he cured him of his fever and bloody flux." "Ananias laid hands on Paul," when Acts ix. 17. as yet he was not baptized, that he might "receive his eyesight." When the Holy Ghost commanded to separate and dismiss Paul and Barnabas, that they might attend the work whereto he had appointed them, Simeon, Lucius, and Manahen, that prophesied and preached at Antioch together with them, "fasted, prayed, and laid their hands on them, Acts xiii. 3. and let them go." When the seven were chosen to see the whole assembly provided for, and the goods of the faithful well distributed, the apostles "prayed for them, and laid Acts vi. 6. their hands on them."

Here first appeareth the ordaining of deacons; in whose election for the trial of their uprightness, discretion, and diligence, to dispose the goods and alms of the church, the people were consulted, as for matters not exceeding their reach, and appertaining to their care: but on the seven, the apostles and none else laid hands, though the seventy disciples and elders were then in place with them. Now though the multitude were meet judges of those things which were then required in the deacons, yet could they no more judge of the gifts and abilities of pastors and prophets, than blind men of colours. Knowledge directeth, ignorance deceiveth and disableth a judge. In the word and sacraments the people are to follow their leaders, not to judge of their talents. Of manners, you think, they may judge, and in that respect their consent needful to the choosing of elders. Thereof hereafter in place more opportune: we now speak of the gifts and graces that were requisite to the function of pastors and prophets; and those I say the multitude neither could, neither can discern or examine. Howbeit this is not our question, who could best judge of every man's gifts, but who then could give them? for at the first planting of the faith, the apostles were to make men fit whom they found unfit, and not to discern the gifts of such as were fit<sup>d</sup>; and to that end

<sup>d</sup> Added L.: "Nam cum primum ecclesiæ plantarentur, etiam illi qui credebant, in divinis Scripturis et mysteriis adeo tyrones fuerunt et rudes, ut ad populum docendum et regendum nulli fuerint idonei, nisi quos apostoli, per manuum suarum impositionem, variis Spiritus Sancti donis instruerent, et ad

had they power, with imposition of hands, to give the Holy Ghost to such as otherwise without those gifts and before those gifts were most unfit.

Acts viii. 16-18. An example will make it plain. When the people of Samaria believed the preaching of Philip, and were baptized in the name of Christ, "the Holy Ghost came on none of them till Peter and John came down and prayed for them, and laid their hands on them;" and so "by laying on of the apostles' hands, the Holy Ghost was given (them)." The miraculous gifts of the Spirit, to speak with strange tongues, to heal all diseases, but specially to preach, pray, and prophesy by revelation, without all human learning or labour, it pleased God, at the first spreading of the gospel, to bestow

Eph. iv. 12. on many for "the edifying of his church and work of the ministry," for so the apostle writeth; that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit (the church) withal." These gifts the apostles gave with laying on of hands, not to all that believed, or desired them, but to those persons whom the Spirit pointed out<sup>e</sup>, and prepared for the spreading of the truth, and guiding of the church; and

1 Cor. xiv. 3. in such measure as the Spirit pleased, "to comfort, exhort, and edify the church withal." In Samaria Peter and John found no meet men to undertake the charge of the church after their departure, (for they were lately converted, and scant yet trained in the mysteries of Christian religion, much less acquainted with the Scriptures, by which their doctrine should be directed, and they enabled to teach, convince, and instruct in righteousness,) but by imposition of hands they did furnish such as the Holy Ghost named unto them, with all things needful for their calling; making some of them prophets, some pastors, some otherwise, and enduing every one

2 Tim. iii. 16.

illud munus exsequendum aptos efficerent. Hanc a Christo potestatem, ut impositione manuum omnigenas Spiritus Sancti gratias largirentur, quibus homines repente mirandum in modum ad verbi prædicationem redderentur idonei, non plebs, non presbyterium, sed soli receperunt apostoli. Ex quo sequitur Paulum, sine plebis aut presbyterii consensu vel consilio, (quippe quibus ea

conferendi Spiritum Sanctum facultas non erat concessa) sola manuum suarum impositione Timotheum tantis Spiritus Sancti donis cumulare potuisse, ut divinitus in pastorem, prophetam, aut evangelistam delectus censeretur."

<sup>e</sup> Thus L.: "Arcana quadam ratione Spiritus Sanctus apostolis significabat."



of them with graces answerable to their functions. In which case we may not be so foolish as to think the people did elect on whom Peter and John should impose hands ; but, contrariwise, the Holy Ghost did name by voice or by prophecy on whom he would bestow his gifts, and on those the apostles laid hands.

The like did Paul at Ephesus to the twelve disciples that never heard of the gifts of the Holy Ghost before. He “laid Acts xix. 6. his hands on them,” and “the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied,” that is, they were endued with gifts and graces meet “for the gathering of the saints together, and work of the ministry.” “We must con- Eph. iv. 12. fess,” saith Beza, “that in this place is described the first founding of the Ephesine church ; whereas before this, there were no orderly assemblies of the godly there, and therefore the apostle asketh them concerning those gifts with which God used specially to furnish such as were admitted to the government of the churches, to wit, whether hands were laid on them, or they endued with those gifts of the Holy Ghost, by which it might be gathered they were called by God to the sacred ministry, as, namely, the gift of tongues and of prophecy<sup>f</sup>.” The judgment of Beza I take to be very sound and good in this place, and thence, if I be not deceived, I rightly conclude, that Paul called these twelve, and laid hands on them to make them prophets and teachers in the church of Ephesus, when as yet there was neither assembly to elect them, nor presbytery to join with him ; and consequently the imposition of Paul’s hands alone, without the presbytery, was most sufficient to make evangelists, prophets, and teachers in the church of Christ.

Yea, what if the presbytery might not join with Paul in that action ; but to give the gifts of the Holy Ghost with imposing hands was the peculiar sign and honour of his apostle-

<sup>f</sup> Theodor. Bezae, Annotat. in Acta Apostol. cap. xix. [ed. Cantab. 1642. Not. in v. ii. p. 352. “Necesse est igitur fateri hic non agi de peculiari quapiam duodecim hominum historia qui sint ab apostolo seu baptizati seu re-baptizati : neque de baptismo, sed de Ephesinae ecclesiae primordiis, cum antea nulli fuissent illic ordine constituti piorum conventus : ac proinde apostolum

percontari de donis quibus illos peculiariter solebat Deus ornare, qui gubernaculis ecclesiarum admovebantur, num videlicet jam essent illis manus impositae, vel essent ipsi iis saltem Spiritus Sancti donis praediti, ex quibus colligeretur illos ad sacrum ministerium divinitus vocari, veluti dono linguarum, et prophetiae.”]



Acts viii. 12. ship? At Samaria was Philip, and even there he “converted” and “baptized” the city, and yet Philip there present might not join with Peter and John in laying on of hands, but they two did it without Philip. Paul never travelled alone; and Acts xix. 22. at this time Timothy and others “did minister unto him,” and yet he alone laid hands on these twelve to make them Rom. xv. 29. prophets. That which he saith to the Romans, “I know, when I come, I shall come unto you with the abundance of the blessing of the gospel of Christ,” may very well bear this sense, that he should come unto them with the plentiful gifts of God’s Spirit to be poured on them by his hands. That which he saith to the Corinthians can have no other meaning, 2 Cor. xii. 12. | “The signs of an apostle were wrought among you, with signs, wonders, and powers; for what is it wherein you were inferior to other churches?” proving himself to be an apostle by the gifts and graces that God bestowed on them by his hands. Thus much and more is confessed by Beza, a man of no small account<sup>g</sup>, who grounding his opinion on the promise of Christ made only to the twelve, and accordingly performed, saith, “All the twelve assembled on the day of Pentecost, expecting the promise made, for the good of the whole church, but not unto the whole church, nor to all the disciples, but properly and peculiarly to these (twelve). Luke xxiv. 49; Matt. xxviii. 16 and 19; Mark xvi. 14 and 15; Acts i. 2 and 4. In the process of the story, they are all said to be of Galilee, neither is Peter said to stand forth with any other colleagues than with these eleven; Acts ii. 7, 14 and 37; so that it evidently appeareth this solemn sending of the Holy Ghost pertained to none other, than to those twelve appointed with a special abundance of the Holy Spirit, to plant churches throughout the world; by whose ministry (or hands) afterward the gifts of the Holy Ghost might be given to such others as should be their helpers<sup>h</sup>.”

<sup>g</sup> Added L.: “Cui et omnes boni plurimum, et isti omnia tribuunt in hac præsertim controversia,”

<sup>h</sup> Theod. Beza Responsio ad Saraviam de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus [excudebat Joannes Le Preux, 1692, pp. 26, 27. in c. v. “. . . dictus est Matthias undecim illis apostolis adjunctus, qui omnes tunc ex undecim facti duodecim, simul die Pentecostes convenerint: promissionem videlicet expectantes, totius

quidem ecclesiæ commodo, tamen non toti ecclesiæ, nec discipulis omnibus, sed istis proprie et peculiariter factum, Luc. xxiv. 49. Matth. xxviii. 16. 19. Mar. xvi. 14. et 15. Act. i. 2. et 4. Neque id temere sic fuit gestum, ut unus et idem par esse apostolus eo quoque declararetur, quod non ut antea unus ante alium diversis locis et temporibus ad discipulatum sed simul, eodemque loco et tempore, et iidem [sic. qu.

That none besides the twelve received the Holy Ghost, when they did, or that all the rest received the same by the apostles' hands, and not immediately from God, I dare not affirm. St. Austin saith, "The Holy Ghost came from heaven, and filled an hundred and twenty (of them) sitting in one place<sup>hh</sup>." The seven deacons were full of the Holy Ghost before the apostles' hands were laid on them. And Peter testifieth the same of the Gentiles that heard him preach in Cornelius' house. "As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost Acts xi. 15. fell on them, even as upon us at the beginning." So that God gave the power of his Spirit as well to others, as to the apostles<sup>i</sup>, and that without the apostles' hands: but I verily believe, that at the first none gave the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost by imposing hands, save only the apostles<sup>j</sup>. And so saith Chrysostom. "Philip baptizing gave not the Holy Ghost; and indeed he could not; for the giving thereof belonged only to the apostles<sup>k</sup>." And again, "Others received power to do signs, but not to give the Holy Ghost; this was peculiar to the apostles<sup>l</sup>." So that not only the apostles might impose hands on such as should be prophets and pastors in the church, to make them fit for their callings<sup>m</sup>, by the power and gifts of God's Spirit, without the presbytery; but in that case the presbytery might not arrogate so much unto themselves as to join with the apostles in giving the Holy Ghost, which was the very seal of their apostleship: and therefore whom the Spirit appointed,

*iisdem?*) adhibitis signis ad unum et eundem apostolatam sint adsciti. Deinde in illius historiæ progressu dicuntur omnes isti fuisse Galilæi, nec dicitur Petrus stetisse cum aliis quam cum undecim suis collegis, Act. ii. 7, et 14, et 37. ut manifeste liqueat hanc missionem Sp. Sancti tam solennem ad nullos alios, quam ad illos duodecim plantandis per orbem terrarum ecclesiis, cum peculiari Sancti Sp. abundantia destinatos pertinuisse, quorum postea ministerio, aliis ipsorum *συνέργοις* futuri Spir. Sancti *χαρίσματα* [sic cum ἡ pro ἰ] communicarentur, quod significatum etiam voluit Petrus Joelis prphetiamitan s."]

<sup>hh</sup> August. in Epist. Joan. Tractat. ii. [t. ix. 588. "Ubi inchoata est ec-

clesia, nisi ubi venit de cælo Spiritus Sanctus, et implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti?"]

<sup>i</sup> Added L.: "quamvis non eadem mensura,"

<sup>j</sup> Added L.: "nam eos solos id fecisse lego, non alios."

<sup>k</sup> Chrysost. in Act. Hom. xviii. cap. vii. [t. ix. 170. *Διδὸν καὶ βαπτίζων πνεῦμα τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις οὐκ ἐδίδον· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἦν.*]

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. [*Δύναμιν μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβον ποιεῖν σημεῖα· οὐχὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι ἐτέροισ·*]

<sup>m</sup> Thus L.: "idoneos sine minima temporis dilatione,"

the apostles ordained with imposing hands without either people or presbytery to join with them, to ratify their election or action. Men's voices might be spared when God's will was revealed; and the Spirit gave his gifts, not as others consented or liked, but where himself purposed and appointed. The Holy Ghost then electing and choosing, how could the presbytery take upon them either to confirm it without presumption, or reverse it without rebellion against God and his Spirit.

Can any be shewed that was so named by the Spirit to receive imposition of hands from the apostles? No doubt the apostles were directed as well to the persons whom they should choose, as to the places where they should teach.

Acts xvi. 6. When Paul would have preached in Phrygia, he "was forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia."

When he sought to go into Bithynia, "the Spirit suffered him not," but the "Lord called him" by a vision into Macedonia. At Antioch "the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work whereto I have called them."

Acts xiii. 2. Of Timothy Paul saith, "the prophecies (or, prophets) spake of him before, that he should fight a good fight<sup>n</sup>." Neither was this private to Timothy, but as Chrysostom noteth it, it was usual in the apostles' times: "Then<sup>o</sup>, because nothing was done by men, the pastors were made by prophecy. What is, by prophecy? By the Holy Ghost, (speaking by himself or by the prophets,) as Saul was shewed by prophecy where he lay hid amongst the stuff: as the Holy Ghost said, 'Separate me Paul and Barnabas, so was Timothy chosen p.'" And likewise Theodoret upon the same words of the apostle to Timothy, writeth thus; "Thou hast not thy calling," saith Paul, "by

<sup>n</sup> Added L.: "Timotheum igitur testimonio prophetarum approbatum et commendatum Paulus in comitatum assumpsit, et secum proficisci voluit et per impositionem manuum suarum eum Spiritu Sancto locupletavit: in quo quis potuit accedere, vel presbyterii vel populi consensus?"

<sup>o</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. cap. i. hom. v. [t. xii. 434. Τότε δέ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπὸ προφητείας ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς: τί ἐστὶν ἀπὸ προφητείας;

ἀπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Σαούλ κατὰ προφητείαν ἐδείχθη ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι κρυπτόμενος. . . . προφητεία ἦν καὶ τὸ λέγειν, Ἀφορίσατέ μοι τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν· οὗτω δὲ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἤρεθθη.]

<sup>p</sup> Added L.: "In Timotheum a Spiritu Sancto dilectum ac designatum, Paulus licet Apostolus, tamen sine presbyterio manus imponere non potuit? Ita scilicet ratiocinantur nonnulli, sed aliter longe Chrysostomus, et itidem Theodoretus."

men, but thou receivedst that order by divine revelation<sup>q</sup>." And so the scholies collected by Œcumenius; "By the revelation of the Spirit, Timothy was chosen of Paul to be his disciple, and circumcised, and ordained a bishop<sup>r</sup>." Yea this dured a long time after Paul's death, as Eusebius reporteth out of Clemens Alexandrinus, all the while St. John the apostle lived; of whom he writeth, that after his return "out of Patmos unto Ephesus, he went to the churches of the Gentiles adjoining, somewhere appointing bishops, somewhere setting whole churches in order, somewhere supplying the clergy with such as the Spirit named, or drawing lots for such as the Spirit signified<sup>s</sup>." So that thirty years after Peter and Paul were dead, the Holy Ghost signified to St. John whom he should take into the clergy; and for avoiding ambition and contention, he drew them by lots, even as we read in the Acts was done in the choice of Matthias.

If you ask me, what was the general rule for elections and ordinations in the apostles' times; in a doubtful case I must return a doubtful answer. There are three sorts of elections mentioned in the New Testament; by the Spirit, by lots, by voices. By lots was Matthias chosen; by voices the seven deacons. By the Spirit speaking in his own person, were Paul and Barnabas called from Antioch to preach to the Gentiles. By the Spirit speaking in the prophets was Timothy designed: "Neglect not the grace which was given thee by<sup>1</sup> prophecy with imposition of hands of an eldership." And<sup>14</sup> again: "This commandment I commit to thee, according to<sup>1</sup> the prophecies that went before of thee." The apostles were warned by the Spirit, as well of the parties on whom he would bestow his gifts, as of the places whither they should go, or

<sup>q</sup> Theodoret. Interpret. epist. i. ad Tim. cap. 1. [Halæ, 1771. t. iii. 645. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης, φησί, τετύχηκας κλήσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐδέξω.]

<sup>r</sup> Œcumenii in 1 Epist. ad Tim. Comment. [Lutet. Par. 1621. t. ii. 216. Κατὰ γὰρ πνεύματος ἀποκάλυψιν, καὶ ἤρέθη παρὰ τοῦ Παύλου εἰς μαθητὴν, καὶ περιετιμήθη, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονήθη.]

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 23. [Par. 1678. p. 73. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ βλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἓνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σηματομένων.]



Acts viii. 29. where they should stay. The Spirit spake to Philip, to join himself to the eunuch's chariot; and to Peter, willing him to go with Cornelius' messengers. Ananias and his wife would needs try whether the Spirit in Peter knew the secrets of their dealings: but their tempting the Holy Ghost in the apostle was sharply revenged in them both<sup>t</sup>. "If I come again," saith Paul, "I will not spare, seeing you seek experience of Christ, that speaketh in me." By that Spirit were Peter and John directed on whom they should lay hands at Samaria; and so was Paul at Ephesus, when he laid the first foundation of that church. And in that sense he might afterward truly say to the pastors and elders of Ephesus, "Take heed to the flock where the Holy Ghost made you overseers;" for it was the Holy Ghost's doing, both to notify the persons unto Paul, that should receive imposition of hands, and to pour out his wonderful blessings on them to make them meet for the calling of pastors and prophets, whereto he had chosen them.

Whatsoever the apostles did, that had a most plentiful measure of God's Spirit far above pastors, prophets and evangelists; yet their followers, for example, Timothy and Titus, were not to impose hands without the people and presbytery concurring with them.] I have heard this often and earnestly asserted, but I could never yet see it proved. The greatest ground of this presumption is, for that the apostles themselves did so; from whose example their scholars would not rashly depart. But as we find by better view, the apostles did not so; by lots and by prophets, directed not by men's wills, but by God's Spirit, the apostles chose elders; or rather by laying on their hands, as the Holy Ghost guided them, they did furnish such as before were neither meet nor able to sustain that charge with the gifts of the Spirit fit for that calling: by the voices and liking of the people, they made no pastors nor prophets, that I read; and therefore I must have leave to think that Titus and Timothy used rather the help of prophecy to find whom the Spirit would name, than the consents or suffrages of

<sup>t</sup> Thus L.: "*magno suo malo seuserunt eum animi recessus etiam intimos perscrutari.*"



the people ; for in their times the gifts of the Spirit were not quenched, yea the prophets that were under the apostles, continued under them ; and these two gifts, “the revealing <sup>1</sup> Cor. xiv. of secrets,” and “discerning of spirits,” which the prophets <sup>25.</sup> and evangelists had, (though in less measure than the apo- <sup>1</sup> Cor. xii. 10. stles,) served chiefly to distinguish who were fit or unfit for the service of Christ's church. When prophets failed, the church was forced to come to voices ; but so long as the Spirit declared by the mouths of the prophets whom he had chosen, the consent of the people or presbytery might not be required.

The apostle giveth rules to Timothy and Titus, what manner of men must be chosen, and how they must be qualified before they be elected.] Paul doth not teach the people whom they should elect, but appointeth Timothy and Titus whom they should admit. To prevent ambition and emulation in the competitors, affection and dissension in the electors, lots were first liked by the apostles, and retained a long time after by St. John ; and to disappoint seducing and lying spirits then crept into the world, and into the church, these rules were prescribed as a touchstone for Timothy and Titus, to discern the spirit of truth speaking sincerely, from the spirit of error, flattering and admiring the persons of men for advantage sake : for as God gave the power and grace of his Spirit to his church in great abundance to illustrate the glory and enlarge the kingdom of his Son ; so the devil ceased not to intermix whole swarms of false and deceitful workmen to obscure the brightness and hinder the increase of Christ's church ; and therefore the apostle setteth down what manner of men Titus and Timothy shall lay hands on, and whom they shall refuse, lest they be partakers of their sins.

Paul could not fear lest the Holy Ghost speaking by the prophets would name men unworthy the place.] Paul saw the number of false prophets already risen, and every day likely to rise, and foresaw the poison and danger of their deceits and pretences ; and for that cause setteth down a perpetual canon to the church for ever, what vices must be shunned, and virtues required, in a pastor and preacher. Such did the Holy Ghost name whiles he ruled the mouths of the prophets, and

such for ever should be called, even when the gift of prophecy was decayed<sup>u</sup>.

The primitive church used always to elect her pastors by the suffrages of the people; and Cyprian saith "it is none other than a divine tradition and apostolic observation." I shall have place and time anon to speak of the custom of the church and opinion of the fathers; till then I reserve the handling of both. I am now searching the scriptures and viewing the word of God, whether it can thence be proved that pastors and elders were, or ought to be, chosen by the consent of the people; and for my part I profess I find none. I see some men zealously bent to authorize it by the will and commandment of God: I dare not profess to be so privy to

Heb. v. 4. his will without his word. In the Old Testament, Aaron was  
 Num.iii.15. called of God, and all the Levites, according to their families, were likewise assigned to their places: the children succeeded in their fathers' rooms: the prophets were inspired from above, and none elected: Moses, Joshua, and the judges, were appointed by God, as also the princes of the twelve tribes. The  
 Exod. iii. 10. pointed by God, as also the princes of the twelve tribes. The  
 Num.xxvii. 18. seventy elders were such as were known (not chosen) to be  
 Num. i. 16. elders and rulers of the people; and to make captains over  
 Num.xi.16. one thousand, one hundred, and ten, Moses took the chief  
 Deut. i. 15. of every tribe: to Saul God gave the kingdom by lots; and  
 I Sam. x. 20, 21. after to David by voice: their successors inherited or intruded. I see in all these neither political magistrate nor Levitical minister chosen by the suffrages of the people. For the New Testament, I have often said, the people made no choice there, that I read, but only of the seven deacons, and they were to be chosen by the people because they were to be put in trust by the people, and not by the apostles, to dispose the goods and lands of all the disciples at their discretions. And though the apostles did will the people to provide them meet men to serve their tables, yet this is no reason to conclude they did, or should do the like, in the choice of prophets and pastors. For the deacons by your doctrine<sup>v</sup> were

<sup>u</sup> Added L.: "de popularibus autem electionibus nec Paulus nec cæterorum quisquam, aut verbum fecit aut literam scripsit quamvis nostri nihil nisi jus

divinum loquantur."

<sup>v</sup> Added L.: "Nam ut a vestris placitis transversum unguem non discedamus, plurimum interest inter terrenas

to dispense the earthly riches of men, not the heavenly treasures of God, as did the pastors and prophets, whose gifts were given them by the apostles' hands, and not by people's voices.

Paul and Barnabas, in every church where they came, ordained elders by the election of the people, as St. Luke writeth in Acts xiv.] This is the only<sup>w</sup> place of the New Testament that can be brought to make any show for the popular elections of elders; and this is so plain a perverting of the text, that I hope the learned will no more trouble the world with it. They imposed hands to make pastors and prophets in the churches as they travelled; for so the word signifieth with all Greek divines: popular elections they made none. For I still avouch, that the apostles as they journeyed found none fit for those places, whom the people might choose; but by imposing their hands, as the Spirit directed, not as the multitude fancied, made men fit, giving them those gifts of the Spirit that were requisite for their calling. If you doubt the truth thereof, mark well the ordaining of the first deacons. The choice was referred to the multitude, whose officers and agents the deacons were; but in laying hands on them, neither Barnabas, nor the rest of the seventy disciples, which were then in that fellowship, and elders in the church of Jerusalem, had any thing to do: the apostles, and none else, laid hands on them<sup>x</sup>.

None yet had received the Holy Ghost but the apostles, and therefore none could give the Holy Ghost besides the apostles.] This is a shift that hoodeth some men's eyes, but it will never hold the hammering. St. Luke saith, that after the day of Pentecost, at which time all the apostles without question were filled with the Holy Ghost, "As they prayed, the Acts iv. 31.

opes diaconorum fidei commissas, et divinas presbyterorum et episcoporum prudentiæ reservatas: nec si populo tunc facta fuerit potestas de rebus suis statuendi, protinus, ei fas erit res sacras et cælestes ad arbitrium suum revocare. De ceteris per apostolorum manus designatis, non est quod ambigatur, cum in illis creandis, et Sancti Spiritus multiplici gratia cumulandis ut oneri sustinendo pares essent, nec populi voluntas quicquam valeret, nec plebs cum Deo

societatem coiret."

<sup>w</sup> Thus L.: "Porrectas populi manus nec numerabant nec expectabant; quin Spiritui Sancto potius auscultabant, quosnam illæ muneribus suis admirandis dignaretur, ut ad sacrum ministerium habiles et apti redderentur."

<sup>x</sup> Added L.: "Et hoc Beza vir egregie doctus plane nobis assentitur. Idem ex historia Samaritanorum quibus Petrus et Johannes Spiritum Sanctum dederunt facile perspicitur."

place where they were assembled together was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." The apostles were before this replenished with the Holy Ghost; now the rest, each man in his proportion, received the gifts of the Spirit, to serve the church of Christ. Undoubtedly the seven, and sundry others, had received the Holy Ghost before this time, though not in that high measure which the apostles had. The words of the twelve to the rest of the disciples are these :

Acts vi. 3. "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, and full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, whom we may appoint to this business;" ergo, these seven and more (there had otherwise been no choice) were "full of the Holy Ghost" before this election and imposition of hands. If you confess that none could give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands but the apostles, (which I take to be most true, and to be fully proved, as well by their imposing hands on the seven deacons in the presence of the whole church without any elder or disciple to join with them, as by the like done at Samaria by Peter and John, and not by Philip, who yet converted and baptized them, and wrought great signs and wonders amongst them,) then you confess as much as I would infer,—that none could make pastors and prophets by imposing hands but the apostles; and therefore in that case the presbytery might not look to join with them.

Many imposed hands besides the apostles.] To other purposes they did<sup>y</sup>; but to create elders, there is no proof that the presbytery joined with the apostles in imposition of hands.

Did not the presbytery at Antioch lay hands on Paul and Barnabas, when they sent them to preach the gospel unto the Gentiles ?] The prophets did, the presbyters did not.

Acts xii. 25. Mark was then at Antioch, as St. Luke noteth; yet imposed he no hands, when the prophets did. Neither did the prophets call Paul, or send him to preach to the Gentiles: the Holy Ghost himself spake in the midst of the congregation, and  
Acts xiii. 2. willed Paul and Barnabas to be separated for the work, to which he had chosen them; and with prayer over them, and for them, they were dismissed.

<sup>y</sup> Thus L. : "Id ego non inficior. Timotheo siquidem Paulus præcepit, ne cui temere manus imponeret."

“Paul was here ordained,” saith Chrysostom, “to be an apostle, that he might preach with power<sup>z</sup>.”] Chrysostom meaneth that Paul received here imposition of hands to attend the execution of his apostleship amongst the rest of the Gentiles, which till then the Spirit had deferred; but he received no power from them to be an apostle, nor to preach unto the Gentiles. Paul saith of himself that he was an apostle, “neither of Gal. i. 12. men, nor by man,” and that the “chiefest (gave him nothing, Gal. ii. 6. or) added nothing unto him,” that is, neither authority nor instruction; much less did these three of a meaner calling than the apostles lay hands on him to make him an apostle; that power belonged only to Christ. Again, he received his apostleship of the Gentiles long before, as he saith, “When Gal. i. 15–it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach<sup>17</sup> him amongst the Gentiles, I did not straightway confer with flesh and blood, but went into Arabia, and after three years came” (first) “to Jerusalem.” He had been at Jerusalem, Acts ix. 26. and was “presented” by Barnabas “to the apostles,” before he came to Antioch. For, after the first sight of the apostles he went from Jerusalem to Tarsus, and thence Barnabas fetched Acts xi. 25. him, “as a chosen vessel to carry the name of Christ unto the Acts ix. 15. Gentiles,” when he first brought him to Antioch. And at Antioch, where “he preached a whole year” before he re- Acts xi. 26. ceived this imposition of hands, to whom preached he but to the Grecians, that is, to the Gentiles? Wherefore they did not impose hands on him to give him authority to preach to the Gentiles; he received that commission from Christ long before, and had then twelve months and more preached unto the Gentiles in the very same place where they imposed hands on him.

To what end then did they impose hands on Paul and Barnabas? They had preached there a good time, and furnished the church with needful doctrine and meet pastors to take charge of their souls; and then the Holy Ghost minding to have them do the like in other places, willed the prophets

<sup>z</sup> Chrysost. Hom. xxvii. in Act. νεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς ἀποστολὴν, ὥστε μετ' Apost. [cap. xiii. 249. t. ix.] χεῖροτο- ἐξουσίας κηρύττειν.



Acts xiii. 2. and teachers there “to let them go,” for so the word ἀφορί-  
 σate may signify, and the words following import as much,  
 Acts xiii. 3. that the prophets and pastors laying hands on them, ἀπέλυσαν,  
 Act. xiii. 4 sent them away; and they, ἐκπεμφθέντες, being sent abroad  
 by the Holy Ghost, went to Seleucia, Cyprus, and other  
 places.

[Imposition of hands to that purpose was not necessary.] No  
 more was fasting; but by these two, joined with prayer, the  
 prophets and pastors witnessed unto the church, that they  
 were called away by the Holy Ghost, and departed not upon  
 their own heads, and that the work they took in hand needed  
 the continual prayers of the faithful, as well for the good suc-  
 cess of their pains, as protection of their persons amidst so  
 many troubles and dangers as they were like to sustain; and  
 therefore, with a solemn kind of prayer for them, and bless-  
 ing of them, (for “imposition of hands,” as Austin saith,  
 “is nothing else but prayer over a man<sup>a</sup>,” and to that end  
 was it here used,) they commended them to the grace of God.  
 This was the purpose and effect of that imposition of hands,  
 which Paul and Barnabas received at Antioch, as St. Luke  
 himself reporteth; for after they had laboured and preached  
 Acts xiv. 26. the gospel in many places, they returned to Antioch, “whence  
 they had been commended to the grace of God for the work  
 which” (now) “they had performed.” So that when they  
 departed from Antioch, the prayers there made for them, and  
 imposition of hands on them, were nothing else but *a com-  
 mending them to the grace of God* for the better prospering  
 of the work which they undertook.

Chrysostom, Œcumenius, and others affirm that bishops,  
 which differ not from elders, laid hands on Timothy as well as  
 Paul.] They take the word *presbytery*, not for elders, as you  
 do, but for bishops; and add this reason, “because presbyters  
 could not impose hands on a bishop;” which directly over-  
 throweth your imposition of hands by the *presbytery*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> August. de Baptismo contra Dona-  
 tistas, lib. iii. cap. 16. [t. vii. col. 410.  
 “Manus autem impositio non sicut  
 baptismus repeti non potest. Quid est  
 enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem?”]

<sup>b</sup> Added L.: “præsertim quum in  
 Pauli verbis non liquido confirmetur  
 alios fuisse Pauli consortes in manibus  
 super Timotheum imponendis.”

Yet others joined with Paul in imposing hands, which is here denied.] The word, as Jerome doth expound it, admitteth no such sense. And if we follow Chrysostom's interpretation, it rather harmeth than helpeth the presbytery: for no presbyter, by his assertion, could impose hands. Neither doth the text, if you consider it, say they joined with Paul in imposing hands, but "grace was given to Timothy <sup>1 Tim. iv. 14.</sup> with the imposition of hands."

That must needs be, when Paul also imposed his hands.] The presbytery, that is, the prophets, might lay hands on him as well as Paul, though not at the same time, nor to the same end. It is no strange thing in the church of Christ, neither was it then in the apostles' times, for a man to receive imposition of hands oftener than once. On Paul first Ananias <sup>Acts ix. 17.</sup> laid hands, and afterwards the prophets of Antioch. Bar- <sup>Acts xiii. 3.</sup> nabas wanted not imposition of hands when he stood in the <sup>Acts i.</sup> choice with Matthias, without which he was not capable of the apostleship, and yet afterward at Antioch he received it <sup>Acts xiii. 3.</sup> the second time. In the primitive church, they were first deacons; and upon trial, when they had ministered well and were found blameless, they were admitted to be elders or priests; and after that, if their gifts and pains so deserved, they were called to an higher degree; and in every of these they received imposition of hands. So that every one by the ancient discipline of Christ's church, before he could come from ministering to governing in the church of God, received thrice, or at the least twice, imposition of hands. The like, if any man list, he may imagine of Timothy, that the "good <sup>Acts xvi. 2.</sup> report" which the "brethren of Lystra and Iconium gave" of him unto Paul, whereupon "he would" that Timothy <sup>Acts xvi. 3.</sup> "should go forth with him"; grew upon trial of his faithful and painful service in a former and lower vocation, for which he had imposition of hands, and that moved Paul to take him along with him, and when he saw his time, to impose hands on him for a greater calling. For it is not credible that Paul would impose hands on him at the first step to place him in one of the highest degrees, being so young as he was, without good experience of his sober and wise behaviour in some other and former function.

<sup>c</sup> Lastly, if it should be granted that others joined with Paul in laying hands on Timothy, we must not conclude it was of necessity, as if Paul's hands had not been sufficient without them to give the Holy Ghost, or that he had not power in Acts xvi. 3. himself to choose who "should go forth with him," and Acts xix. 22. "minister unto him;" we must shun both these as sensible absurdities: but because Timothy was very young, lest Paul should seem to be led with any light respect in taking him unto his company, he might haply be content to hear the judgments of the prophets then present and guided by the same Spirit that he was, and suffer their hands as well as their mouths to concur with his in prophesying and praying over Timothy, that all the church might know the Spirit of God had pronounced him worthy the place, and not Paul's affection advanced him unworthy. In that respect, I say, Paul might be willing the prophets should express to the whole assembly what the Holy Ghost spake in them touching Timothy, and permit them with prayers and hands, as their manner was, to confirm the same; otherwise Paul alone had power enough both to impose hands on pastors and prophets, as he did at Ephesus; and to make choice of his company, as he did not long before, when he utterly refused Mark, and retained Silas to travel with him.

<sup>c</sup> Thus amplified in the Latin: "Ad extremum, ut hanc rem totam absolvamus; si Græcorum hoc detur auctoritati (quod in ecclesia Dei non est insolens) ut presbyterium una cum Paulo manus imposuisse dicamus; ex eo nihil conficitur, quod ad istorum valeat institutum. Nam illorum temporum presbyteria constabant ex apostolis, prophetis, evangelistis, pastoribus, qui una cum Paulo conjungi poterant in ordinatione Timothei. Συμπρεσβύτερον se Petrus vocat; id est, unum de presbyteris, qui tamen inter apostolos primus fuerat. Barnabas Lystrensibus et Ico-

niensibus presbyteris conjunctim cum Paulo manus imposuit. Duo tamen hic cavenda sunt. Unum ne de Pauli dignitate detrahamus; quasi manus apostoli quibus tam sæpe Spiritum Sanctum aliis contulisset, ad ordinandum Timotheum sine presbyterio minus suffecissent. Alterum, ne potestatem apostoli minuamus, quasi non fuisset in ejus arbitrio positum, quem secum deduceret, quem Ephesinæ, quem Cretensi præficeret ecclesiæ sine presbyterorum nescio quorum, consensu. Hæc enim a veritate valde sunt aliena."

## CHAP. VIII.

*The apostolic power in determining doubts of faith, and delivering unto Satan.*

ANOTHER point<sup>d</sup>, in show diminishing apostolic authority, is, that the elders assembled in the council of Jerusalem Acts xv. 4. together with the apostles to discuss the matter in question between Paul and others, and the letters, deciding the controversy, were written to the churches abroad as well in their names as in the apostles'. This case will soon be answered by St. Paul himself. Paul stood not in doubt of his preaching, neither needed he the consent of the apostles or elders to confirm that doctrine which the Spirit of Christ had delivered unto him : we must remember his earnest protestation ; " If Gal. i. 8, 9. an angel from heaven preach unto you otherwise than that you have received" (of me), " hold him accursed. As we said before, so say I again, If any man" (apostle or other) " preach unto you otherwise than that you have received" (already), " let him be accursed." And why ? The reason is yielded in the next words : " For I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which I Gal. i. 11, preached was not of man ; neither received I it of man, neither <sup>12.</sup> was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." What therefore St. Paul was right well assured Christ had delivered

<sup>d</sup> Prefixed L. : " Ex his quæ sexti capitis initio proposui, duo mihi supersunt tractanda, quorum utrumque potestatem apostolicam ita debilitat et enervat, ut neutrum apostoli sine plebis vel saltem presbyterii consensu fecisse, aut facere potuisse videantur. Horum primum in quæstionibus fidei terminandis : proximum in ejectione sceleratorum et contumacium a cœtu fidelium cernitur. Asserit enim ab istis presbyteros in concilio Hierosolymitano una cum apostolis sedisse, ut quæstionem illam de circumcisione Gentium et observatione. Legit inter Paulum et alios agitatum explica-

rent ; literas etiam a synodo conscriptas, et legatos ad hanc litem sedandam missos tam seniorum et fratrum, quam apostolorum nomen prætulisse ; et hæc omnia manifestis Lucæ verbis confirmari. Rem ita se habuisse negari non potest ; cur ita fecerint ratio nondum aperitur. Neque enim ad hanc controversiam dirimendam Paulo vel soli defuit autoritas, nec illi opus erat ullo vel presbyterorum vel apostolorum concilio aut consensu, ut doctrinam divinitus illi traditam comprobarent, sed alio Paulum spectasse, si recte rem attendamus, repერიemus."

Gal. i. 16, 17. unto him, to submit that to the correcting or censuring of men, yea, of the apostles themselves, had not been in him moderation or sobriety, but distrust and infidelity. And for that cause, when God revealed his Son unto him, he did not first “confer with flesh and blood,” neither “went he to Jerusalem unto those that were apostles before him,” lest he should seem to dérogate from the voice and truth of Christ; but straightway preached the gospel, which he learned by revelation; and stood always resolved, that what the Son of God had taught him, the sons of men ought not to revoke, and could not amend.

Gal. ii. 2. Why then repaired he at length to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders to have his doctrine examined and confirmed unto the churches by their letters?]<sup>e</sup> Many false brethren came from Jerusalem, and pretending the apostles’ names, impugned both the credit and doctrine of Paul, and taught that except the Gentiles were circumcised, they could not be saved; and by informing the brethren that this course was observed at Jerusalem (for they counted Paul far inferior to the chief apostles) they hindered the weak from believing, and caused the strong to stagger at the truth of Paul’s doctrine. To stop the mouths of these seducers, and to retain the churches in their steadfastness, and remove this stumbling-block from before the simple, that Paul taught contrary to the rest of the apostles; the Holy Ghost “willed him” by revelation to go up to Jerusalem and declare to the rest the gospel which he preached, that by their general confession and letters the doctrine which he preached might be acknowledged unto the Gentiles to be sound and sincere. This was the intent of Paul’s journey thither: not to have his doctrine revised and approved by their authorities, but to have it heard and acknowledged by their confessions, that the false report of their discording, everywhere spread by those deceivers, might no longer trouble the minds of the Gentiles.

Gal. ii. 2. “I ascended” (saith Paul of that his journey to Jerusalem) “by revelation:” when he came thither, what did he? “I declared” (saith he) “the gospel which I preach among the

<sup>e</sup> Added L.: “Facilis est et expedita responsio.”



Gentiles, and particularly to the chiefest; for the false brethren's sake, which crept in to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus; to whom we gave no place by yielding, no not an hour, that the truth of the gospel might remain amongst you" (that are Gentiles.) And "they that were chiefest added nothing unto me, but contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel over the Gentiles was committed unto me, as the gospel over the Jews was unto Peter, when James, Cephas, and John, which are counted to be pillars, knew the grace which was given me, they gave to me and Barnabas their right hands" (in token) "of fellowship."

What needed the presence of the elders at this meeting? Some of them had come from Jewry to Antioch, as sent from the church at Jerusalem, and troubled the minds of the Gentiles with urging circumcision. Wherefore, to know the reason of their so doing, and to prevent the like in time to come, the apostles would not have the matter privately handled, but in the audience and presence of "the whole church;" and with a general consent, letters were written in all their names, as well to disclaim the sending of any such, as also to confirm the Gentiles in the course which they had begun<sup>ee</sup>. For these two points their letters import: "The apostles, elders, and brethren," which in the verse before are called *the whole church*, "to the brethren of the Gentiles at Antioch, &c. Because we have heard that certain coming from us have troubled you with words and entangled your minds, saying you must be circumcised, to whom we gave no such commandment, it seemed therefore good unto us, when we were together with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Paul and Barnabas, which shall tell the same by word of mouth."

The apostles wanted neither authority nor sufficiency to determine the matter. How many doubts doth Paul himself resolve to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to others without a council! This very question<sup>f</sup>, when after this meeting it troubled the church of Galatia, did Paul allege the apostles'

<sup>ee</sup> Added L.: "et Paulum ac Barnabam, ut veros et germanos fidei præcones amplecterentur."

<sup>f</sup> Added L.: "quam exortam Antiochia Hierosolymitana synodus represent,"

letters unto them, or the decision made at Jerusalem? No; Gal. v. 2-4. he resteth on his own apostleship<sup>ff</sup>, and saith, "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify unto every man which is circumcised, that he is bound to keep the whole law. Ye are abolished from Christ, whosoever are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." The council at Jerusalem decreed it was not needful for the Gentiles to be circumcised before they could be saved. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to them not to lay that burden on their necks. But Paul goeth a degree further, and telleth them they are "cut off from Christ," and "fallen from grace," if they seek or admit circumcision. He is so far from standing on the credit of that assembly, that he utterly denieth they added any thing to him; and avoucheth he withstood and reproved Peter to his face for the same cause at Antioch. Yea, in that council, who decided the controversy but Peter and James? yet because it touched the whole church of Jewry, and for that many of the elders then present were after to preach unto the Gentiles, and to live amongst them and with them, the apostles, no doubt, directed by God's Spirit, brought the matter to be fully discussed in the open hearing of the whole church, thereby to satisfy and quiet the consciences of those Jews that were "zealous of the law," though they believed; and wholly to quench, if it were possible, the heart-burning and detestation the believing Jews had of the Gentiles, which well Acts xxi. 20. appeared by their "striving with Peter" for "entering into the Gentiles and eating with them," and by their own "report" made to Paul long after this council was ended<sup>g</sup>.

The last thing wherein the people or presbytery seem to join with the apostle's authority, is the putting the wicked from among the faithful, and delivering them over to Satan, of purpose to reduce them to repentance, or by their example

<sup>ff</sup> Thus L. : "Num cæterorum sententiam et auctoritatem interposuit et non potius suum ipsius apostolatum calumniis contradicentium opposuit? Non sacrarum literarum armis dimicavit, et hostes suo quasi Marte profligavit?"

<sup>g</sup> Added L. : "Hæc vera fuit causa

cur et Paulus Hierosolymam ascenderit et apostoli concilium coegerint, non ut presbyterorum opem implorarent, sed ut legis zelotypiam et Gentium detestationem in credentibus Judæis mollirent et mitigarent."

to fear others from the like offences. Of the incestuous Corinthian St. Paul writeth thus: "I verily, as absent in body, <sup>1 Cor. v. 3.</sup> but present in spirit, have already decreed, as if I were present, <sup>4, 5. 13.</sup> that he which hath done this, when you are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Put away therefore from among yourselves that wicked man." By this it is collected that the apostle alone could not excommunicate, nor deliver unto Satan, but the church must join with him; and then for not hearing the church, the offender might be taken for an ethnack and a publican.

This place breedeth two great doubts: first, what it is to deliver unto Satan; next, by whom this incestuous person was delivered unto Satan, whether by St. Paul or by the Corinthians. And because the latter point is of more importance to the matter we have in hand, let that first be examined: then after, what is meant by *delivering unto Satan*.

The least we can imagine of these words is, that Paul being absent requireth them to put the malefactor out of their society, and to keep no company with him: for that rule he giveth touching all notorious offenders in the same chapter: "If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous person, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an <sup>11.</sup> extortioner, with such a one eat not." As elsewhere he charged the faithful to "withdraw themselves from every <sup>2 Thess. iii.</sup> brother that walked disorderly, and not after the instruction" <sup>6. 14.</sup> which he gave them. And "if any man," saith he, "obey not our words, keep no company with him, that he may be ashamed." If the apostle did but this, that is, require them (because he was not present) to remove that incestuous person from their fellowship; this sheweth he had authority over them, after that sort in Christ's name to command them; but the words which he useth are far more forcible<sup>h</sup>.

Reproving their negligence for not doing what in them

<sup>h</sup> Added L.: "et si quid ego video, plus habent ponderis ad id quod quarimus."

lay to put that offender from among them, he addeth<sup>i</sup>,  
 1 Cor. v. 3. "I have already decreed (or, determined), as if I were present, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver this *wicked one* to Satan<sup>j</sup>." He asketh not their consents, he prayeth not their aid, he referreth not the matter to their liking; he saith, "I have already decreed," afore he wrote, and afore they read, that part of his epistle. What to do? to join with them in delivering the trespasser to Satan? No, "I have already decreed to deliver this *sinner* unto Satan<sup>k</sup>." By what means? By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then for aught that we yet find in this place, the apostle, though absent, decreed as present, "to do the deed himself," and that by the power and "might of our Lord Jesus Christ;" not by the consent or help of the Corinthians.

But their assembling themselves was required withal; for he saith, "When you are assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus and my spirit *with you*."] The apostle would then do it when the whole church might behold it, and be afraid of the like. And though he were "absent in body," yet should they find the force of his spirit present, even the "might and power" of the Lord Jesus to deliver that heinous sinner unto Satan. Now how should the power and might of Christ be shewed in excluding a man from the word and sacraments? Pronouncing a few words is sufficient for that matter; which maketh me to be of Chrysostom's mind, that he was delivered unto Satan, "to strike him with some grievous plague or disease<sup>l</sup>."

This power in the apostles was neither strange nor rare. When Ananias and his wife lied unto Peter, and thereby  
 Acts v. 5. would try whether the Holy Ghost in Peter knew the secrets  
 9, 10. of their doings, Peter strake them both dead with the very

<sup>i</sup> Thus L: "Vos' (inquit) 'non luxistis, ut tolleretur e medio vestri qui facinus hoc patravit' et lenitatis ac misericordiæ personam deponens quam libentissime semper sustinuit, vehementis et severi iudicis partes suscepit, et egit his verbis,"

<sup>j</sup> Ἡδὴ κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν . . . σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, παραδοῖναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ

Σατανᾷ 1 Cor. v. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Added L: "Hoc neque presbyterium, si quod fuit Corinthi, neque plebs facere potuit. Nam illi verborum imbres maximi quibus Paulus fulgurat et tonat, gravius quiddam minantur quam solam a cœtu fidelium exclusionem."

<sup>l</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Cor. cap. v. hom. xv. [t. xi. 153. "ἵνα μαστίξῃ αὐτὸν ἑλκεῖ πονηρῶ, ἡ νόσφ ἐτέρᾳ.]"

breath of his mouth, I mean, with the sound of his words. When Elymas the sorcerer "resisted" the preaching of the Acts xiii. 8. truth, "and sought to turn away Sergius Paulus" from be-<sup>11</sup> lieving the same, "immediately the hand of the Lord was upon him" at Paul's word, and took his eyesight from him. That which the apostle said of himself, "We have vengeance 2 Cor. x. 6. in readiness against all disobedience," and even his words next before the rebuking and punishing of this incestuous person, "Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in the spirit of 1 Cor. iv. mildness?" and, "If I come again, I will not spare:" this <sup>21.</sup> 2 Cor. xiii. "rod," this "vengeance," this "not sparing," import they <sup>2.</sup> no more than a plain removing them that sinned from the fellowship of others? or, as the words lie, had St. Paul the mighty power of God's Spirit to revenge the disobedient and to chastise the disordered? "The tokens," saith he, "of an apostle 2 Cor. xii. were wrought among you with signs, and wonders, and great <sup>12.</sup> works (or, mighty powers)." And when some of them abused the Lord's supper, "for this cause," saith he, "many are 1 Cor. xi. weak and sick among you, and many be dead (or, sleep)." <sup>30.</sup> Whereby it is evident that in the apostles' times, when as yet there were no Christian magistrates to correct and punish the disorders of such as professed the gospel, the hand of God, sometimes by himself, sometimes by the apostles, did afflict and scourge the wicked and irrepentant sinners, that thereby they might learn not to detain the truth of God in unrighteousness, and the rest fear to provoke his wrath with the like uncleanness.

And this is no such new found or vain exposition that it should be scorned. Not only Chrysostom, but Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret<sup>m</sup>, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and divers others embrace it, as most coherent with the text. Jerome saith, "'To deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh'—that the devil may have power corporally to possess him (or, afflict him)<sup>n</sup>." Ambrose saith, "This is the delivering unto Satan, when the apostle pronounceth the sentence, and the devil which is ready to take into his power those that are forsaken of God, hearing the sentence, seizeth on them (forthwith) to let them understand they are therefore tor-

<sup>m</sup> Added L.: "Sedulius."

<sup>n</sup> Hieron. in 1 Cor. v. 5. [t. ix. 306.

"Ut arripiendi illum corporaliter habeat potestatem."]



mented because they have blasphemed<sup>o</sup>." Theodoret<sup>oo</sup>: "Paul sheweth that the Lord pronounceth sentence, and delivereth him to the tormentor, and appointeth how far he shall proceed to chastise the body only. By this place we are taught that the devil invadeth them that are severed from the body of the church, as finding them destitute of grace<sup>p</sup>." The commentaries collected by Œcumenius: "For the destruction of the flesh—He appointeth limits unto Satan, that he should touch the body only, and not the soul. And he well saith, for the destruction of the flesh, that is, to waste him (or, pine him) with some sickness<sup>q</sup>." Theophylact: "For the destruction of the flesh—He doth restrain the devil to certain bounds; even as (he was restrained) in holy Job to touch the body only, and not the soul<sup>r</sup>."

If we scan the circumstances<sup>s</sup>, I see no cause why this exposition should be rejected. That he was excommunicated I make no doubt; these words of St. Paul lead me so to think:

1 Cor. v. 2. "You have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this (lewd) fact might be put from among you. Purge out therefore the old leaven; put away from among you that wicked man." For his excommunication these words had been sufficient; there needed no further nor other circumstances: but because the fact was heinous and horrible, and such as the very heathen abhorred, and therefore tended to the great slander and reproach of Christ's name, the apostle not content, as I take it, to have him only removed from the company of the godly, addeth, that "he had already de-

<sup>o</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. i. 20. [t. v. 400. "Traditio autem hæc est, quia commotus apostolus blasphemii eorum, sententiam protulit in eos, diabolus autem qui ad hoc paratus est, ut aversos a Deo accipiat in potestatem, audita sententia corripit eos, ut intelligerent hac causa se pœnis astringi, quia blasphema-verant."]

<sup>oo</sup> Theodoret. in Epist. 1. ad Corinth. cap. v. [Hælae, 1771. t. lii. 192. Καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Δεσπότην προκαθήμενον ἔδειξε, καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκφέροντα, καὶ τῷ δημίῳ παραδίδοντα, καὶ ὅρους τιθέντα, ὥστε μόνον παιδεύσαι τὸ σῶμα. . . . Λιδα-σκόμεθα δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, ὡς τοῖς ἀφοριζομέ-νοις, καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος χωριζομένοις, ἔπεισιν ὁ διάβολος ἐρήμους

εὐρίσκων τῆς χάριτος.]

<sup>p</sup> Added L.: "Sedulius, 'Tradere huiusmodi hominem Satanæ, id est, tortori diabolo, ut tormento carnis spiritus salvaretur.'"

<sup>q</sup> Œcumenius in 1 Cor. v. 5. [t. i. 458. ed. Lutet. Par. 1631.] "Ὅρον τίθησι τῷ Σατανᾷ, μόνου σώματος ἄψασθαι, μὴ καὶ ψυχῆς. . . . καλῶς δὲ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκὸς, οἷον ἵνα νόσῳ αὐτὸν τήξῃ."

<sup>r</sup> Theophylact. in 1 Cor. v. 5. [ed. Aug. Linsell Episc. Heref. Lond. 1656. p. 200. "Ὅρον δὲ τίθησι τῷ διαβόλῳ, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰῶβ, τοῦ σώματος ἄψασθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς."

<sup>s</sup> Thus L.: "Si, tacitis patrum nominibus, huius loci circumstantias excutiamus,"

creed" to make him an example, and at their next meeting<sup>t</sup>, "though he were absent, by the mighty power of the Lord Jesus (he would) deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh," to save the spirit by repentance. Paul decreed this of himself, without the knowledge or consent of the Corinthians. To execute that which he decreed, he needed, and therefore used, the mighty power of the Lord Jesus<sup>u</sup>. For *dύραμις* with St. Paul is often taken for the miraculous power of the Holy Ghost, whereby the apostles and others did great works, and had even the devils in subjection unto them<sup>v</sup>. That which he would do should be this: "to deliver him unto Satan" in the presence of them all "for the destruction of the flesh," to the end the affliction of his flesh might bring him to repentance, and so save his soul in the day of Christ. To deliver unto Satan is more than to excommunicate. Many are secluded from the company of the godly for a time that are not yielded unto Satan; yea, many were delivered unto Satan without excommunication, as Ananias and Elymas. The end of this action was the affliction or destruction of the flesh; which in excommunication hath no sense, except it be metaphorical: for excommunication endangereth the spirit, and toucheth not the flesh. And the lusts of the flesh are not destroyed by excommunication, but by repentance, which of itself is no consequent to the other (for many are excommunicated that never repent); but affliction and fear of destruction cause repentance, and thereby the soul is saved. Forsomuch then as Paul "decreed it alone," and that "absent," and in performing it, "used the mighty power of Christ," to the "destruction of his flesh" that had sinned; which things cannot be understood of excommunicating or removing the offender from the fellowship of the faithful, and that is before and after in other

<sup>t</sup> Added L.: "luculentam illi plagam inflicturn,"

<sup>u</sup> Added L.: "quæ penes apostolum fuit, non autem plebem aut presbyterium Corinthiacum."

<sup>v</sup> Added L.: "In hac autem exercenda potestate, quæ presbyterorum vel populi partes esse potuerunt? Poterant presbyteri nefarium illum hominem a

communione sanctorum et vitæ cœlestis hæreditate propter suum scelus excludere pronuntiare; poterant verbis et minis gravissime vulnerare; populus etiam ab omni voluntario commercio se subtrahere potuit et debuit; solus tamen apostolus Satanæ torquendum dare potuit."

words expressed ; I am persuaded, that by delivering unto Satan, the apostle meant to shew the mighty power which Christ had given him to revenge the disobedient, when the Spirit of God should see it needful to make some men example to others. Of that power he thus warneth the rest of the

2 Cor. xiii. 10. Corinthians : " I write these things unto you absent, lest when I am present I should use sharpness, according to the

2 Cor. xii. 21. power which the Lord hath given me. I fear when I come, I shall bewail many of them which have sinned already and

2 Cor. xiii. 2. not repented. I write to them which have heretofore sinned and to others, that if I come again I will not spare."

But grant that by delivering unto Satan were meant excommunication, what reason is there to affirm the apostle alone could not do it? " He alone decreed it," and " required them" though he were absent, " to execute it<sup>x</sup>;" yea, he " rebuketh" them for not putting the transgressor from amongst them : and elsewhere he saith of himself, that he did the like.

1 Tim. i. 20. " Hymeneus and Alexander I have delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme." Why should we not believe he could do it, since he saith he did it?

2 Cor. x. 6. He that " had vengeance in readiness against all disobedience," why could he not by the same power deliver the offender at Corinth unto Satan as well as he did elsewhere Hymeneus and others?

Excommunication, some think, pertained to the whole church, because our Saviour said, " Tell the church ; if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnck and publican ;" and therefore they conclude the apostle neither could nor would excommunicate without the consent and liking of the church.] What I take to be the true meaning of Christ's words (" If he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnck and publican") I have said before ; I shall not need to repeat it as now : nevertheless, because the ancient fathers use as

w Thus L. : " Apostolum sine plebis aut presbyterii consensu non potuisse quenquam excommunicare ? Pugionem plane plumbeum intentant."

x Thus L. : " Qui solus hoc statuit, Corinthiis ea de re ne consultis quidem, qui suum illis decretum significavit, non ut rem judicatam rescinderent, sed ut latam ab ipso sententiam in omnium

auribus recitarent, non potuit credo facere, quod fecisse se scribit ; præcipiti quadam temeritate longius est progressus quam apostolatus septa permittebant, ad suum munus et stationem a Corinthiis revocandus. Ita scilicet. Qui eo sunt animo non potuisse dicant apostolum quod fecisse constat."

Matt. xviii. 17.

well these words of our Saviour as those of St. Paul to express the strength and terror of excommunication, I will not gainsay their exposition; yet this shall we find to be most true, that no catholic father ever heard or dreamed that lay elders or the whole multitude should meddle with the keys and sacraments of the church, but only the apostles and their successors. "Tell it the church, that is," saith Chrysostom, "the rulers and governors of the church." And upon the next words, "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever you bind in earth shall be bound in heaven, &c." he writeth thus: "Christ biddeth not the governor of the church to bind him, but if thou bind him, the band is indissoluble<sup>z</sup>." By these words, saith Jerome, "Christ giveth his apostles power to let them understand that man's judgment is ratified by God's<sup>a</sup>." "He forewarneth," saith Hilary, "that whom (the apostles) bind or loose, answerably to that sentence they are bound or loosed in heaven<sup>b</sup>."

If this persuade us not the apostles had power without the consent of the people or presbytery to excommunicate and deliver unto Satan, we cannot deny but our Saviour gave them this power, that "whose sins they did remit should be remitted, and whose they did retain should be retained;" yea, speaking particularly to one of them, he said, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." If then the rest had equal power and like honour with Peter, as Cyprian<sup>c</sup> saith they had; and if Paul were nothing behind the chief apostles,

11.

<sup>y</sup> Chrysost. in Matt. xviii. hom. lxi. [t. vii. 659. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τούτων παρακούσῃ, εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτέστι τοῖς προσεδρεύουσιν.]

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε τῷ προέδρῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, δῆσον τὸν τοιοῦτον· ἀλλὰ ἐὰν δῆρῃς, αὐτῷ [τῷ λελυπημένῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτρέπων, καὶ ἅλута μένει τὰ δεσμά.]

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Matth. xviii. [t. ix. can. 55. "Potestatem tribuit apostolis, ut sciant qui a talibus condemnantur, humanam sententiam divina sententia roborari."]

<sup>b</sup> Hilar. Comment. in Matth. can. xviii. [p. 581. Par. 1652. "Ut quos in terris ligaverint, id est, peccatorum

nodis innexos reliquerint; et quos solverint, confessione videlicet sapientiæ receperint in salutem, hi apostolicæ conditione sententiæ in cælis quoque absoluti sint aut ligati."]

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ. [Oxon. 1682. p. 107. "Et quamvis apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat et dicat, 'Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi, si cui tenueritis tenebuntur:' tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit."]

as himself affirmeth he was not, it is evident he had power to bind in heaven, and to deliver unto Satan without the help of the presbytery or people of Corinth. And why? The power of the keys was first settled in the apostles before it was delivered unto the church, and the church received the keys from the apostles, not the apostles from the church. And therefore when Augustine saith, "If this (I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven) were spoken only to Peter, the church doeth it not; if this be done in the church, then Peter when he received the keys (represented, or) signified the whole church<sup>d</sup>." We must not think by the name of the church he intendeth the lay presbytery or the people, but he doth attribute this power to the church, because the apostles and their successors, the pastors and governors of the church, received the keys in Peter and with Peter. "The keys of the kingdom of heaven we all that are priests," saith Ambrose, "received in the blessed apostle Peter<sup>e</sup>."

The apostles then had the keys of Christ's kingdom to bind and loose both in heaven and in earth; and by the dignity of their apostleship received the Holy Ghost to remit and retain sins as well before as after Christ's resurrection, without either presbytery or people to concur with them. "O you blessed and holy men," saith Hilary, speaking of the apostles, "that for the desert of your faith gat the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and obtained right to bind and loose in heaven and earth<sup>f</sup>!"

§ I suppose then it is not much to be contradicted that the

<sup>d</sup> August. in Joann. Tractat. l. [t. ix. col. 370. "Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc ecclesia: si autem et in ecclesia fit, ut quæ in terra ligantur, in cælo ligentur, et quæ solvantur in terra, solvantur in cælo: quia cum excommunicat ecclesia, in cælo ligatur excommunicatus: cum reconciliatur ab ecclesia in cælo solvitur reconciliatus: si hoc ergo in ecclesia fit, Petrus quando claves accepit ecclesiam sanctam significavit.")]

<sup>e</sup> Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdotali, cap. i. [t. iv. 447. "Væ jam mihi est si minime prædicavero et si susceptum thesaurum in terra defossum, id est, in meo corde diu occulero, et lucernam

divini verbi compressam sub modio tentavero, et non super candelabrum propositam, cunctorum oculis manifestavero, et claustra humanæ imperitiæ per claves illas regni cælorum quas in beato Petro apostolo cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes, minime reseravero."]

<sup>f</sup> Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. vi. [p. 118. "Vos o sancti et beati viri ob fidei vestræ meritum claves regni cælorum sortiti, et ligandi atque solvendi in cælo et in terra jus adepti."]

<sup>g</sup> Prefixed L.: "Ut ad hujus capitis calcem de apostolorum prærogativa tandem aliquando perveniamus, et quæ dispersa sunt colligamus, hanc omnium summam conficere possumus."



apostles had from their Master a larger commission, fuller instruction, higher power, and greater gifts than the rest of the doctors, pastors, prophets, and evangelists in the church of Christ; and that the churches in their time were not governed by the voices and consents of the greater part concurring with them before any thing could be done, but by their precepts and rules delivered by speech, or expressed by writing, which the faithful in every place as well pastors as people with all readiness obeyed: and that in appointing and ordaining pastors and elders, as likewise in retaining sins, and binding offenders by delivering them unto Satan<sup>h</sup>, or rejecting them from the fellowship of saints, they needed not the help or agreement of the people or presbytery; but had power sufficient with imposing their hands as the Spirit directed to make prophets and pastors, by giving them the gifts of the Holy Ghost needful for their several callings; and by the same power could yield the bodies of such as sinned and repented not to be punished and afflicted by Satan, or remove them from the communion of Christ's church, and exclude them from the kingdom of heaven, as their wickedness or wilfulness deserved. This superiority they retained whiles they lived; so moderating their power, that they sought rather to win the evil-disposed with lenity, than repress them with authority, save when the wicked might no longer be endured lest others should be infected<sup>i</sup>; and using such meekness and mildness towards all, that no schism disordered the church by their rigour, nor soul perished by their default; labouring more to profit many with their pains, than to prefer themselves before any by their privilege, and utterly forgetting their own dignity, whiles they served and advanced Christ's glory. I observe as well their patience as their preeminence, lest any man should think I go about to make them princes in the church of Christ, to command and punish at their pleasures, and not rather faithful stewards and careful shepherds<sup>j</sup>, to feed and guide the church committed to their charges.

<sup>h</sup> Thus L.: "et censuris ecclesiasticis."

<sup>i</sup> Thus L.: "nisi ubi morbi dira vis sua contagione latius manaret, et in dies singulos per cæterum gregem ser-

peret; aut aliqua sanctæ doctrinæ insignis conflaretur infamia."

<sup>j</sup> Added L.: "ex mandato Domini et Spiritus Sancti præscripto."

## CHAP. IX.

*What parts of the apostles' power and charge were to remain in the church after their decease, and to whom they were committed.*

IT will haply be granted the apostles had their prerogative and preeminence above others in the church of Christ, but that limited to their persons, and during for their lives ; and therefore no reason can be made from their superiority to force the like to be received and established in the church of Christ for all ages and places, since their office and function are long since ceased, and no like power reserved to their successors after them. I do not deny but many things in the apostles were personal, given them by God's wisdom for the first spreading of the faith and planting of the churches amongst Jews and Gentiles, that all nations might be converted unto Christ by the sight of their miracles, and directed by the truth of their doctrine ; yet that all their gifts ended with their lives, and no part of their charge and power remained to their after-comers, may neither be confessed by us, nor affirmed by any, unless we mean wholly to subvert the church of Christ. To be called by Christ's own mouth, and sent into all nations ; to be furnished with the infallible assurance of his truth, and visible assistance of his Spirit, not only to speak with tongues, cure diseases, work miracles, know secrets, and understand all wisdom, but to give the Holy Ghost to others that they might do the like ; these things I say were needful at the first preaching of the gospel, to convert infidels that never heard of Christ before, to confirm the believers compassed with divers temptations, and to store the whole world then presently with meet pastors and teachers : but to maintain the church once settled, and faith once preached, there is no cause why either the immediate vocation, or general commission, or mighty operation, and sudden inspirations of the apostles should always endure. The scriptures once written,

suffice all ages for instruction ; the miracles then done are for ever a most evident confirmation of their doctrine ; the authority of their first calling liveth yet in their succession, and time and travel, joined with God's graces, bring pastors at this present to perfection : yet the apostles' charge to teach, baptize, and administer the Lord's supper, to bind and loose sins in heaven and in earth, to impose hands for the ordaining of pastors and elders, these parts of the apostolic function and charge are not decayed, and cannot be wanted in the church of God : there must either be no church, or else these must remain ; for without these no church can continue.

The gospel must be preached, the sacraments must be frequented, for which purposes some must be taken to the public service and ministry of the church ; for "how shall they in-  
 vocate in whom they have not believed ? or how shall they<sup>Rom. x. 14,</sup>  
 believe (in him) of whom they have not heard ? or how shall<sup>15.</sup>  
 they hear without a preacher ? and how shall they preach,  
 except they be sent ?" without sending there can be no  
 preaching ; without preaching the word there is no ordinary  
 means for faith ; and without faith there is no church.  
 Neither only the lack of the word and sacraments, but the  
 profanation and abuse of either, how greatly doth it endanger  
 the state and welfare of the whole church of Christ ! yea,  
 "the casting of holy things unto dogs," and of "pearls be-  
 fore swine," how dreadful a judgment doth it procure, as well<sup>Matt. vii. 6.</sup>  
 to the consenters as presumers ! "A little leaven soureth the  
 whole mass." So that power to send labourers into God's  
 harvest, and to separate profane persons for defiling the mys-  
 teries and assemblies of the faithful, must be retained and  
 used in the church of Christ, unless we will turn the house  
 of God "into a den of thieves," and make the temple "a  
 cage for unclean and hateful birds."<sup>Jerem. vii. 11.</sup>

As the things be needful in the church of Christ, so the<sup>Revel. xviii. 2.</sup>  
 persons to whom they were first committed, cannot be doubted.  
 "Go teach all nations, baptizing them," said our Saviour to<sup>Mat. xxviii.</sup>  
 the eleven in mount Olivet, when he ascended. "Do this in  
 remembrance of me," said he to the twelve that sat at supper<sup>Luke xxii. 19.</sup>  
 with him. After his resurrection, when "he appeared to  
 the eleven sitting together," he said, "As my Father sent<sup>John xx. 21-23.</sup>

me, so send I you: receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained:" for though the Lord before his death promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven unto Peter, and as then said nothing unto the rest, yet after his rising from the dead, "he gave all his apostles like power," as Cyprian<sup>k</sup> observeth, and "they all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven," as Jerome<sup>l</sup> avoucheth. "Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given only to Peter by Christ," saith Origen, "neither shall any other of the blessed receive them? If this saying, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' be common also to the rest, why should not all that went before and followeth after, as spoken to Peter, be common to all (the rest)<sup>m</sup>?" So Augustine: "If in Peter had not been a mystery of the church, the Lord would not have said unto him, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven<sup>n</sup>.'"

Gal. ii. 7. "The gospel over the uncircumcision (that is, over the Gentiles) was committed to me," saith Paul, "as over the circumcision  
1 Cor. iv. 1. (or Jews) was to Peter." "Let a man (therefore) so reckon of us as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." The apostles were stewards of the word and sacraments, and had the keys of God's kingdom, not only to dispense them faithfully whiles they lived, but in like sort to leave them to the church of Christ, as needful for the same, until the end of the world. Neither need I spend more words to prove they must remain in the church, since that is not doubted on any side, but rather examine to whom the apostles left them, and to whose charge those things were committed.

The word and sacraments are not so much questioned,

<sup>k</sup> Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ. [p. 107. Oxon 1682. "Et quamvis apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat et dicat: 'Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum.'"]

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. lib. i. advers. Jovinianum. [t. ii. 35. "At dicis, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solideatur."]

<sup>m</sup> Origen. Tract. in Matth. xvi. [t.

iii. hom. i. fol. 1. ed. Navarr. Paris. 1512. "Putas soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cœlorum et nemo alius beatorum accipiet eas? Si autem commune est inter omnes quod dicitur, 'Dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum,' quomodo non omnia quæ superius sunt relata ad Petrum, omnium videantur esse communia?"]

<sup>n</sup> August. Tractat. 1. in Evang. Joannis. [de cap. xii. t. ix. 370. "Nam si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, 'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum.'"]

to whom they were bequeathed; as the power of the keys, and right to impose hands, to whom they are reserved. To divide the word and administer the sacraments is the general and perpetual charge of all those that feed the flock of Christ, and are set over his household to give them meat in season<sup>nn</sup>. “The elders that are among you, I that am also <sup>1</sup> Pet. v. 1. an elder exhort,” saith Peter: “feed you the flock of Christ, which is committed to you.” “Take heed to yourselves and <sup>Acts xx. 28.</sup> to all the flock whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of Christ,” saith Paul to the elders of Ephesus. “Go teach, baptize,” which our Saviour hath <sup>Mat. xxviii. 19.</sup> joined, may not be severed, and the service must endure as long as the promise, which is this; “(In so doing) I am with <sup>Mat. xxviii. 20.</sup> you alway until the end of the world;” not with his apostles so long, they are dead fifteen hundred years before our days: but Christ is present with those that succeed his apostles in the same function and ministry for ever. Their commission to do both, ceaseth not so long as his precept bindeth them and help supporteth them in both, which is to the world's end.

The power of the keys, and right to impose hands, I mean to ordain ministers and excommunicate sinners (for so I always interpret those two speeches), are more controverted than the other two, by reason that diverse men have diverse conceits of them. Some fasten them to the liking of the multitude, which they call the church; others commit them to the judgment of certain chosen persons as well of the laity as of the clergy, whom they name the presbytery; some attribute them only, but equally, to all pastors and preachers; and some specially reserve them to men of the greatest gifts, ripest years, and highest calling amongst the clergy: which of these best agreeth with the truth of the scriptures, and use of the primitive church, in place convenient will soon appear. It shall now suffice in few words to observe how near imposing hands and binding sins do join with the dispensation of the word and sacraments, that thereby we may resolve whether laymen may intermeddle with these ecclesiastical actions or no.

<sup>nn</sup> Added L: “Recte secare verbum est munus iis omnibus assignatum qui veritatis, sacramenta fideliter adminis- pascendis Christi ovibus, et eius alenda- trare, perpetuum et generale quoddam familia præficiuntur.”



To create ministers by imposing hands, is to give them, not only power and leave to preach the word and dispense the sacraments, but also the grace of the Holy Ghost to make them able to execute both parts of their function. This can none give, but they that first received the same. They must have this power and grace themselves, that will bestow it on others. Laymen which have it not, can by no means give it; and consequently not impose hands, which is the sign and seal of both. Yea what if to give power to preach and baptize, be more than to preach and baptize<sup>o</sup>? even as lawfully to authorize another to do any thing, is more than to do it ourselves? "It is the sacrament of baptism," saith Austin<sup>oo</sup>, "that he hath which is baptized. It is the sacrament of giving baptism, that he hath which is ordered<sup>p</sup>." Yea, Calvin himself, a man of no small learning and judgment in the church of God, confesseth it is a kind of sacrament, and in that respect not to be given by any but only by pastors. "Surely," saith he<sup>q</sup>, "(the papists) are very lewd, in that they dare adorn (their sacrificing priesthood) with the title of a sacrament. As for the true function of the ministry commended unto us by the mouth of Christ, I willingly accept it (for a sacrament); for first there is a ceremony (of imposing hands) taken out of the scriptures; then Paul witnesseth the same not to be superfluous and empty, but a sure sign of spiritual grace. And that I put it not third in the number (of sacraments) it was because it is not ordinary nor common to all the faithful, but a special rite for a certain function<sup>r</sup>;" and therefore of imposition of hands he

<sup>o</sup> Added L.: "Dare certe quam accipere beatius est, i. omnino ut præstantius, ita difficilius est."

<sup>oo</sup> August. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. i. cap. 1. [t. vii. 374. "Sacramentum enim baptismi est quod habet qui baptizatur. Et sacramentum dandi baptismi est, quod habet qui ordinatur."]

<sup>p</sup> Added L.: "Ergo qui manus imponit, hoc est qui ordinat, tam benedictionem consecrantem quam dandi baptismi potestatem impertit ordinato: quorum neutrum opinor laicis licere."]

<sup>q</sup> Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 19. sect. 28. [Ed. Genev. 1608. fol. 302. "Certe

nimis improbi sunt dum sacramenti titulo insignire audent. Quantum ad verum presbyterii munus attinet, quod ore Christi nobis est commendatum, libenter eo loco habeo: illic enim ceremonia est, primum ex scripturis sumpta, deinde quam non esse inane nec supervacaneam, sed fidele spiritualis gratiæ symbolum, testatur Paulus. Quod autem tertium in numero non posui, eo factum est quod non ordinarium nec commune est apud omnes fideles, sed ad certam functionem specialis ritus."]

<sup>r</sup> [Added L.: "manuum impositionem quod idem est cum ordinatione sacramentum esse putat, et spiritualis gratiæ

saith; "This lastly we must learn, that the whole multitude did not impose hands on their ministers, but only the pastors did it<sup>s</sup>." Then may laymen no more challenge to impose hands than to baptize; yea, to preach and baptize, is not so much as to give power and grace to others openly and lawfully to do the like in the church of Christ; and therefore if laymen be debarred from the one, they be much more excluded from the other.

To excommunicate, is to remove the wicked and irrepentant from the participation of the Lord's supper; lest by sacrilegious presuming to violate that table, the ungodly should condemn themselves and defile others. Whose calling it is to deliver the bread and cup of the Lord to the due receivers, is out of question; they are for that cause named the ministers of the word and sacraments. Now to whom it pertaineth to admit the worthy, to them it belongeth to reject the unworthy; they that are placed by God to deliver the mysteries to the faithful and penitent, are commanded by him to deny them to the faithless and impenitent. The charge to deliver the sacraments is theirs, the care not to deliver them (but where they be willed by God so to do) must needs be theirs; you must free them from both, or leave both unto them<sup>t</sup>. If it shall be required at their hands, they may not be forced by others; if none can excuse them, none may compel them. We may plainly perceive, as well by their calling, which they have from God, as by the account they shall yield unto God, that the delivering or withholding the sacraments is in the pastor's power and charge, and not in theirs, which have neither vocation nor commission to meddle with the word or sacraments. "No small punishment," saith Chrysostom to those that ministered the communion, "hangeth over you, if knowing any man to be wicked, you suffer him to be partaker of this table. His blood shall be required at your hands. If he be a captain, a consul, or a crowned

non inane symbolum; et eo quidem nomine non magis laicorum manibus patere et exponi, quam cætera sacramenta;"]

<sup>s</sup> Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. iii. sect. 16. [Genev. 1608. fol. 218. "Hoc pos-

tremo habendum est, non universam multitudinem manus imposuisse ministris, sed solos pastores."]

<sup>t</sup> Added L.: "nec a laico quoquam vel hoc potest, vel illud usurpari."

king that cometh unworthily, forbid him and keep him off; thy power is greater than his. If any (such) get to the table, reject him without fear. If thou darest not remove him, tell it me; I will not suffer it. I will yield my life, rather than the Lord's body to any unworthy person; and suffer my blood to be shed before I will grant that sacred blood to any, but to him that is worthy<sup>u</sup>."

Again, it cannot be doubted, but the moderation of the keys and imposition of hands were at first settled in the apostles, and exercised by them, as I have already made proof by the scriptures, and neither the people nor lay-elders succeed the apostles, but only the pastors and ministers of the word and sacraments. They can have no part of the apostolic commission, that have no show of apostolic succession. They must look not only what they challenge, but also from whom they derive it; if from the apostles, then are they their successors; if from Christ, as colleagues joined with the apostles, we must find that consociation in the gospel, before we clear them from intrusion. "No man (should) take this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God," as the apostles were. If they be called by Christ, read their assignation from Christ; if they be not, surcease that presumption. But indeed how should they be called to deny the sacraments, that are not licensed to divide the sacraments? or what right have they to stay the seal, that have no power to affix the seal? The word of God is sealed by his sacraments; and whom he hath sent to denounce the one, those hath he chosen to annex the other. If in preaching the word, laymen were no public partners with the apostles; in directing the sacraments, which are the seals of the gospel, they could not be linked with the apostles. They must be trusted with both, or with neither. And so are pastors, receiving by succession the power and charge both of the word and sacraments, from

Heb. v. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Chrysost. in Matth. xxvi. Hom. 83. [t. vii. 870. Οὐ μικρὰ κόλασις ὑμῖν ἐστίν, εἰ συνειδότες τινὶ πονηρίαν, συγχωρήσητε μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκζητηθήσεται τῶν ὑμετέρων. κὰν στρατηγὸς τις ᾗ, κὰν ὑπαρχος, κὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διδῶμα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσείη, κάλυσον, μέλζονα ἐκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις . . . . .

ἀλλὰ κὰν ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας ἐκεῖνος ἔχηται μεθέων, κάλυσον, μὴ φοβηθῇς. . . . . εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ τολμᾷς, ἐμοὶ πρόσαιγε, οὐ συγχωρήσω ταῦτα τολμᾶσθαι· τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστήσομαι πρότερον, ἢ τοῦ αἵματος μεταδώσω τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ παραξίαν· καὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἐμαντοῦ προήσομαι πρότερον ἢ μεταδώσω αἵματος οὕτω φρικώδους παρὰ τὸ προσήκον.]

and in the first apostles and messengers of Christ. "The elders that are among you, I exhort," saith Peter, *ὡς συμπρεσβύτερος*, "as a co-elder (with you); feed ye the flock of God, committed to you." Pastors then which feed the flock, have coparcenary with the apostles; laymen have not, and consequently the power and right granted by Christ to his apostles and their successors, may not be challenged or communicated to them that have no fellowship with the apostolic function. "God forbid," saith Jerome, "that I should speak any evil of those who succeeding the apostolic degree, make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth; by whom we become Christians; who having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in sort judge before the day of judgment. A monk hath one calling, a clergyman another. Clergymen feed the flock; I am fed. It is not lawful for me to sit before a priest; he may, if I sin, deliver me to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved \*."

With imposing of hands, it may be the people had nothing to do; but the electing of pastors, when they came once to be chosen, pertained chiefly and wholly to them, as the story of the primitive church declareth<sup>y</sup>: and so the retaining and remitting of sins, the multitude might not challenge; but with casting notorious and scandalous offenders out of their company, the whole church did intermeddle, as appeareth by Paul's words written to the church, and not to the pastors or elders of Corinth<sup>z</sup>.] I come not yet to the manner of electing pastors, used in the primitive church, when prophecy failed, and the miraculous gifts of the Spirit ceased; I reserve it, as time and order lead me, to the next age after the apostles: but with the apostles, as there was no cause the people should, so is there no proof they did concur in choosing their pastors.

\* Hieron. ad Heliodorum de Vita Eremitica. [t. i. 3. "Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar, qui apostolico gradui succedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt, per quos et nos Christiani sumus. Qui claves regni celorum habentes, quodammodo ante iudicii diem judicant; qui sponsam Domini sobria castitate conservant. Sed alia, ut ante perstrinxi, monachorum est causa, alia clericorum. Clerici pascunt

oves, ego pascor. .... Mihi ante presbyterum sedere non licet: illi si peccavero, licet tradere me Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit."]

y Added L.: "adeo ut quem plebs non eligeret, nemo pro legitimo ecclesiæ præsule agnosceret."

z Added L.: "cum incestum illum jubet de medio fratrum exterminari."



For the people might not appoint on whom the Holy Ghost should bestow his gifts ; that were to tie God's graces to their pleasures ; but if they were to choose, they must elect such as were meet and able, which then were none, until by the apostles' hands they had received the wonderful and extraordinary gifts of the Spirit to prepare and fit them for the care and charge of the churches where the Holy Ghost would make them overseers<sup>a</sup>. Against this, if any thing can be objected out of the scriptures, I would gladly hear it ; as yet I find there neither example of it, nor reason for it. The election of the seven deacons, is the only precedent that can be found in the word, and that convinceth utterly nothing for the choice of pastors. With money matters, not only at Jerusalem, but in all places the apostles refused to meddle ; avoiding thereby all occasion of sinister reports and suspicion, that they did any way increase or regard their private gain ; and for that cause Paul would not so much as carry the benevolence of the Gentiles to the poor saints at Jerusalem, without

<sup>2</sup> Cor. viii. some specially trusted and "chosen by the churches," to see  
<sup>19.</sup> it faithfully done. "All seek their own, and not that which  
<sup>Phil. ii. 21.</sup> is Christ's," had poisoned so many, "thinking gain to be  
<sup>1</sup> Tim. vi. 5. godliness ;" that Paul to clear himself of that suspicion, and to

<sup>2</sup> Cor. xii. shew that he "sought them and not theirs, did not use the  
<sup>14.</sup> power he might," in living on the gospel, where he preached  
<sup>1</sup> Cor. ix. the gospel, but "his own hands ministered to his necessities."  
<sup>15.</sup>

<sup>Acts xx. 34.</sup> And for the same reason the apostles at Jerusalem would not have the goods and lands of the disciples pass through their hands ; but to be dispensed by some such, as the people liked and named to that purpose. Now for choosing of pastors, or rather making them fit to be pastors, which before were not fit ; the people had little to say, and less to do ; but the Holy Ghost directed the apostles, by prophecy or otherwise, on whom he would bestow his gifts, and they should lay their hands ; in which case I cannot so much as imagine, how, or why the people should join with the Spirit of God, to pour his heavenly gifts on such as he furnished for the service of

<sup>a</sup> Added L. : " Illa enim divina et admiranda Spiritus charismata quibus apostolorum ætate pastores instruiebantur, non aliqua populari suffragatione,

sed divina potius selectione donabantur. Itaque, non præeunte multitudine, sed dirigente Spiritu, manus apostolorum imponebantur."



his church; or limit the apostles on whom they should lay their hands; since not man, but God, made choice of those persons.

As for excommunication, if you take it for removing the unruly from the civil society of the faithful, until they conform themselves to a more Christian course of life; I am not altogether averse, that the whole church, where there wanteth a Christian magistrate, did, and should concur in that action: for thereby the sooner, when all the multitude join in one mind to renounce all manner of conversing with such, will the parties be reduced to a better mind, for shame and grief to see themselves rejected and exiled from all company; and the whole church shall declare their innocency before men, by avoiding and shunning the doers of wickedness; and increase their zeal and love of holiness before God, by hating and detesting unrighteousness in others, and by keeping themselves clean and unspotted from the like offences. "If any man <sup>1</sup> Cor. v. 11. that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one eat not. Yet count him not as an enemy, but <sup>2</sup> Thess. iii. admonish him as a brother." This rule as I could wish every <sup>15</sup> Christian man did for his own part duly observe; so I judge it not amiss, if the whole congregation in defect of a Christian magistrate, join with the pastor in misliking, rebuking, and forsaking such disordered and usual offenders, as will neither be reclaimed nor ashamed of their lewdness; but for delivering or denying the sacraments, I take that to be the pastor's charge, and not the people's. Yet pastors shall do well after the example of the ancient and godly fathers, Cyprian and others, not only to provoke repentance in the malefactors, but to tender the offence taken by the multitude so far, that as the minds of the godly are grieved by notorious impieties, so they may be satisfied and contented by the earnest and unfeigned sorrow of the repentant, before they be received to the Lord's table. Against these rules of Christian moderation and circumspection, I dispute not; I only inquire whether by the word of God any lay persons have any interest to withhold or yield the sacraments without the allowance and liking of the pastor. And to express what I think,

I find no warrant in the scriptures for it; and the main consent of the catholic fathers, and course of the primitive church against it. Some places are detorted and wrested to that effect; but they must be very partial, that will be led with such weak proofs.

Matth.  
xviii. 17.

The words of our Saviour, "If he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnack and publican," which are the only ground-work of this opinion, I have before handled and examined as far forth as needed. If by those words the church of Christ were meant, which no circumstance there enforceth; yet the rulers and governors of the church are thereby intended, as Chrysostom affirmeth, and "a foul error it is," as Beza thinketh<sup>b</sup>, to say the whole multitude is there comprised. Indeed it is no new rule, neither with the scriptures, nor with other writers, for the chiefer and worthier part to bear the name of the whole.

The fathers, who often attribute excommunication to the church, by no means endure that laymen should use the keys delivered to the apostles and their successors. "That right is permitted only to priests," as Ambrose saith<sup>c</sup>; "It is the priest's band that toucheth the soul, and reacheth unto heaven," as Chrysostom teacheth<sup>d</sup>. "When they which challenge the place of bishops, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from our Saviour, teach, what they bind, is bound in heaven; what they loose, is loosed in heaven; we must acknowledge they say well, if withal, they have those things, for the which it was said to Peter, The gates of hell must not prevail against him, that will bind and loose: for if he be bound with the ropes of his own sins, in vain doth he (offer to) bind or loose," saith Origen<sup>e</sup>. "Shall it not be im-

<sup>b</sup> Theodor. Bezae Annotat. in Matthæi cap. xviii. [Cantab. 1642. not. in v. 17. p. 62. "Sed notandum est turpiter errare qui ex hoc loco confici volunt, de singulis rebus referendum esse ad totius multitudinis cœtum."]

<sup>c</sup> Ambros. de Penitentia, lib. i. cap. 2. [t. i. 153. "Jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est."]

<sup>d</sup> Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. [t. iv. cap. 5. p. 29. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ δεσμός αὐτῆς ἀπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διαβαίνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς.]

<sup>e</sup> Origen. Tract. in Matth. xvi. [t. iii. Hom. i. fol. 3. "Quoniam autem qui episcopatus vendicant locum, utuntur hoc textu quemadmodum Petrus: et claves regni cœlorum acceptas habentes a Christo docent, quoniam qui ab eis ligati fuerint in cœlo esse ligatos: et qui ab eis soluti fuerint, id est, remissionem acceperint, esse et in cœlo solutos. Dicendum est quoniam bene dicunt si opera habent illa propter quæ dictum est illi Petro, Tu es Petrus; et tales sunt ut super eos ædificetur eccle-

puted to us," saith Cyprian with the rest of the bishops his colleagues, "if so good a soldier should die without peace, and without the communion? Shall not great slackness or cruel hardness be ascribed to us in the day of judgment, that being pastors, we neither in peace would heal the sheep committed and credited unto us, nor arm them in the battle? How do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in the confession of Christ's name, if we deny them the blood of Christ, when they be entering the conflict? or how do we make them ready for the cup of martyrdom, if first in the church we admit them not by right of communion to drink the Lord's cup? It hath pleased us therefore, the Holy Ghost directing us, that upon examination of every man's cause, such as fell in persecution, should be reconciled (or, received to the Lord's table); and if there be any of our colleagues which doth not think it good to give peace (that is, the communion) to the brethren or sisters, persecution approaching, he shall in the day of judgment render account to the Lord of his importune censure, or inhuman rigour<sup>f</sup>." And so again, "Whenas in smaller faults a man may not come to the communion, except the bishop and the clergy first lay their hands on him (in sign of reconciliation), how much more should the discipline of the Lord be observed in these most grievous and extreme sins<sup>g</sup>?" Like-

sia Christi, si portæ inferorum non prævalent eis. Alioquin ridiculum est ut dicamus eum qui vinculis peccatorum suorum ligatus est, et trahit peccata sua sicut funem longum, et tanquam iuge lorum vituli iniquitates suas; propter hoc solum quoniam episcopus dicitur habere hujusmodi potestatem, ut soluti ab eo, sint soluti in cælo, aut ligati in terris, sint ligati in cælo.]

<sup>f</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 2. [Oxon. 1682. ep. 57. p. 118. "Nonne nobis imputabitur quod tam bonus miles, qui omnia sua dereliquit, et contenta domo, et parentibus ac liberis, sequi Dominum suum maluit, sine pace et sine communicatione decedit? Nonne nobis vel negligentia segnis, vel duritia crudelis ascribetur in die iudicii; quod pastores creditas et commissas nobis oves nec curare in pace, nec in acie voverimus armare? ..... Nam quomodo docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione

nominis sanguinem suum fundere, si eis militaturis Christi sanguinem deneamus? aut quomodo ad martyrii poculum idoneos facimus si non eos prius ad bibendum in ecclesia poculum Domini jure communicationis admittimus?.... Placuit nobis, Sancto Spiritu suggerente, et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente, quia hostis nobis imminere prænunciatur et ostenditur, colligere inter castra milites Christi, et examinatis singulorum causis, pacem lapsis dare, imo pugnaturis arma suggerere. .... Quod si de collegis aliquis extiterit, qui urgente certamine pacem fratribus et sororibus non putat dandam, reddet ille rationem in die iudicii Domino, vel importunæ censuræ, vel inhumanæ duritiæ suæ."]

<sup>g</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 16. [Oxon. ep. 17. p. 39. "Nam cum in minoribus delictis quæ non in Dominum committuntur, pœnitentia agatur justo

wise Basil; "Confession of sins must necessarily be made to them to whom the dispensation of the mysteries of God is committed: for so they which in former times repented amongst the saints, are read to have done. It is written in the Gospel, that they confessed their sins to John Baptist; in the Acts, they all confessed their sins unto the apostles, of whom they were baptized<sup>h</sup>." "Power to forgive (sins) is not absolutely given; but (limited) to the obedience of the penitent, and agreement with him that hath the charge of the soul<sup>i</sup>."

"With God," saith Jerome, "not the sentence of the priest, but the life of the party is respected. As therefore (in the law) the priest did make (that is, pronounce) the leper clean or unclean; so (in the gospel) the bishop and presbyter bindeth or looseth<sup>j</sup>." And again: "The fornicator, the adulterer, the homicide, and all other transgressors, are cast out of the church by the priest<sup>k</sup>." St. Augustine; He that willingly judgeth himself, lest against his will he be judged of the Lord, "let him come to the presidents by whom the keys are ministered unto him in the church, and receive of them that have the oversight of the sacraments, the manner of his satisfaction<sup>l</sup>." "It seemed impossible that by repentance sins should be remitted," saith Ambrose, "but Christ granted

tempore, et exomologesis fiat, inspecta vita ejus qui agit pœnitentiam, nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi ab episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita, quanto magis in his gravissimis et extremis delictis caute omnia et moderate secundum disciplinam Domini observari oportet?"

<sup>h</sup> Basil. in Regulis contractionibus, Quæst. cclxxxviii. [t. ii. p. 728. Paris. 1637. Ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πάλαι μετανοοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων εὐρίσκονται πεποιηκότες. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὅτι τῷ βαπτιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ ἐξωμολογοῦντα τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὅψ' ὧν καὶ ἐβαπτίζαντο ἅπαντες.]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. Quæst. xv. [t. ii. 629. Ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ ἀφίεναι, οὐκ ἀπολύτως δέδοται· ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπακοῇ τοῦ μετανοοῦντος, καὶ

συμφωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς.]

<sup>j</sup> Hieron. in Matth. xvi. [t. ix. can. 49. "Apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita queritur, quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter."]

<sup>k</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii. [t. ix. 257. "Fornicator, adulter, homicida et cætera vitia per sacerdotes de ecclesia propelluntur."]

<sup>l</sup> August. Lib. Hom. Quinquag. Hom. 50. [t. x. 559. "Et cum in se protulerit severissimæ medicinæ sententiam veniat ad antistites, per quos illi in ecclesia claves ministrantur et tanquam bonus incipiens jam esse filius matrum membrorum ordine custodito a præpositis sacrorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum."]



this to his apostles, and from the apostles it descended to the priest's function <sup>m</sup>." "Lo," saith Gregory, "(the apostles,) which feared the district judgment of God, are made judges of souls. Their places now in the church, the bishops keep. They have authority to bind and loose, that are called to (that) degree of regiment. A great honour, but a great burden followeth this honour. Let the pastor of the church fear indiscreetly to bind or loose; but whether the pastor bind justly or unjustly, the pastor's sentence is to be feared of the flock <sup>n</sup>."

The councils general and provincial, reserve both excommunication and reconciliation to the judgment and conscience of the pastor and bishop; and by no means impart either of them to the people or lay elders. The great council of Nice: "Touching such as are put from the communion, whether they be clergymen or lay, by the bishops in every place; let this rule be kept according to the canon, that they which be rejected by some, be not received by others; but let it be carefully examined, that they be not cast out of the church by the weakness, waspishness, (frowardness,) or rashness of the bishop." And "that this matter may the better be inquired of, we like it well, that twice every year there should be kept a synod in every province, that all the bishops of the province meeting together, may examine those matters; and such as have clearly offended their bishop, let them be held justly excommunicate by all, until it shall seem good to the bishops in common to give an easier judgment of them <sup>o</sup>."

<sup>m</sup> Ambros. de Pœnit. lib. ii. cap. 2. [t. i. 167. "Similiter impossibile videbatur per pœnitentiam peccata dimitti. Concessit hoc Christus apostolis suis, quod ab apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est."]

<sup>n</sup> S. Gregorii Mag. in Evangel. lib. ii. Hom. xxvi. [Par. 1705. t. i. col. 1556. "Ecce qui districtum Dei iudicium metuunt animarum iudices fiunt: et alios damnant vel liberant, qui semetipsos damnari metuebant. Horum profecto nunc in ecclesia episcopi locum tenent. Ligandi atque solvendi auctoritatem suscipiunt, qui gradum regiminis sortiuntur. Grandis honor sed grave pondus istius est honoris. . . . .

Sed utrum juste an injuste obliget pastor, pastoris tamen sententia gregi timenda est: ne is qui subest, et cum injuste forsitan ligatur, ipsam obligationem suæ sententiam ex alia culpa mereatur. Pastor ergo vel absolvere indiscrete timeat, vel ligare."]

<sup>o</sup> Concil. Nicæni can. v. [t. ii. p. 29. Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, εἴτε ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατεῖτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὴ προσέσθαι. Ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχία, ἢ φιλονεικία, ἢ τινι τοιαύτῃ ἀηδία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποσυνάγωγοι γεγένηται· ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο



This was the ancient and universal rule of Christ's church ; for the pastor or bishop to have the power of the keys to admit and remove from the sacraments such as deserved it ; and for the examination and moderation of their doings, neither people nor lay presbyters were joined with them, but a synod of bishops in the same province every half year heard the matter, when any found himself grieved with the censure of his bishop, and they according to the right of the cause were to reverse or ratify the former judgment ; yea, the bishop had power at the time of death, or otherwise upon the unfeigned repentance of the party to mitigate the rigour of the canons ; as appeareth in the 12th and 13th of the same council. " It shall be lawful for the bishop to deal more gently with them<sup>p</sup>." And again : " Generally for every (excommunicate person) that is ready to depart this life, and desireth to be partaker of the eucharist ; let the bishop upon trial give him the communion<sup>q</sup>." And so the general council of Chalcedon : " We determine the bishop of the place shall have power to deal more favourably (with such as by the canons should stand excommunicate)<sup>r</sup>."

The council of Antioch : " If any be deprived the communion by his own bishop, let him not be admitted to the communion by others afore he appear and make his defence at the next synod, and obtain from them another judgment ; except his own bishop or diocesan be content to receive him. This rule to be kept touching laymen, priests and

τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνη, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γένεσθαι· ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοιτο. καὶ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκεκροκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινώνητοι παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσι, μέχρις ἂν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξῃ τὴν φιланθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσθαι ψήφον.]

<sup>p</sup> Concil. Nicæni can. xii. [t. ii. p. 34. "Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ δάκρυσιν καὶ ἱπομονῇ καὶ ἀγαθοεργίαις, τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ σχήματι ἐπιδείκνυνται· οὗτοι πληρώσαντες τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὁρισμένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως, εἰκότως τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐξείναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ

καὶ φιланθρωποτέρον τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεύσασθαι.]

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. can. xiii. [p. 35. Περί δὲ τῶν ἐξοδούντων ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν· ὥστε εἴ τις ἐξοδεύει, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιότητος ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεῖς, καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχών, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζωσιν ἐξετασθῇ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνης ἔστω. καθόλου δὲ καὶ περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσούν ἐξοδεύοντος, αἰτοῦντος τοῦ μετασχεῖν εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιδότω.]

<sup>r</sup> Concil. Chalcedonens. can. xvi. [t. iv. col. 763. Ὁρίσαμεν δὲ ἔχειν τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας τὸν κατὰ τόπον ἐπίσκοπον.]

deacons, and all others within the compass of the canon<sup>s</sup>." The council of Sardica: "If a bishop be overcarried with anger, (which ought not to be in such a man,) and hastily moved against a priest or deacon, will cast him out of the church, we must provide that he be not condemned when he is innocent, nor deprived the communion. And the bishop that hath put him from the communion, must be content that the matter be heard, that his sentence may be confirmed or corrected. But before the perfect and exact hearing and looking into the cause, he that is excommunicated may not challenge the communion<sup>t</sup>." The third council of Carthage: "Let the times of repentance be appointed by the discretion of the bishops unto the penitents, according to the difference of their sins. And that no presbyter reconcile a penitent without the liking of the bishop; unless necessity force it in the absence of the bishop. And if the fault be public and blazed abroad, and offend the whole church, let hands be imposed on him, before (the rails, or) arch (which severeth the people from the ministers). Concerning those which worthily for their offences are cast out of the assembly of the church, Augustine, then legate for Numidia, said: May it please you to decree, that if any bishop or presbyter receive them to the communion which are worthily thrown out of the church for crimes committed, he himself shall be subject to the same challenge that they were, declining the lawful sentence of their own bishop<sup>u</sup>." Sozomen, declaring after

<sup>s</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 563. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἐτέρων δεχθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθεῖ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, ἢ συνόδου γενομένης ἀπαντήσας ἀπολογήσεται, πείσας τε τὴν συνδόν, καταδέξοιτο ἑτέραν ἀπόφασιν. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι.]

<sup>t</sup> Concil. Sardicens. can. xiv. [t. ii. col. 640. "Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· τὸ δὲ πάντοτέ με κινοῦν ἀποσιωπῆσαι οὐκ ὀφείλω. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὀξύχολος εὐρίσκοιτο· ὕπερ οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐν τοιοῦτῳ ἀνδρὶ πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ ταχέως ἀντικρὺ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου κινήθεις ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν ἐβελήσοι· προνοητέον ἐστὶ μὴ ἄθρόον [al. ἀθῶον] τὸν τοιοῦτον κατα-

κρίνεσθαι καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποστρεῖσθαι. . . . . κακείνος δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως ἐκβαλὼν τὸν τοιοῦτον, γενναίως φέρειν ὀφείλει, ἵνα ἡ ἐξέτασις τοῦ πράγματος γένηται· καὶ ἡ κυρωθῇ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀπόφασις, ἡ διορθώσεως τύχη· πρὶν δὲ ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μετὰ πίστews ἕκαστα ἐξετασθῇ ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὴν κοινωνίαν, πρὸ τῆς διαγνώσεως τοῦ πράγματος, ἑαυτῷ οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐκδικεῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν.]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Carthag. iii. can. xxxi. et xxxii. [t. ii. col. 1171. "Ut poenitentibus secundum peccatorum differentiam, episcopi arbitrio poenitentiae tempore decernantur."

"Ut presbyter, inconsulto episcopo, non reconciliet poenitentem, nisi absente episcopo et necessitate cogente. Cujuscunque autem poenitentis publicum et vulgatissimum cri-

what penitential manner the excommunicate persons in the primitive church stood in an open place, whence the whole assembly might see them, addeth, that in this sort, "every one of them abideth the time, how long soever, which the bishop hath appointed him<sup>v</sup>." A thousand other places might be noted, both in fathers and councils, to shew that from the apostles to this day no lay person was ever admitted in the church of Christ to join with the pastors and bishops in the public use of the keys; and therefore the fathers have exceeding wrong to be made favourers and upholders of the late discipline and lay presbytery.

Cyprian confesseth, the people consented and concurred with him in the receiving of schismatics, and such lewd offenders, to the church and communion upon repentance. His words to Cornelius be these: "O if you might be present here with us when perverse persons return from their schism, you should see what labour I have to persuade patience to our brethren, that suppressing their grief of heart, they would consent to the receiving and curing of these evil (members). I hardly persuade the people, yea, I am forced to wrest it from them, before they will suffer such to be admitted<sup>w</sup>." It is an easy matter to make some show of contradiction in the writings of the ancient fathers, diverse occasions leading them to speak diversely; but it will never be proved they thought it lawful for laymen to challenge the public use of the keys in the church of Christ. The causes of excommunication and times of repentance were wholly referred to the judgment of such as had the chiefest charge of the word and

men est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante absidem manus ei imponatur."]

Canones Eccles. Afric. [col. 1054. cap. ix. *Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἄξιαν τῶν οἰκείων ἀποτημάτων, ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ συλλόγου ἐκβαλλομένων, Αὐγουστίνος ἐπίσκοπος τοποτηρητῆς τῆς Νομιστικῆς χώρας εἶπεν* τοῦτο ὀρίσαι καταξιώσατε, ὥστε τοὺς ἀξίως τῶν οἰκείων ἐγκλημάτων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωχθέντας, εἴαν τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος δέξηται εἰς κοινωνίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτι μὴν τῷ ἴσῳ ἐγκλήματι ὑπεύθυνος φανῇ ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ οἴκειου ἐπισκόπου τὴν κανονικὴν ψήφον ἀποφεύγουσιν.]

<sup>v</sup> Sozomeni Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 16. [ed. Gul. Reading. Cantab. 1720. p.

300. *Καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκοντὶ τάλαιπωροῦμενος ἕκαστος, ἢ νηστείας ἢ ἀλουσίαις, ἢ ἐδεσμάτων ἀποχῇ ἢ ἐτέροις οἷς προστέτακται, περιμένει τὸν χρόνον εἰς ὃσον αὐτῷ τέταχεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.]*

<sup>w</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lib. i. ep. 3. [ep. 59. p. 136. Oxon. 1682. "O si posses, frater carissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de schismate revertuntur; videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant. . . . . Vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti."]

sacraments, as we may perceive by the former authorities; yet in notorious and scandalous offences, when the whole church was grieved, or when a schism was feared, the godly fathers did both in removing and reconciling of such persons, stay for the liking and approbation of the whole people to concur with them; not to warrant or confirm the sentence that should be given, but to satisfy their consciences, and to prevent schisms. "In offering the sacrifice of a troubled heart, let the devout and suppliant do not only that which helpeth for the recovering of his own salvation, but that also which may do others good by example; when his sin hath greatly hurt himself, and scandalized others, and the bishop (or, chief priest) think it expedient for the good of the church, let him not refuse to repent in the sight of many, yea, of the whole people<sup>x</sup>." How dangerous it is to offend the least of Matt. xviii. those that believe in Christ the Gospel doth witness. Great<sup>6</sup> reason then had those godly fathers to see the whole church satisfied before they released the sentence of excommunication, or time of repentance; and in so doing, they shewed, not what right the multitude or lay-elders had to sit judges with the bishop, but what care themselves had to remove from the people all occasions of stumbling; diligently teaching their flocks neither to stagger at other men's falls to their own subversion, nor to be straightlaced against repentance through presumption of their own standing, which were nothing else but to insult at other men's miseries<sup>y</sup>.

The like course St. Augustine adviseth to be used for avoiding seditions and factions: "When any man's fault is so known to all, and abhorred of all, that it hath no partakers, or not such by whom a schism may rise, slack not the severity of discipline. And then may it be done without breach of peace and unity, and without harming the corn, when the whole multitude of the church is free from that sin for which

<sup>x</sup> August. lib. Hom. quinquag. hom. 50. [t. x. 559. "In offerendo sacrificio cordis contribulati devotus et supplex, id agat quod non solum illi prosit ad recipiendam salutem, sed etiam cæteris ad exemplum. Ut si peccatum ejus non solum in gravi ejus malo, sed etiam in scandalo est aliorum, atque hoc expedire

utilitati ecclesiæ videtur antistiti, in notitia multorum vel etiam totius plebis agere pœnitentiam non recuset."]

<sup>y</sup> Added L. : "Nihil prorsus hinc efficitur, cur populi aut popularium quorumvis senatorum autoritas, una cum pastoribus in clavium administratione sociaretur."



the offender is excommunicated ; for then the people rather help the governor (or, pastor) rebuking, than the guilty resisting : then do (the people) keep themselves from his society, so as not one of them will eat with him, not of an hostile rage, but by brotherly correction : then the offender is stricken with fear, and recovered with shame, when seeing himself held accursed of the whole church, he can find no number to join with him to insult on the good, and rejoice in his sin<sup>z</sup>." But all this notwithstanding, the censure proceeded from the bishop and pastor of the place, and not from the people or lay-elders associated with him in pronouncing that judgment. Examples and testimonies whereof are everywhere to be had both in Austin and Cyprian.

When Rogatianus, a bishop, contumeliously abused by his deacon, complained unto Cyprian and others of that injury, Cyprian wrote back in this wise : " You did us great honour, and shewed your accustomed humility, in that you chose rather to complain of him (to us) ; whereas by vigour of your episcopal function and authority of your chair, you had power (enough) to be straightway revenged of him<sup>a</sup>." And after a long discourse, that honour and obedience is due to the priests and pastors by God's law, he concludeth : " Therefore the deacon of whom you write, must shew himself penitent for his boldness, and acknowledge the honour of (your) priest-

<sup>z</sup> August. contra Parmeniani epistolam, lib. iii. c. 2. [tom. vii. 60. " Quando ita cujusque crimen notum est omnibus, et omnibus execrabile apparet, ut vel nullos prorsus, vel non tales habeat defensores, per quos possit schisma contingere ; non dormiat severitas disciplinæ. Tunc autem hoc sine labe pacis et unitatis, et sine læsione frumentorum fieri potest, cum congregationis ecclesiæ multitudo ab eo crimine quod anathematizatur, aliena est. Tunc enim adjuvat præpositum potius corripientem, quam criminosum resistentem. Tunc se ab ejus conjunctione salubriter continent, ut nec cibum quisquam cum eo sumat, non rabie inimica, sed coertione fraterna. Tunc etiam ille et timore percutitur, et pudore sanatur, cum ab universa ecclesia se anathematizatum videns, sociam turbam cum qua in delicto suo gaudeat, et bonis insultet, non potest invenire." ]

Added L. : " Neque enim potest esse salubris a multis correptio, nisi cum ille corripitur, qui non habet sociam multitudinem. Hæc priscorum prudentia nunquam satis laudata magnopere cavendum docet in excommunicatione ac reconciliatione, ne populares animi temerariis aut injustis censuris aut indulgentiis offendantur ; autoritas tamen et jurisdictio penes loci pastorem, nempe episcopum, erat, non plebem aut seniores aliquos e plebe delectos ; id quod exemplis ac testimoniis apud Cyprianum et Augustinum passim obviis liquere potest." ]

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 9. [ep. 3. Oxon. 1682. " Et tu quidem honorifice circa nos, et pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari." ]



hood, and with full humility satisfy (you being) his bishop and governor. And if he shall offend and provoke you any more with his contempts, use against him the power of your (calling and) honour, either *in deposing or excommunicating* him. And because you wrate of another that took part with your deacon in his pride and stiffness, him also, and if there be any more that set themselves against God's priest, you may either repress, or remove from the communion. Yet we wish and desire with mild patience to conquer the reproaches and wrongs of every one, rather than to revenge them in such sort as it is easy for priests to do<sup>b</sup>." Speaking of himself and his own cause, he saith: "The church here is shut against no man; the bishop withholdeth himself from none; my patience, facility, and mildness are open to such as come: I remit all things, I conceal many things: I do not examine trespasses against God with a religious and exact judgment, for the very desire and care I have to keep the brethren together; I myself do almost sin with remitting offences more than I should<sup>c</sup>."

Auxilius, a fresh young bishop, having excommunicated a person of good account with his whole family, for infringing the liberties of his church, as he supposed; St. Augustine treateth with him by letters to know what ground he had out of the scriptures to excommunicate the son for the father's, the wife for the husband's, the servants for their master's offence; and amongst others useth these words: "Lo, I am ready to learn; an old man of a young; a bishop of so long continuance, from my colleague, not yet a year's standing;

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ["Et ideo oportet diaconum de quo scribis, agere audaciæ suæ poenitentiam, et honorem sacerdotis agnoscere, et episcopo præposito suo plena humilitate satisfacere..... Quod si ultra te contumeliis suis exacerbaverit et provocaverit fingeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas..... Et quoniam scripsisti quendam cum eodem diacono tuo se miscuisse et superbiæ ejus atque audaciæ participem esse, hunc quoque et si qui alii tales exstiterint, et contra sacerdotem Dei fecerint, vel coercere poteris, vel abstinere. .... Magis enim optamus

et cupimus contumelias et injurias singulorum, clementi patientia vincere, quam sacerdotali licentia vindicare."]

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 3. [ep. 59. Oxon. 1682. "Nec ecclesia istic cuiquam clauditur, nec episcopus alicui denegatur; patientia et facilitas et humanitas nostra venientibus præsto est..... Remitto omnia, multa dissimulo studio et voto colligendæ fraternitatis, etiam quæ in Deum commissa sunt, non pleno judicio religionis examino, delictis plusquam oportet remittendis pene ipse delinquo."]

what good reason we may yield to God or to men, if for another man's sin we endanger innocent souls with a spiritual punishment. If you can give a reason for it, vouchsafe by writing to acquaint me with it, that I may be able likewise; if you cannot, what is it for you to do (such a thing) upon an unadvised motion of the mind, whereof being asked, you are not able to yield a just reason? Neither think that unjust anger cannot overtake us, because we are bishops; but let us rather remember we live dangerously amidst the snares of temptations, because we are men<sup>d</sup>." St. Austin blameth neither people nor presbyters for the deed, but the bishop whose hasty judgment it was; and willeth him, not them, to bethink himself what account he can yield to God or man for that ecclesiastical censure. And that excommunication pertained to the pastoral charge, and proceeded from the episcopal power and seat, the same father every where witnesseth. Upon the words of St. John, "I saw seats, and some sitting on them, and judgment was given," he writeth thus: "This must not be thought to be spoken of the last judgment, but the seats of the presidents, and the presidents themselves, by whom the church is now governed, are thereby to be understood. And judgment given can no better way be taken, than for that which is spoken of (in these words): 'Whatsoever you bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and what you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven<sup>e</sup>.'"

May not the word *Præpositi* signify the lay elders, as well as bishops, since they also are set over the church to govern

<sup>d</sup> August. Epist. lxxv. [t. ii. 341. En assum, senex a juvene coepiscopo, et episcopus tot annorum a collega necdum anniculo paratus sum discere, quomodo vel Deo vel hominibus justam possumus reddere rationem, si animas innocentes pro scelere alieno, ex quo non trahunt sicut ex Adam (in quo omnes peccaverunt) originale peccatum, spiritali supplicio puniamus. . . . Si ergo de hac repotes reddere rationem, utinam et nobis rescribendo præstes ut possimus et nos: si autem non potes, quid tibi est incon-sulta commotione animi facere, unde si fueris interrogatus, rectam rationem non vales invenire? . . . . Nec arbitreris

ideo nobis non posse subrepre in justam commotionem, quia episcopi sumus: sed potius cogitamus inter laqueos tentationum nos periculosissime vivere, quia homines sumus." ]

<sup>e</sup> August. de Civitate Dei, lib. xx. c. 9. [t. v. 1214. "Non hoc putandum de ultimo judicio dici, sed sedes præpositorum et ipsi præpositi intelligendi sunt, per quos ecclesia nunc gubernatur. Judicium autem datum nullum melius accipiendum videtur, quam id quod dictum est, quæcunque ligaveritis in terra erunt ligata erunt et in cælo: et quæ solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in cælo." ]

the flock in their kind as well as pastors<sup>f</sup> ?] The fathers use many words to express the calling and office of bishops, as antistites, præsules, præsidentes, præpositi, rectores, sacerdotes, and such like ; but of all these, præpositus with Cyprian and Austin is the most usual word for a bishop, and hath best warrant from the scriptures. " For this cause," saith Cyprian, " doth (Christ's enemy) pursue him that is set over the church, that the governor being made away, he may with more violence and fury make havock in the shipwrecks of the church<sup>g</sup>." And again in the same place: " We may not be so unmindful of the divine doctrine, as to think the wicked enterprises of the desperate to be of more force than the judgments of priests. Shall we lay aside the power and authority of priests? to let them that are out of the church say they will judge of the ruler of the church? the guilty of him that is their judge? sacrilegious persons of their priest<sup>h</sup>?" And elsewhere: " What danger is not to be feared by offending the Lord, when some of the priests, not remembering their place, neither thinking they have a bishop set over them, challenge the whole unto themselves," even " with the reproach and contempt of him that is set over them<sup>i</sup>." And so almost every where: " The Lord (himself) chose the apostles, that is, the bishops and overseers<sup>j</sup>." And again: " With all humility let him satisfy the bishop, being set over him<sup>k</sup>."

<sup>f</sup> Added L.: " Utinam liceret ecclesiis Christianis per istas vestras frigiditas et nudas conjecturas pacatis esse et quietis."]

<sup>g</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 3. [ep. 59. ed. Oxon. p. 130. " Non scilicet Christus, qui sacerdotes aut constituit aut protegit; sed ille qui Christi adversarius et ecclesiæ ejus inimicus, ad hoc ecclesiæ præpositum sua infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur."]

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 238. " Neque enim quia pauci temerarii et improbi, cælestes et salutare vias Domini derelinquant, et, sancta non agentes a Sancto Spiritu deseruntur; ideo et nos divinæ traditionis immemores esse debemus ut majora esse furentium scelera, quam sacerdotum judicia censeamus. . . . An ad hoc, fra-

ter carissime, deponenda est sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas ut judicare velle se dicant de ecclesiæ præposito extra ecclesiam constituti? de Christiano hæretici?"]

<sup>i</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 14. [ep. 16. p. 36. ed. Oxon. " Quod enim periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini; quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi, totum sibi vendicent?"]

<sup>j</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 9. [ep. 3. p. 6. ed. Oxon. " Apostolos, id est, episcopos, et præpositos Dominus elegit."]

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. " Episcopo præposito suo plena humilitate satisfaciat."

St. Augustine useth the word in the same manner: "Their case is far worse," saith he, "to whom it is said by the prophet, 'He shall die in his sins, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hands.' For to this end are watchmen, I mean the pastors of the people, placed in the churches, that they should not spare to rebuke sin<sup>l</sup>." "Our heavenly master," saith he in another place, "gave us warning beforehand, to make the people secure touching evil overseers, lest for their sakes the chair of wholesome doctrine should be forsaken<sup>m</sup>." And again: "'The Lord's fold hath some overseers that be children, and some that be hirelings: the overseers that be children are pastors<sup>n</sup>.'" "By Christ's own mouth the overseer of the church is praised under the name of an angel<sup>o</sup>." "The sheep that is strong for the most part marketh his leader, and saith in his heart, If my leader so live, why should not I do that which he doth<sup>p</sup>?" The old translation of the New Testament hath the very same use of the same word *præpositi*: "Remember your (leaders or) overseers which spake unto you the word of God<sup>pp</sup>." And again: "Obey your overseers, for they watch over your souls as those that shall give account (for them)<sup>q</sup>."

And as the use of the word is clear in St. Austin, so is this assertion as clear, that excommunication is a pastoral and episcopal judgment, and no laical or popular action or censure: "That which is called condemnation, an effect of the episcopal judgment, than the which there can be no greater

<sup>l</sup> August. de Civitate Dei, lib. i. cap. ix. [t. v. 49. "Qua in re non utique parem, sed longe graviores habent causam, quibus per prophetam dicitur, 'Ille quidem in suo peccato morietur, sanguinem autem ejus de manu speculatoris requiram.' Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum præpositi, constituti sunt in ecclesiis, ut non parcant objurando peccata."]

<sup>m</sup> August. ep. clxvi. [t. ii. 761. "Quod usque adeo cælestis magister cavendum præmonuit, ut etiam de præpositis malis plebem securam faceret, ne propter illos doctrinæ salutaris cathedra desereretur, in qua coguntur etiam mali bona dicere."]

<sup>n</sup> August. in Joann. Tractat. xlv. [t. ix. 340. "Habet ovile Domini præposi-

tos, et filios et mercenarios. Præpositi autem, qui filii sunt, pastores sunt."]

<sup>o</sup> August. ep. clxii. [t. ii. 736. "Divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ."]

<sup>p</sup> August. de Pastoribus, cap. iv. [t. ix. 1057. "Attendit enim ovis etiam fortis plerumque præpositum suum male viventem. Si declinet oculos a regulis Domini, et intendat in hominem, incipit dicere in corde suo, Si præpositus meus sic vivit, ego quid sum qui non faciam quod ille facit?"]

<sup>pp</sup> Heb. xiii. 8. "Mementote præpositorum vestrorum, qui locuti sunt vobis verbum Domini."]

<sup>q</sup> Heb. xiii. 17. "Obedite præpositis vestris; ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri."]



punishment in the church, may if it so please God turn to a most wholesome correction. Yet the pastor must needs separate the diseased sheep from the sound, lest the deadly infection creep further<sup>99</sup>." But what need we more private testimonies, when the public laws of the Roman empire will witness as much: "We charge all bishops and priests," saith the emperor by his authentic constitution, "that they separate no man from the sacred communion before they shew the cause for which the holy canons will it to be done. If any do otherwise in removing any from the holy communion, he that is unjustly kept from the communion, let him be absolved from his excommunication by a superior (bishop, or) priest, and restored to the communion; and he that presumed to excommunicate (without just cause), let him be put from the communion by the bishop under whose jurisdiction he is, as long as (the superior) shall think good, that he may justly abide that, which he unjustly offered<sup>r</sup>." No man ought remove another from the communion but a bishop or a priest; and he that unjustly did it was, by a superior and higher bishop, to be put from the communion for such time as he thought meet.

Every private man, by St. Austin's confession, might admonish and reprove, yea, bind and loose his brother; and Theophylact saith, "Not only those things which the priests do loose, are loosed; but whatsoever we, being oppressed with injury, do bind or loose, those things are bound and loosed also<sup>s</sup>." Each man by word of mouth, and with grief

<sup>99</sup> August. de Correptione et Gratia, cap. xv. [t. vii. 1349. "Ipsa, quæ damnatio nominatur, quam facit episcopale iudicium, qua pœna in ecclesia nulla maior est, potest si Deus voluerit in correptionem saluberrimam cedere. Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet, ne per plures serpent dira contagia, separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam." In the original "correctionem" is found for "correptionem."]

<sup>r</sup> Novellæ Constitutiones Justiniani. [collat. ix. tit. vi. Nov. Con. 123. cap. ii. Gotting. 1797. Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπαγορευόμεν ἀφορίζειν τινὰ τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ αἰτία δευχθῇ δι' ἣν οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύουσιν. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας

τινὰ χωρίσαι, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὡς ἀδίκως ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐχωρίσθη, λυομένου τοῦ χωρισμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ μείζονος ἱερέως, τῆς ἁγίας ἀξιουσθῶ κοινωνίας. ὁ δὲ ἀδίκως τινὰ τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας χωρίσαι τολμήσας, πᾶσι τρόποις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ὑφ' ὃν τέτακται, χωρισθήσεται τῆς κοινωνίας, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνος συνῖδοι. ἵνα ὅπερ ἀδίκως ἐποίησε, δικαίως ὑπομείνῃ.]

<sup>s</sup> Theophylact. in Matth. Comment. cap. xvi. [ed. Lutet. Par. 1631. p. 94. Κλείδας δὲ νοήσεις, τὰς δεσμουσὰς καὶ λυούσας, τὰς τῶν σφαλμάτων ἢ συγχωρήσεις ἢ ἐπιτιμήσεις. ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἀφίεναι καὶ δεσμεῖν οἱ κατὰ Πέτρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξιώθεντες χαρίτος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ, δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δέδοται.]



of heart, might and should detest sin, and reprove sinners; and he that is afflicted with any wrong, hath best right to release the same. But this doth not touch the public use of the keys in Christ's church, whereby wicked and impenitent persons are excluded or removed from the sacraments, until they shew themselves sorrowful for their sins, and willing to amend their lewd course of life. With preaching the word and delivering the sacraments neither people nor lay elders might intermeddle, but only pastors, which had the charge and care of souls committed unto them.

To whom then did Paul speak when he said to the  
 1 Cor. v. 13. Corinthians, "Remove that wicked one from among you"?]  
 If he spake to the people, he meant they should refrain all society with that incestuous person, and not so much as eat with him; if he intended to have the malefactor removed from the Lord's table, he spake to the prophets and pastors that had power and charge so to do. St. Austin<sup>t</sup> doth often expound it, as if he had required them to remove that evil one from themselves, in not allowing, consenting, or favouring so wicked a fact in their hearts. Take which you will, I stand indifferent: howbeit by the words of his second epistle it should seem he spake not to the whole church of Corinth, but to the leaders and teachers there, when he willed them to remove that wicked one from amongst themselves; for this  
 2 Cor. v. he writeth of the very same person: "Sufficient for this (offender) is the punishment (or reproof) that proceeded from many (not from all). Wherefore I pray you confirm your love towards him. For this cause also did I write, that I might see the proof of you, whether you would be obedient in all things." So that in excommunicating the incestuous sinner, Paul asked not their consents, but "tried their obedience," and they with all care and zeal shewed themselves ready to execute his precept.

At least yet the presbytery joined with the apostle in excommunicating that malefactor; and of this presbytery the lay elders were no small part; so that by this precedent of the apostolic discipline the pastors cannot exclude any men from

<sup>t</sup> August. contra Epistolam Parmeniani, lib. iii. cap. i. [t. vii. 52.]

the sacraments without the liking of the lay elders and presbyters.] What the presbytery might do cannot well be resolved, until it be first agreed of what persons this presbytery consisted. Some think certain skilful and discreet men as well of the laity as of the clergy, were appointed by the common choice of the people to deliberate and determine of manners and all other matters pertaining to the regiment of the church; and that by their advice and consent, as it were by the decree of an ecclesiastical senate, the power of the keys was directed, and hands imposed. For this assertion they shew the witness both of scriptures and fathers so clear, as they suppose, that they cannot be avoided. Some others confess there was a kind of presbytery in the apostles' times and long after in many churches; but thence they exclude all lay persons as no parts thereof, and account in that number none but such as had charge of the word and sacraments, and jointly laboured the converting of unbelievers to the faith, and preserving of the church in truth and godliness. Which of these two positions is the sounder, in process will appear.

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## CHAP. X.

*What the presbytery was, which the apostles mention in their writings, and whether any lay elders were of that number or no.*

**I**T is not to be doubted that in the apostles' time, every city where the gospel was received had many prophets, pastors, and teachers, not only travelling to and fro to exhort and confirm the brethren, but abiding and persisting in the same place, all labouring to increase the number of the church, and continue the faithful in their profession. "At Jerusalem" Acts xv. 2. fifteen years after Christ's ascension were "apostles and elders;" "At Antioch" in the church were "prophets and Acts xiii. 1. teachers, Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, Manaen and Saul," besides Mark and others. In Rome, when Paul wrote thither, thither, were many approved "labourers and helpers" in Rom. xvi. 9, Christ whom he knew before, besides such as the city itself <sup>12.</sup>

yielded, of whom he had then no such experience, and therefore passeth them over unsaluted by name as men unknown<sup>u</sup>.

Col. iv. 11. After, when he came thither, he sheweth who were "his workfellows unto the kingdom of God." To the church of

1 Cor. xiv. Corinth he saith, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and  
29.  
Acts xx. 17. the rest judge." Being at Miletum he "sent for the elders"

of Ephesus, whom "the Holy Ghost" had "set to watch and feed" the church of God. He writeth to the saints at

Phil. i. 1. Philippi, "together with the bishops and deacons." St.

James v. 14. James saith to the Jews dispersed, "If any be sick, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him;" noting there were in every church not one, but many elders, whose office it was to pray over the sick, release their sins, and ease their infirmities<sup>v</sup>."

This number of teachers and helpers in the gospel was not superfluous, but very requisite in those days, by reason they were forced to exhort and admonish as well privately

Acts xx. 20. "throughout every house," as openly when the church was

2 Tim. iii. 6. assembled, for fear of seducers that secretly "crept into

Tit. i. 2. houses leading away women laden with sins, and subverted whole houses teaching things" (they ought not) "for filthy

lucre's sake," and also for that they were daily to win those to Christ that yet believed not. In which case they were to

refrain no place, nor slack no time to make Christ known to every particular person and house that was ignorant of him.

And to this end they needed more aid than otherwise to guide and direct the church at such times as the saints met together. Neither ceased this necessity with the apostles; it

dured many hundred years after them; which was the

cause that in every great city the pastors and bishops had many ministers and helpers joined with them, to labour the

conversion of miscreants, to strengthen and encourage the martyrs and confessors that suffered by thousands for the name

of Christ, to visit the sick and comfort them in their extremities, to catechise the novices, to attend the service and

sacraments of the church, to examine the faith and survey the

<sup>u</sup> Added L: "quos omnes nominatim salutabat apostolos, præteritis quos non norat indigenis, qui pro urbis am-

plitudine pauci esse non poterant."

<sup>v</sup> "whose office—infirmities," omitted L.

behaviour of all that repaired to the Lord's table, and to perform a number of such sacred duties, which for one pastor or bishop alone to do in so populous cities and assemblies, as they had, was utterly impossible. A presbytery then of prophets, pastors, and teachers, the apostles in their times had and used in every city, where they planted the faith and settled the church; but that lay governors or elders were part of that presbytery, and concurred jointly with the pastors and prophets in imposing hands, and exercising the power of the keys, and censuring both doctrine and manners<sup>w</sup>, I find no such thing commanded or warranted by the scriptures; the patrons of the lay presbytery must undertake the burden to prove their assertion.

The very foundation of the lay presbytery so strongly conceived and eagerly pursued by men in our days<sup>x</sup>, is the place of St. Paul, "The elders that rule well are worthy of 1 Tim. v. 17. double honour, chiefly they that labour in the word and doctrine." Hence it is resolutely inferred, *ergo*, there were some elders that laboured not in the word and doctrine; and those by comparison of other places are supposed to be "gover- 1 Cor. xii. 28. nors," which office Paul nameth amongst the spiritual functions of the church, when he saith, "He that ruleth, (let him Rom. xii. 8. do it) with diligence." It is a matter of no small weight to give laymen power in every parish to impose hands and use the keys, yea, to have the full and whole government of the church above and against the pastors by number of voices, if they differ in judgment; and therefore the ground that shall bear the frame of the lay presbytery had need be sure, especially when it is urged as a part of Christ's spiritual kingdom, without the which no church can be Christ's, no more than it may without the truth of his doctrine. But whether the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v., infer any such thing or no, this is the matter we have now in hand. Some learned and late writers do so conceive of that place; for my part, I see so many just and good reasons against their supposal, that I cannot yield to their judgment.

<sup>w</sup> Added L.: "(pro quibus omnibus tanquam pro aris et focus patroni eorum acerrime depugnant;)"

<sup>x</sup> Added L.: "tantisque ecclesiæ et reipublicæ nostræ contentionibus hodie quæsiti,"

The first reason I have of the weakness of this place to uphold the lay presbytery is, that many learned and ancient fathers have debated and sifted the force of these words, and not one of them ever so much as surmised any such thing to be contained in this text. Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Primasius, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and divers others have considered and expounded these words, and never dreamed of any lay presbytery to be mentioned in them. If then the words of St. Paul stand fair and clear without this late device, as in the judgment of these learned and ancient writers they do, what reason, after fifteen hundred years, to entertain a new platform of governing the church by laymen, upon a bare conceit that the words of St. Paul may sound to that effect as some imagine?

1 Tim. iv.  
'4.

The second reason of my dissenting is, for that St. Paul naming the "presbytery" but once in all his epistles, excludeth all lay elders from that "presbytery:" "Neglect not the grace which is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the imposition of hands of the presbytery." This is the only place in all the scriptures, where the "presbytery" is namely mentioned, and lay elders are most plainly removed hence as no part of this "presbytery." For this Christian "presbytery" gave imposition of hands to ordain ministers; but lay elders had no right to impose hands to that purpose; *ergo*, laymen were no part of this "presbytery." That imposition of hands to make ministers is a "kind of sacrament," and reserved "solely to pastors;" if St. Austin's authority were not sufficient, Calvin's confession is very evident, which I noted before<sup>y</sup>. They must be ministers of the word and sacraments and succeed the apostles in their pastoral charge and function, that must ordain others by imposing hands, and give them power and grace to dispense both the word and sacraments. This, lay elders in the apostles' times neither did, nor might do; they were therefore no part of that "presbytery," which St. Paul speaketh of in his writings. Must we take the word not for the college of elders, but for the degree and office which Timothy received? Neither so is the

<sup>y</sup> Supra, page 160.



force of my reason avoided. For choose which you will to be the signification of the word *πρεσβυτέριον*, either collective for the whole company of elders, or distributive for the degree and office of every elder: if collective, none could be of that college that might not give imposition of hands; if distributive, none might take that function and calling on him, but must receive imposition of hands, as Timothy did. Then laymen, which neither did give nor receive imposition of hands, are barred both from the degree and from the society of "presbytery," which was in St. Paul's time.

Beza thinketh best to take it for a noun collective, and addeth, "The presbytery, that is, the order (or, company) of elders, by which name the whole company is signified, that laboured in the word in that church, where this was done<sup>z</sup>." Then the whole eldership or company of elders in St. Paul's time laboured in the word. Where now were the lay elders that laboured not in the word? What presbytery were they of? Had every church two presbyteries? I trust not. This whole presbytery consisted of pastors and teachers: another college of lay elders and no pastors will never be found.

My third reason is, for that the text itself<sup>a</sup> doth clearly refuse the sense which they enforce. For as they conclude, there were *ergo* some elders that did not labour in the word and doctrine and yet governed well; so the words are more evident, that they all were worthy of double honour, whether they laboured or governed. Which by St. Paul's proofs presently following, and by the consent of all old and new writers is meant of their maintenance at the charges of the church. "Honour in this place," saith Chrysostom, "Paul calleth reverence and allowance of things needful<sup>b</sup>." "Paul will have (the rest) yield carnal things to them of whom they receive spiritual, because being occupied in teaching, they

<sup>z</sup> Beza Theod. in 1 Ep. Pauli ad Tim. cap. iv. [ed. Cantab. 1642, p. 635. "Id est, ordinis presbyterorum, quo cætus omnis ille significatur qui in verbo laborabant in ea ecclesia, ubi hoc est factum, ejus nomen hic non editur, sed Lystris assecitum fuisse constat ex Act. xvi. 2."]

<sup>a</sup> Added L: "qui prorsus hanc illorum interpretationem velut alienam respuit, et nimis longe petitam."

<sup>b</sup> Chrysost. homil. xv. in 1 Tim. v. [t. xii. 508. Τιμὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν θεραπείαν λέγει, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χορηγίαν.]

cannot provide things needful for themselves<sup>c</sup>.” “Good and faithful stewards,” saith Ambrose, “ought to be thought worthy not only of high but of earthly honour, that they be not grieved for lack of maintenance<sup>d</sup>.” “Paul willeth maintenance to be chiefly yielded to the pastors that are occupied in teaching. For such is the ingratitude of the world, that take small care for nourishing the ministers of the word<sup>e</sup>.” “As the poor, so the elders serving the whole church, are to be maintained by the goods of the church<sup>f</sup>.” “Paul mentioning the church treasure, presently exhorteth the ministers of the church to be thence maintained<sup>g</sup>.” “By the name of honour is signified all godly duty and relief, after the use of the Hebrew (speech)<sup>h</sup>.”

Now that lay judges and censors of manners were in the apostles’ time found at the expenses of the church, or by God’s law ought to have their maintenance at the people’s hands, is a thing to me so strange and unheard of, that until I see it justly proved, I cannot possibly believe it. St. Paul hath laid down this rule: “They that serve at the altar should be partakers of the altar; and by God’s ordinance, they that preach the gospel must live of the gospel.” Where shall we find the like for the lay judges that laboured not in the word? They were (if any such were) as the sagest, so every way the sufficientest men that were amongst the people;

1 Cor. ix.  
13, 14.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. in 1 Tim. cap. v. [t. ix. 386. “Vult illis præstare carnalia a quibus alii spiritualia consequuntur, quia occupati in doctrina, necessaria sibi providere non possunt.”]

<sup>d</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. cap. v. [t. v. 407. “Boni dispensatores ac fideles non solum honore sublimi debent digni judicari, sed et terreno, ut non contristentur indigentia sumptuum.”]

<sup>e</sup> Calvini in 1 Ep. Pauli ad Tim. cap. v. [ed. Genev. 1600, p. 501. n. 17. “Nunc ut ad Paulum redeam, victum præcipue suppeditari jubet pastoribus, qui docendo sunt occupati. Ea enim est mundi ingratitude, ut de fovendis verbi ministris non multum sit sollicitus.”]

<sup>f</sup> Hen. Bullingeri Comment. in Pauli Epistolas, atque in Ep. ad Heb. Tiguri. 1582. in 1 Tim. cap. v. “Nam ut pau-

peres, ita presbyteri quoque ecclesiæ toti servientes ex ecclesiastico alendi sunt ærario.”

<sup>g</sup> Comment. D. Jod. Willich. in utramque ad Timoth. Pauli Epist. Argent. an. 1542. ad 1 Tim. cap. v. “Nunc subjungit privilegia presbyterorum, et censuram ecclesiasticam. Verum cum ærarii ecclesiastici meminerat, mox ex eodem nutriendos esse ecclesiæ ministros adhortatur: in quem usum tot principum donationes tot legata, tot collationes referuntur.”

<sup>h</sup> Theod. Bezæ in 1 Ep. Pauli ad Tim. cap. v. [ed. Cantab. 1642. p. 637. “*Duplici honore, διπλῆς τιμῆς*. id est, de quibus magis etiam specialis cura suscipiatur. ‘Honoris’ enim appellatione jam dixi pium omne officium ac subsidium, Hebræorum more, significari.”]

for fear of faction, contempt, and corruption, which easily grow when the weaker and baser rule over the richer and better sort. If the apostle will not have the poor widows, so long as they might otherwise be succoured or employed, grieve the church, would he then put the burden of the lay judges and elders, in number many, in state able to relieve others, on the necks of the meaner and poorer brethren? There is neither cause nor commandment in the word so to charge the churches of Christ with maintaining the lay senate, which yet must be done before this construction can be admitted.

The fourth reason that holdeth me from receiving this construction is, that I find divers and sundry interpretations more agreeable to the text, and more answerable to St. Paul's meaning, than this, which is lately so much liked and obtruded to the whole church as the express voice of God's Spirit.

I derive my first exposition from the apostle's purpose, which here is so plain, that it cannot be doubted. For letting Timothy understand with whom the church of necessity must be charged, and what degrees must be observed in their maintenance, he beginneth with widows, and sheweth which of them are fit to be relieved by the church, and which to be left to their friends and kinsfolks, that "the church be <sup>1 Tim. v.</sup> not burdened, but may suffice for those that are widows indeed." <sup>16.</sup> From widows he cometh unto elders, that is, from the women to the men amongst them that must be found food and apparel for them and theirs at the charges of the church, and of them he saith, "The elders that rule well," to wit, <sup>1 Tim. v.</sup> which guide well the things committed to their charge, "let <sup>17.</sup> them be counted worthy of double honour;" he meaneth either of larger allowance than the widows, because their calling was higher and pains greater; or else maintenance for themselves and their families, which the widows might not expect. For since they were to relinquish their former trades of life, whereby they succoured their families, and wholly to addict themselves to the service of the church, the wisdom of God provided for them, as under Moses for the priests and Levites, that they which served at the altar, should live of

1 Tim. v.  
17.

the altar, both they and theirs. These elders were of two sorts ; some laboured in the word, some cared and attended for the poor : both were worthy of double honour, if they discharged their duties well, but “ specially they that laboured in the word and doctrine.” The church that was to bear the charge, the party to whom he wrote, were acquainted with it before this time, and accustomed to it. Paul requireth the people to do it willingly and liberally, and warneth Timothy to see it done. For such as serve the church are worthy of it, chiefly the ministers. There were then, you will say, other elders in the church that were not ministers of the word. There were, and those were the deacons, whom you must either exclude from maintenance, and that you may not ; or else comprise in this place under the name of elders.

Acts xv. 2.

Acts xiv.  
23.

1 Tim. v.  
19.

1 Tim. iii.  
13.

Haply you think this an evasion and no exposition. It standeth more clearly with the intent of St. Paul than lay elders, and as clear with the words. When the church at Jerusalem was divided by St. Luke and their own letters, into “ apostles, elders,” and “ brethren,” in which of these three are the deacons contained ? Not in elders ? When Paul and Barnabas “ ordained elders in every church” as they passed, left they the churches without deacons, or neglected they the care of the poor ? The next words to these : “ Receive not an accusation against an elder, but under two or three witnesses,” do they exclude the deacons, or include them in this rule ? If the word *πρεσβύτερος*, an elder, be a name of age, why shall the deacons be barred that name, whenas they were chosen for their age, gravity, and wisdom, as well as the ministers ? If it be a name of office, that the deacons “ by well ministering get themselves a good degree,” St. Paul witnesseth ; that laymen had any office in the church as here is imagined, what text proveth ? this only place of all the New Testament is produced, and by this the doubt is rather increased than decided.

Besides, that the words *ἐπίσκοπος*, *πρεσβύτερος*, *διάκονος* be often so largely taken, that they comprise all ecclesiastical functions, might soon be proved, if it were not confessed by such learned men as very much favour this late found construction : “ These names of bishops, elders, and deacons be

sometimes general<sup>i</sup>." "The name of elder is general, comprehending all those that have any ecclesiastical function<sup>j</sup>." Then is our first exposition neither false nor forced, but matcheth as rightly with the words of St. Paul as theirs doth, and far righter with the sense.

A second interpretation of the words is that which Chrysostom and other Greek writers embrace: that where in a minister of the word, good life, good government, and good doctrine are required, the two first are commended, but painfulness in the word is chiefly to be preferred in men of their calling. And so not two sorts of elders, but two parts of the pastoral charge and function are implied in these words. Speak I more than you yourselves confess? Is it not your own distinction, that some are doctors, which labour in the word, but have no cure of souls; some pastors, which besides their public pains in the word, have a special charge and watch over every man's soul where they live? St. Paul to the Hebrews calleth the ministers of the word τοὺς ἡγουμένους; and between προϊστάσθαι, which is "to stand before," and ἡγεῖσθαι, which is "to go before," (as leaders do,) what difference can you find? Hear one whose learning you cannot, and judgment in this case you do not mislike: "(These two words) are all one in signification, because the pastors do (go before. or) lead the flock<sup>k</sup>." They must as well ἐπισκοπεῖν as ποιμαίνειν, that is, "oversee," as "feed;" and doth overseeing import no more than simply teaching? Why should it seem strange to any man, that we affirm the ministers of the word should be not only κοπιῶντες, "painful to teach," but καλῶς προσεστώτες, "watchful to guide and oversee," since the apostle joineth them both in good pastors? "We beseech you, brethren," saith he, "acknowledge those which labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and have them in singular love for their work's sake<sup>l</sup>."

<sup>i</sup> Theod. Bezae in 1 Tim. iv. [ed. Cantab. 1642. p. 635. n. 14. "Sunt enim interdum generalia hæc nomina, episcoporum, presbyterorum, atque adeo etiam diaconorum."]

<sup>j</sup> Idem in Ep. Pet. 1. cap. v. [p. 715. n. 1. "Generale nomen est 'presbyteri' hoc in loco, eos omnes compre-

hendens, qui funguntur ecclesiastico munere."]

<sup>k</sup> Theod. Bezae in Ep. Pauli ad Thess. 1. cap. v. [p. 620. n. 12. "Idem igitur valet τοῦ προϊστάσθαι quod ἡγεῖσθαι, quod nimirum pastores gregi præeant."]

<sup>l</sup> 1 Thess. v. 12. Τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ.



Whereupon a great patron of the discipline writeth thus: "It is to be noted by what titles Paul designeth pastors; first he saith, they labour, and withal he adorneth them with the name of (rule and) government<sup>m</sup>." It is then no consequent out of this place, *ergo*, some elders did not teach, but govern; this rather is inferred, *ergo*, more is expected of an elder than teaching, to wit, good example of life, and watchfulness over his charge. As if he should have said, Pastors or elders are worthy of double honour in that they guide well themselves and their flock, but chiefly for that they labour in the word, which is the greatest and chiefest part of their function. And so is our second interpretation warranted both by the true bounds of the pastoral function, and the like use of the same words elsewhere in the apostle, and all this confessed by them that are very well learned, and well affected to the presbytery.

A third explication of these words, may be shortly drawn from the force of the word *κοπιᾶν*, which importeth painful and earnest labour; and then the sense is: "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, chiefly they which be laborious (and painful) in the word." This to be the proper and usual force of the word *κοπιᾶν*, when it doth not signify bodily labour, but is transferred to the mind, I think no man learned doth doubt. *Πορεύειν* is simply to labour, *κοπιᾶν* is to weary ourselves with labour. "*Κοπιᾶν* is more than *πορεύειν*," saith Beza, "if we respect the proper signification of either, as weariness is more than labour<sup>n</sup>." He then which labour-eth is worthy of his wages, but he that even wearieth himself with hard labour, is more worthy. So saith St. Paul. The pastors or elders that discharge their places are worthy of double honour, chiefly they which refuse no pains and weary themselves with labour and care to teach and admonish. Speak we absurdly, obscurely, or not answerably to the force of the apostle's words, when we thus expound him?

A fourth construction may be had of this text, and that consonant to the words and intent of St. Paul, and yet no lay elders empannelled in the jury. *Καλῶς προεστῶτες* may be re-

<sup>m</sup> Calvin. in 1 Thess. v. "Notandum est quibus titulis pastores designet. primo dicit eos laborare, simul prefec-turæ nomine eos ornat."

<sup>n</sup> Bezae Annot. in Matt. xi. ["Certe plus est *κοπιᾶν* quam *πορεύειν*, si propriam utriusque significationem spectemus."]

ferred to such pastors and teachers as were abiding in every church, and therefore are properly said *προϊστασθαι*, to have the charge and oversight of the faithful, as being affixed to the place for that purpose; *κοπιῶντες* to those that travelled from place to place to visit and confirm the churches. The words serve well for this difference, and both sorts were to have maintenance from the churches, as well they that travelled, as they that persisted. Touching the use of the word *κοπιᾶν*, besides that in Matt. vi., Luke v. and xii., John iv., Acts xx., 1 Cor. xiv., Eph. iv., and 2 Tim. ii., it doth without all contradiction signify bodily labour and weariness, St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xv., thus writeth: "Christ rising (from death) the third day was seen of James, then of all the apostles: last of all he was seen of me, as one born not in due time: for I am the least of the apostles, and not fit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God; yet have I laboured more than all they." He meaneth, than the rest of the apostles to whom Christ appeared. I demand whether Paul charged the other apostles with negligence, or whether he durst affirm that he had preached Christ more diligently than all they? It were an arrogant presumption so to say, and a lewd imagination so to think. What then is the meaning of his words? Though he were "an abortive," and "the least of them all," yet had he travelled further in spreading the gospel than all they. And why? They were sent to the Jews dispersed in some few countries, and none of them passed the limits of Asia, for aught that we read, save Peter, who was brought prisoner to Rome towards the end of his life; but Paul had the Gentiles allotted to him, and so travelled not only Arabia and Jewry, but filled Asia, Greece, Italy, and Spain, and many other countries and nations with the gospel of Christ; and in that signification of the word *κοπιᾶν*, which is to travel for the spreading of the gospel, he saith very soberly, advisedly, and truly, that though he were last called, he had travelled to preach Christ further than they all.

This word is often so used in Rom. xvi. "Greet Mary, ἥτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, who hath travelled much for us." And again: "Greet Tryphena and Tryphosa, τὰς

ὅτι ἄλλα περισσώτερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα

κοπιώσας ἐν Κυρίῳ, women that labour and travel in the Lord. Greet Persis the beloved, ἥτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν ἐν Κυρίῳ, a woman that hath much travelled in the Lord." The women neither did nor might preach in the church, but many of them travelled far and near, and dealt by private persuasions (which was more seemly for them to do than for men) with women to embrace the knowledge of the truth, and repair to the houses where the apostles and others did instruct the believers.

And as there were of women that travelled for Christ, so were there of men no small number, both prophets, evangelists, and teachers, employing their pains and hazarding their lives to convert the faithless, to confirm the faithful. And though some of them haply lived of their own, and others wrought with their hands to furnish themselves with things wanting, yet because their work was more painful and perilful than the pastors' that kept their fixed places, and as needful to increase Christ's kingdom, the apostle willeth the churches to have special regard to such that they were not left destitute, after they had dedicated not only their labour, but also their lives to the service of Christ. St. Paul's com-  
 1 Cor. ix. 7. parisons include both, when he saith, "Who goeth on warfare at his own charges? who planteth a vine, and eateth not of the fruit? who tendeth a flock, and tasteth not of the milk?" So that he which travelleth abroad for Christ in danger, is more worthy of recompense than he that feedeth the flock at home in greater ease and better safety. Touch-  
 1 Cor. xvi. ing such he saith, "If Timothy come, see he be without fear  
 10, 11. amongst you: for he worketh the work of the Lord, even as I  
 Tit. iii. 13. do: and send him away in peace." And again: "Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollo on their way with diligence, that they lack nothing." And noting whence they should  
 Tit. iii. 14. have it: "Let ours learn to be forward in good works to  
 3 John 5-8. necessary uses." And St. John: "Thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren and unto strangers: whom if thou bringest on their journey as it beseemeth in God, thou shalt do well: because for his name's sake they went forth, and took nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be helpers unto the

truth." The sum then of St. Paul's words after this fourth exposition is this: The pastors or "elders that guide well" and do their duties in the places where they remain, "are worthy of double honour, but chiefly they that travel" from place to place "for the word's sake" are to be supported, their pains and need are greatest.

Thus have we four expositions of the place, 1 Tim. v, consonant to the signification of the words and in tent of the speaker; and all excluding the lay elders: which we cannot deduce out of this text without manifest wrong to the apostle's purpose, and truth of the scriptures. For then must all lay elders by the word of God have double maintenance from the church, which is apparently false; and the pastors which labour in the word, may not meddle with guiding, overseeing, and ruling the flock committed to their charge, which is as manifest an untruth as the former. If the functions of ruling and teaching be two distinct offices, then may none intrude on both; if they be coincident, what need two sorts of elders to execute one charge? Set this place aside, in which I see utterly nothing for lay elders, and where else in the New Testament shall we find, I say not a sentence, but a syllable, sounding for them?

He that ruleth (let him do it) with diligence.] Doth he say, Rom. xii. 8. The layman that ruleth the church, let him do it with diligence?

No, but he speaketh of divers functions in the church, and so some must rule that may neither teach nor exhort, which must needs be lay elders.] He speaketh indeed of divers gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, for so *χαρίσματα* Rom. xii. 6. *διάφορα* doth import; of divers offices he speaketh not, for then they might not concur in one man, and consequently, neither might "the prophet teach" nor "exhort," nor "the deacon distribute" nor "shew mercy." Many gifts may conjoin in one man, many offices cannot.

Paul speaketh of offices to be executed by those that had gifts according; and to that end bringeth in the example of man's body, where the members have several powers and several actions.] I see the comparison, and thence I prove he speaketh of particular gifts, and not of public offices in the church. "As in one body," saith he, "we may have many" Rom. xii. 4, 5.

members, and all the members have not the same action ; so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one another's members." I ask now whether only the officers of the church, or the whole multitude of believers be the body of Christ ? The whole, no doubt, is the body, and not this or that part, though excelling the rest. Then, as in man's body, every part hath his action ; so in Christ's body, which is the church<sup>nn</sup>, every member must have his gift, and not a public office in the church.

But Paul nameth here only those gifts that had their public use in the church, and nowhere else, as prophecy, teaching, exhorting, distributing, governing, helping.] Which of these gifts in the apostles' times was not common, as well to the people, as to the pastors, and to women as well as to men ? Prophecy, which is the greatest and unlikeliest to be found in all sorts, was it not a common gift to old and young, men and maids ? Shall Joel make a lie that foretold it ? " After that, I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh ; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy : and upon the very servants and handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit." Shall Peter be a false witness, that saith, " This was performed" when the gifts of the Holy Ghost were poured on the church after Christ's ascension ? All those that heard Peter's sermon in Cornelius's house, received " the gifts of the Holy Ghost, to magnify God" before they were baptized. Acts x. 45, 46. " The four daughters of Philip," did they not " prophesy ?" Acts xxi. 9. " Every woman," saith Paul, " praying or prophesying bare-headed, dishonoureth her head." If then prophecy were a gift of God's Spirit, common to all sorts and sexes, as well as a public office in the church, and Paul, in Rom. xii., prescribeth and teacheth the right use of those gifts which God gave to " every man," that all the members of Christ's body might have their peculiar actions according to the measure of faith, what reason have we to convert this place from the private gifts of every member to the public offices of some few in the churches, which were not here intended ?

Teaching and exhorting seem not to be private gifts, and

<sup>nn</sup> Added L. : " non presbyterium est."



therefore stand rather for ecclesiastical functions.] We are so violent in this conceit of discipline, that we never remember the scriptures that contradict it, be they never so often or evident. Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, did she not instruct and "teach Apollo, a preacher, the way of the Lord more exactly?" and doth not Paul call her "his helper in Christ," as well as her husband? The women that "laboured" so much "in the Lord," did they go idly up and down, or did they teach and exhort as they travelled? "If the women will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home," saith Paul; then might the husbands teach them. "Let the word of God dwell in you plentifully in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord;" is a rule for all Christians of all sorts and degrees, and not for pastors and elders only. "Exhort one another, and edify one another, even as you do: admonish them that are unruly; comfort the feebleminded; bear with the weak; be patient towards all men." These be general precepts for all believers; to all are they prescribed, and by all to be performed. If then prophecy, doctrine and exhortation, be private graces of God's Spirit, and to be used of all according to the measure of each man's gift, as time and place require, for the good of ourselves and others, what probability can there be that the apostle in this place should reckon church offices, and not rather moderate and direct the gifts of God's Spirit poured out on his church, and parted amongst all the members of Christ's mystical body?

Distributing is no gift of the Spirit, but plainly an office in the church, and so governing and shewing mercy joined therewith do fairly resemble the deacons, elders, and widows, that were three ecclesiastical and public functions.] Distributing of our own in singleness of heart is a far greater gift of God's Spirit, than distributing of other men's as the deacons did; and here the apostle speaketh of spiritual gifts. Again, *διακονία*, which is a ministry or service, is before used, and had been the fittest word for the deacon's office, if the apostle had purposed to treat thereof. But if we seek for the true meaning of St. Paul in this place, and not to please our own

Acts xviii.  
26.  
Rom. xvi. 9.

1 Cor. xiv.

35.

Col. iii. 16.

1 Thess. v.

11. 14.

1 Pet. iv.  
9-11.

humours, St. Peter's words uttered to the same effect that these are, will help us : " Be harbourers one to another without grudging. As every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, (let them be as) the words of God ; if any man minister (or, give) any thing to another, let him do it as of the ability that God hath given (him), that in all things God may be glorified." This place, as well as the rest, I find is racked to serve for the supposed discipline ; but if we mark whereabout St. Peter goeth, we shall learn as much of St. Peter here in few words as of St. Paul there in larger speech and more plentiful parts. " As every man," saith Peter, (and not every pastor, or deacon) " hath received the gift," (of God's grace, and not an office by man's choice,) " so minister the same one to another" (for the benefit of each other). " If any man speak (let him speak to comfort and edify) as the words of God ; if any man minister," (that is, do good, not in words, but in deeds, to another,) " let it be according to the ability that God hath given" him, (not according to the contributions he hath received of other men,) " that in all things" (even in all our words and deeds) " God may be glorified." St. Paul, with a longer circuit of words, expreseth the same sense. As all the parts of our bodies have divers actions tending all to the use and profit not of themselves but of others ; so " every man," saith he, (and not only teachers and elders,) " according to the grace given" (by God's Spirit, and not by man's election, should be soberly content with their measure, and use to the good of others,) " whether it were prophecy, teaching and exhorting" (which consist in words) ; " or governing and serving with diligence, relieving and helping with cheerfulness" (which consist in deeds) : for all the members of Christ's body, though they cannot teach, exhort and guide, yet may they serve, relieve and shew mercy ; and these are the gifts of God's Spirit, not so miraculous, but as precious in his sight as the former, and proceed from the most excellent gift of God's Spirit, passing all gifts, which is " unfeigned love and charity."

Rom. xii.  
6-8.

1 Cor. xiii. 2.

The text may more kindly and currently be referred to the public offices of the church.] First then you must point us

forth seven such offices ; for here are seven diverse parts. Next <sup>Rom. xii. 6-8.</sup> you must prove that *χαρίσματα*, these gifts of the Spirit, belong to the officers of the church only, and not to the rest of the faithful. Thirdly, we must know whether these offices must be divided, or may be combined in one person ; if they be distinct, no prophet may teach or exhort, no teacher may exhort or prophesy ; if they may meet and agree in one subject, then are they no offices but graces, and he that hath one may have all ; and so are you further from your purpose than you were before. Lastly, make them even ecclesiastical functions if you list, how then can you challenge them, or any one of them to lay persons ?

[Clergymen may not govern the church.] You must leave that error for your credit's sake, as crossing the scriptures, which maketh pastors to be "shepherds," "watchmen, over-<sup>John xxi. 16.</sup>seers," "rulers" and "guiders of the flock," and infringing<sup>Heb. xiii. 17.</sup> your own positions, who say that pastors do "rule" and "govern" the church. If he that ruleth must do it with diligence, the pastors by these words are appointed to be watchful, as those that shall answer for the souls of their flock, and not the lay elders.

If it be a private gift to whom doth it appertain ?] To every man that hath charge or family : the father with diligence is to guide his children, the master his servants, the husband his wife : "He that hath cast away the care of his household is <sup>1 Tim. v. 8.</sup> worse than an infidel." To feed them, and not to rule them, and train them in the fear of the Lord, is grossly to neglect them. He that ruleth not well his own house, by St. Paul's prescription, must not be trusted with the church of God. It <sup>1 Tim. iii.</sup> is therefore a special virtue and grace of God's Spirit to rule<sup>5</sup> well the persons committed to our charge. Let it be gift or office, private or public, it maketh nothing for lay presbyters.

There remaineth yet one place where governors are named amongst ecclesiastical officers, and that is <sup>1 Cor. xii.</sup> 1 Cor. xii.] The answer is soon made, if we be not contentious. Teachers are there expressed, but pastors omitted, and therefore well might governors be mentioned instead of pastors. If this content you not, I then deny they be all ecclesiastical functions that are there specified. "Powers, gifts of healing, kinds of <sup>28.</sup>

tongues," what functions shall we call them in the church of Christ?

They were ornaments to the pastoral and prophetic calling.] And so was government.

To govern is a duty, and no gift.] To govern wisely is a great gift of the Holy Ghost, and more needful for the church than "tongues, healing," or "miracles." To the governing of the church belonged more than censuring of manners, or examining of witnesses; wisdom to prevent dangers, to direct doubtful cases, to discern spirits, to calm strifes; many other weighty graces were requisite for the governing of the church. This is therefore a principal gift of the Holy Ghost, but not a different office from those that go before. The apostles, prophets, and teachers in the church, had they not power to do miracles, to cure the sick, to speak with tongues? if these three be no diverse offices, but graces, and all three found in every apostle, in many prophets and teachers, why should not "government," being reckoned in the midst of them, be a gift likewise of the Holy Ghost, bestowed on such prophets, pastors and teachers as pleased the Spirit of truth and grace to vouchsafe that honour?

To make us understand, that we must not confound the functions in the church with the gifts of the Spirit, much less mistake the one for the other, let us number the gifts of the Spirit that are noted in this one chapter, and see whether the public functions of the church can any way be proportioned to them. "To one," saith St. Paul, "is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another the gifts of healing; to another the operation of great works; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another diversities of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues." Here are nine gifts of the Holy Ghost numbered; in the end of this very chapter are named two more, "helping" and "governing," that were not reckoned before. To the Romans are five different from these rehearsed; in all sixteen. I trust there were not so many distinct offices in the church. The apostle  
 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10. even in this chapter setting down eight degrees and dignities of spiritual gifts, and placing them as it were in order, clean

omitteth pastors and deacons, as being rather standing offices in the church than miraculous gifts. Many pastors and doctors were furnished with many of them; the apostles had them all, and that in greater measure than any other, which in offices could not be, in gift might be. These were therefore neither usual nor perpetual functions in the church, as pastors and deacons must be, but miraculous and extraordinary gifts and graces during only for a time, and given in what measure and to what persons it best liked the Holy Ghost, for the overthrowing of Satan's kingdom, and gathering of the saints together, at the first planting of the church.

What were governors then in the primitive church? For my part I am not ashamed to say, I could easily presume, I cannot easily prove what they were. The manner and order of those wonderful gifts of God's Spirit, after so many hundreds may be conjectured, cannot be demonstrated.

Why should they not be lay elders or judges of manners? Because I find no such any where else mentioned, and here none proved. Governors there were, or rather governments, (for so the apostle speaketh,) that is, gifts of wisdom, discretion and judgment to direct and govern the whole church and every particular member thereof in the manifold dangers and distresses, which those days did not want. Governors also they might be called, that were appointed in every congregation to hear and appease the private strifes and quarrels that grew betwixt man and man, lest the Christians to the shame of themselves, and slander of the gospel, should pursue each other for things of this life before the magistrates, who then were infidels. Of these St. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. vi.: "Dare 1 Cor. vi. 1, 4, 5, 6. any of you, having matters one against another, seek for judgment before the unjust, and not before the saints? If you have any quarrels for things of this life, appoint the worst in the church (to be your judges). I speak this to your shame. Is there never a wise man amongst you that can look into his brother's cause, but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before infidels?" These governors and moderators of their brethren's quarrels and contentions I find; others I find not in the apostolic writings, but such as withal were watchmen and feeders of the flock.



None fitter than those governors which you last named to restrain the unruly and chastise the ungodly ; for they censured the misbehaviours and disorders of men against men, and why not likewise the sins and offences committed against God ?] These governors had neither authority, necessity, nor perpetuity in the church of God. Rather than the Christians should eagerly pursue one another before pagans, and by their private brabbles cause the unbelievers to deride and detest the doctrine of Christ ; the apostle willeth them to suffer wrong, or else to refer the hearing and ending of their griefs to some wise and discreet arbiters within the church ; but he giveth those judges no leave to challenge the determining of other men's matters, nor power to command or punish the disobeyer ; that were to erect magistrates in the church, and to give them the sword even in temporal and civil causes ; which the apostle neither did nor could warrant. Besides, in Christian commonwealths where there can be no doubt of despising or scorning the gospel for going to law, those judges must cease ; since there is no cause to decline the tribunals of believing princes, to whom the preserving of all men's rights, and punishing of all men's injuries and enormities doth by God's law generally and wholly appertain. If these were the lay presbyters and governors which you so much stand on, they must give place to the magistrate's sword, where the state upholdeth the Christian faith, as in England it doth, and God grant it long may.

Think ye that pastors and prophets in the apostles' times were hindered from their callings, and cumbered with examinations of parties principal, exceptions, and depositions of witnesses, and such like consistory courses as were needful for the trial of the truth when any man accused ? How far better is it to refer these things to the hearing of certain grave and good men chosen from amongst the laity, rather than to busy and overload the preachers and labourers in the word with those tedious and superfluous toils ?] The judiciary pains in the apostles' time were not great, nor the process long. They meddled with no matters, but with so notorious, that they scandalized the church, and infamed the doctrine of our Saviour with infidels ; and in those cases, where every

man could speak, the proof was soon made. Again, the prophets and pastors in those days had the gifts of "discerning spirits," and "knowing secrets;" so that malefactors were soon discovered and convinced, if the case were doubtful. St. Paul is a witness, that to know secrets was then incident to the gift of prophecy. "If you all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, he is rebuked of all men, and judged of all men; and so are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and he will fall down on his face and worship God, and say plainly, that God is in you indeed." A little before he joineth them both together: "Though I had prophecy, and knew all secrets." To reveal things hid, and foresee things to come, were then annexed to the gift of prophecy, not generally and perpetually, but when and where the necessity of the church, or God's glory required it should be so. Thirdly, the apostle hath plainly committed "the receiving of accusations" even "against elders," and "open rebuking of such as sinned," unto Timothy; and he in sight was no layman. What warrant have you then to take that from pastors and teachers, as a burden to their calling, which Paul chargeth them with; and to give it to lay elders, upon pretence of some better policy, as if the Spirit of God in Paul had missed his mark in establishing the worst way to govern the church? That pastors must judicially examine and rebuke such as sin, we prove by the evident words of St. Paul: shew you the like for lay elders, and we will quietly resign you the cause. Lastly, since the power of the keys, and oversight of the sacraments, did and do clearly belong to pastors, and not to lay elders; I see not how laymen that are no magistrates, may challenge to intermeddle with the pastor's function, or overrule them in their own charge, without manifest and violent intrusion on other men's callings against the word and will of Christ, who gave his apostles the Holy Ghost, "to remit and retain sins;" and so joined the word and sacraments together, that he which may not divide the one, may not dispose the other; and so both word and sacraments must pertain to lay elders, or neither.

I call no man *lay* in contempt or derogation either of his gifts, or of that state in which I know the church of God hath

1 Cor. xiv.  
24, 25.

1 Cor. xiii.  
2.

1 Tim. v.  
19, 20.

John xx.  
23.

always had, and hath many grave and worthy men, fit, for their wisdom and gravity, to bear as great, or greater, charge than clergymen. I use that name for distinction's sake, which I find in the best and most ancient writers: for such as were not by their calling dedicated and devoted to the public service and ministry of the church in the word and sacraments; notwithstanding they were and be the "people of God" and "his inheritance;" even a "chosen generation" and "royal priesthood" by the inward sanctification of the Holy Ghost, "to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." And so the learned know the word *λαὸς*, whence *lay* is derived, importeth even "the Lord's peculiar people;" which distinction of people from priests is neither profane nor strange in the scriptures. "There shall be," saith Esay, "like people, like priest." And so saith Osee; as also Jeremy divideth the church into the "prophet," "priest," and "people." As for the name of clergymen, Jerome saith, "Therefore are they called clergymen, or clerks, either because they are the Lord's portion (to serve the church of Christ), or for that the Lord is their portion and part (to live on such things as are dedicated to the Lord).°" The lay he calleth "seculares," secular men, which word is not so good as "laici," the laity or people.

The name of *presbyter* I use, not thereby meaning aged and ancient men, of what calling soever they be, as the word sometimes signifieth, and wherewith I see many that favour the presbytery deceived and deceiving others; but I use it for those whom the apostles call *πρεσβύτερους*, presbyters, (whence our tongue following the French, long since derived priests,) who for their age should be elders, and by their office are ministers of the word and sacraments, and overseers of the flock of Christ. And though there can be no doubt but very often in the scriptures *πρεσβύτεροι*, in Latin *seniores*, in English *elders*, are taken for pastors, teachers, and such as laboured in the word, and dispensed the sacraments; yet some more zealous than discreet, no sooner hear of the word pres-

° Hieron. ad Nepotian. de Vit. Cler. ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars Cleri-  
[t. i. 12. "Propterea vocantur Clerici, corum est.]  
vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia

byter or senior, an elder, in scriptures or fathers, but they straightway dream of their lay presbytery, which is the greatest ground of all their error, and lightest proof that may possibly be brought. For which cause I am forced often to distinguish the ministers of the word from such as some men would have to be governors of the church, by the name of presbyter and not of elder, which in our tongue is more common to aged men than to clergymen. But howsoever they may play with words, to make some show that elders were governors of Christ's church in the apostles' times, assuredly no man is able to prove that laymen were public governors to ordain ministers, or remove sinners from the Lord's table while the apostles lived; and after their deaths the longer we search, the further we are from finding any such elders.

The whole church by the very words of our Saviour might exclude disobedient and froward persons from their fellowship as ethnics and publicans; and bind them both in heaven and earth.] I have answered already, that those words of Christ, by the very confession of such as are the greatest defenders of this new discipline, were spoken of the judges and magistrates of the Jews. And if by the credit and authority of the fathers we will needs have them spoken of Christ's church, we must then take the church for the pastors and leaders of the church, that have received power from Christ to bind and loose in heaven and earth. Lastly, if we intend nothing else by those words, "Let him be to thee as an ethnic and publican," but, refrain all company with him, and eat no more with him than thou wouldest with an ethnic and publican; this charge pertaineth rather to the whole church than to any lay elders or governors in the church. The apostle's words, "When you are gathered together, put away from among <sup>1</sup> Cor. v. 4, you that wicked man," are rather directed to the whole con-<sup>13.</sup>gregation than to any lay elders in the church of Corinth; as are also these that follow, "I wrote unto you, that you should <sup>1</sup> Cor. v. 9, not company together with fornicators: but now I have<sup>11.</sup> written unto you, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous; an idolater, railer, drunkard or extortioner, with such an one eat not." Must only the lay elders,

or all the multitude avoid the company of such enormous persons? “I beseech you, brethren,” saith Paul, “observe those which cause divisions and offences against the doctrine which you have learned, and decline them.” Should none but elders and teachers shun schismatics and heinous malefactors, Rom. xvi. 17. or must the people and hearers do the like? “If any man obey not our sayings, keep no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.” Shall we think the apostle thought it sufficient for some few lay elders to forbear the company of such disordered persons? or doth he will the whole church with one consent to shun all society with such unruly ones, that they may be ashamed?

Then yet the whole church might excommunicate, and not pastors only.] With open reproof by the word, and excluding from the sacraments such as notoriously sinned, pastors and prophets might intermeddle; the people and lay elders might not; it was no part of their charge: but in banishing malefactors from all fellowship and company both civil and sacred with the faithful; the pastors were to direct, the people to assist and execute that judgment. The apostle doth not leave it to people’s liking as a matter indifferent, till they have consented, but enjoineth it as a necessary duty, 2 Thess. iii. 6. and “commandeth them in the name of Christ Jesus to withdraw themselves from every brother that walked inordinately.” John Ep. ii. 10, 11. For as St. John warneth us; “He that receiveth to his house the bringer of another doctrine, or biddeth him good speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.” And so is every one that with countenance, favour or familiarity doth embolden the wicked to go on in any other lewdness, when by Christian duty he should reprove such offenders, and if they persist, renounce all society with them; yea, where there wanteth a believing magistrate, the pastors shall not do wisely to proceed to any such rigour against wilful and obstinate sinners, without the knowledge and consent of the people, for fear of contempt, if the most part mislike, or factions, if the multitude be divided.

If pastors in such cases were to stay for the liking of the whole church, is it not more likely that the people did refer the hearing and censuring of all such matters to certain chosen



elders of themselves, rather than in a tumult confusedly without any judicial form determine such causes? That if we evict, we make no doubt that lay elders were governors in the church of Christ, as well as pastors.] Indeed, likelihoods and surmises were the best demonstrations that ever were made for your supposed discipline: but if this be all, you will never evict any thing. The people might well rely themselves on the credit and conscience of their pastors, and believe them in other men's cases, whom they trusted with their own souls. Again, they might approve and confirm their pastor's judgment in an open assembly without an uproar; things were at that time handled in the church religiously, not tumultuously. Lastly, if the people did appoint certain wise and sufficient men from amongst themselves to look into the truth of every crime, before they would believe the accuser, or reject the accused from their company; then must your lay elders claim, not from Christ as authorized by him to use the keys and dispose of the sacraments, but from the people, as their committees, to hear and report what they found detected and proved in every such offence as deserved separation from all Christian society: and their delegation from the people must utterly cease, where he that beareth the sword embraceth the faith. For though by the laws of God and nature, where there is no magistrate, every multitude may both order and govern themselves, as they see cause with their general consent, so they cross not superior laws and powers; yet we must beware when God hath placed Christian princes to defend and preserve justice and judgment amongst men, that we erect not under a show of discipline certain petty magistrates in every parish by commission from Christ himself in crimes and causes ecclesiastical, judicially to proceed without depending on the prince's power.

I seek not to charge the favourers of this new discipline with any dangerous device. I had rather acknowledge mine own weakness that cannot conceive how lay elders should be governors of Christ's church, and yet be neither ministers nor magistrates. Christ being the head and fulness of the church, which is his body, governeth the same as a prophet, a priest, and a king; and after his example all public government in

the church is either prophetical, sacerdotal, or regal. The doctors have a prophetical, the pastors a sacerdotal, the magistrates a regal power and function ; what fourth regiment can we find for lay elders ? Prophets they are not, they have no charge of the word ; much less have they priestly power, which concerneth sins and sacraments. If they have any, they must have regal ; and consequently, when the magistrate believeth, lay elders must relinquish all their authority to him, or derive it from him, except they will establish another regiment against him.

What you give only to pastors making them monarchs to rule the church at their pleasures, we impart to lay elders as associates with them in the same kind of government ; so that lay elders with us do no more prejudice the prince's power, than pastors do with you.] In preaching the word, dispensing the sacraments, remitting sins, and imposing hands, I trust your lay elders are not associated unto pastors. If in these things they be joint agents with pastors, then are they no lay elders, but pastors. You must give them one name, if you give them one office ; the same deeds require always the same words. If you join not lay elders in those sacerdotal and sacred actions with pastors, but make them overseers and moderators of those things which pastors do ; this power belongeth exactly to Christian magistrates to see that pastors do their duties according to Christ's will ; and not abuse their power to annoy his church, or the members thereof. Neither is the case like betwixt pastors and lay elders. Pastors have their power and function distinguished from princes by God himself ; insomuch that it were more than presumption for princes to execute those actions by themselves or their substitutes. To preach, baptize, retain sins, and impose hands, princes have no power ; the Prince of princes, even the Son of God, hath severed it from their callings, and committed it to his apostles ; and they by imposition of hands derived it to their successors : but to cause these actions to be orderly done according to Christ's commandment, and to prevent and repress abuses in the doers, this is all that is left for lay elders ; and this is it that we reserve to the Christian magistrate.

The power of the sword in crimes and causes ecclesiastical,

we wholly yield to the Christian magistrate; and yet lay elders may censure the pastors' actions by liking and allowing them if they be good, or by disliking and frustrating them if they be otherwise.] God hath not given princes the sword in any causes temporal or ecclesiastical to go before or without judgment, but to follow after, and support judgment. The sword without judgment, is force and fury; with judgment, it is justice and equity. You cannot yield the sword to the magistrate, and reserve judgment in these cases to the lay elders: you then bind the magistrate to maintain what your lay judges shall determine; and so the sword is not sovereign above them, but subject under them. Wherefore in overseeing the pastor's doings, and redressing their abuses, you must leave the examination, determination, and execution to the Christian magistrate, and not divide stakes between the prince and the lay presbytery.

Princes have no skill in such matters; and in that respect it is not amiss for them to take their direction from the presbytery.] A noble consideration and worthy to be registered. The churchwardens and sidemen of every parish are the meetest men that you can find to direct princes in judging of ecclesiastical crimes and causes. A most wretched state of the church it must needs be, that shall depend on such silly governors. I omit how far gentlemen and landlords can prevail in every parish with their neighbours and tenants, both to rule them and overrule them at their pleasures. View the villages in England, and tell me how far you shall seek, before you shall find lay elders, that in any reason ought to be trusted with the government of the church. I will not advantage myself by the rudeness and ignorance of the most part; I hope for very shame you will admit, that princes are far fitter in their own persons if they would take the pains to determine ecclesiastical matters, than husbandmen and artizans. And if they want direction, or will give commission to that purpose, they need not descend to the plough and cart for help or advice. The world will greatly doubt of your discretion, and suspect you savour of popular faction and ambition, if by God's law you press princes against their wills to accept such counsellors and substitutes in ecclesiastical

government. If they be at liberty to make their choice, they have store of learned and able men of all sorts within their realms, whom they may trust with the censuring and overseeing of clergymen's actions; so as to prefer ploughmen and craftsmen to undertake that weighty charge for Christian princes, were ridiculous, if not infamous folly. Wherefore the lay presbytery must either claim to have their power and authority from Christ without the prince, and before the prince; which is somewhat dangerous, if not derogatory to the prince's right; or else they must stay till the magistrate give them power in every place to govern the causes of the church, and moderate the actions of the pastors. For since they will needs concur with the prince in the same charge and oversight of ecclesiastical crimes and causes, they must derive their warrant either from the prince, as his delegates, or from the prince's superior.

Must not pastors do the like? Princes cannot authorize pastors to preach the word, administer the sacraments, remit sins, and impose hands; these things are exempted from the prince's power and charge; the King of heaven hath appointed for that purpose messengers of his will, and stewards of his mysteries, without taking their authority from earthly princes: but to redress the disorders and abuses of these things in others, and to displace the doers; that neither pastors nor lay presbyters may challenge to do without the magistrate's consent and help, where the state is Christian.

And where the state is not Christian, from whom shall the pastors derive their power to repress disordered actions in others? When the church is not protected and assisted by the sword, but oppressed and pursued, (as where the magistrate is an heretic or an infidel,) the whole may detect and disclaim any part as unsound and unsufferable. "Therefore," saith Cyprian, "is the number of priests many; that, if one of our society should attempt to uphold an heresy, and to spoil and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might help (repress him)<sup>p</sup>;" yea, the people have by God's law, where there

<sup>p</sup> Cyprian, lib. iii. ep. xiii. [ep. 68. carissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum concordiae mutuae glutino atque p. 178. ed. Oxon. "Idcirco enim, frater

wanteth a Christian magistrate, "the desertion," but not coercion of wicked and corrupt pastors. They may decline them and forsake them; they may not compel them or punish them. Violence and vengeance belong only to the prince's sword; not to any private persons or assemblies. "Mark them," saith Paul, "that cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and decline them." "My sheep," saith Christ, "hear my voice and follow me. A stranger they will not follow, but fly from him." And so Cyprian and the rest of the bishops with him being consulted, answer: "Separate yourselves (saith God) from the tabernacles of these wicked men, and touch nothing of all that is theirs, lest you perish together with them in their sins. Wherefore the people obeying the Lord's precept, ought to separate themselves from a sinful (pastor, or) overseer, and not to participate with the sacrifice of a sacrilegious priest; since they chiefly" (where the public state embraceth not the faith) "have power to (admit, or) choose worthy pastors, and to refuse unworthy."

The best writers of our age, and those no small number, interpret the words of St. Paul as we do, and affirm that lay elders were governors of the church in the apostles' time, and part of the presbytery.] Some learned and late writers living under persecution, or in free cities where the people and senate bear the greatest sway, have liked and commended this form of governing the church by lay elders joined in one presbytery with the teachers and pastors: but I see not how it may be defended by the word of God as tolerable, except they derive the power of that presbytery from the whole church in time of persecution, and in time of peace from the magistrate; in which case they be no elders authorized by Christ or his apostles to govern the church, but commissioners deputed by the state to moderate disorders in pastors and

*unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant ceteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes, oves Dominicas in gregem colligant."*]

q Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 4. [ep. 67. p. 171. ed. Oxon. "Separamini, inquit, a tabernaculis hominum istorum duris-

simorum; et, nolite tangere ea quæ ad eos pertinent, ne simul pereatis in peccato eorum. Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi."]



teachers, and so, though they may have the oversight of ecclesiastical causes pertaining properly to the magistrate, yet may they not challenge any interest or right, if they be laymen, to impose hands or exclude from the sacraments, which is the pastor's power and charge. Otherwise, if any late writers be otherwise minded, I say of them as Austin said of Cyprian: "(Their) writings I hold not as canonical, but examine them by the canonical writings; and in them what agreeth with the authority of the divine scriptures, I accept with (their) praise; what agreeth not, I refuse with (their) leaves. To whose praise I cannot attain, with whose labours I compare not mine, whose wits I embrace, with whose words I am delighted, whose charities I admire, whose deaths I honour, their judgments in that they were otherwise minded, I receive not<sup>r</sup>." God suffereth the best men to have some blemishes, lest their writings should be received as authentic. The text should not differ from the gloze, if both were of like truth and certainty. In much writing many things scape the best learned, even as with long watching men oftentimes wink. It is no wrong to their labours, nor touch to their credits, to say their writings and resolutions be not always canonical. "The disputations of catholic and praiseworthy men," saith Austin, "we ought not to esteem as we do the canonical scriptures, that we may not without blemishing the honour due unto those men, mislike or refuse somewhat in their writings, if haply we find that they otherwise thought than the truth warranteth, understood by God's help, either of others, or of ourselves. Such am I in other men's writings; such would I have the readers of mine to be<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>r</sup> August. contra Cresconium, lib. ii. cap. 32. [t. vii. col. 240. "Ego hujus epistolæ autoritate non teneor, quia literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero; et quod in eis divinarum scripturarum auctoritati congruit, cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo. . . . Nunc vero quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit dominus, ejus viri cujus laudem consequi non valeo; cujus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus

martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit, non accipio."]

<sup>s</sup> August. Epist. cxi. [t. ii. col. 513. "Neque enim quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat salva honorificentia quæ illis debetur hominibus, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta, vel a nobis. Talis ego sum in scriptis aliorum, tales volo esse intellectores meorum."]

Their learning would prevail much with me, as it doth with others, men I suppose of no evil mind, but zealous for that which they take to be the truth; were it not that the very places which they draw to this intent, in the judgment of as learned and more ancient writers and fathers import no such thing; and other places of the scriptures where elders are named do rather contradict than authorize lay elders.

Paul sent for the "elders of the church of Ephesus to Acts xx. 28. Miletum," and gave them this charge: "Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops to feed the church of God." If all the elders came to Miletum, they were all pastors and bishops; if your lay elders came not, why stayed they at home, Paul sending for the elders? They must loose that name, or take this charge; choose which you will. If they forsook the name of elders, I have my desire; if they undertook this charge, they were not lay, they were pastors and bishops. I shall not need to prove the confinity between *ποιμαίνειν* and *ποιμήν*, as if they could feed the flock and not be pastors. The charge that Christ gave to Peter, as an apostle, was this; "Feed my sheep." If they did that, they were shepherds; John xxi. if they did not, they were no elders. And so saith Peter: <sup>16.</sup> "The elders that are among you, I exhort, being myself an 1 Pet. v. 1, elder; feed the flock of God left to your care, and when the <sup>2, 4.</sup> chief Shepherd shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory." They must join with him in pastoral pains before they shall receive a pastoral reward. If it be not their function to feed, it must not be their lot to be called elders. The communion of the name and charge must go together. The apostle's words to Titus will soon declare what elders were in his days: "For this cause I left thee in Crete, that Titus i. 5, thou shouldest appoint elders in every city, if any be unre- <sup>6, 7, 9.</sup>provable. For a bishop must be unreprouable, as God's steward; holding fast the faithful word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with sound doctrine, and convince the gainsayers." No teachers, no elders, by this rule. For they were God's stewards to exhort and convince with sound doctrine before they took that name. Elders might not be appointed in any city, but so qualified as is here prescribed;

there was no place then in Crete for your new-found elders.

And as for lay governors of the apostolic church to be mentioned by St. Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians and the twelfth chapter, the ancient and learned fathers are further from admitting any such, than I am; howsoever our late writers be lighted on them. Nazianzen expounding the words of St. Paul, which our men imagine concern lay governors, saith; "Governments, that is, overruling the flesh<sup>t</sup>." Chrysostom maketh "helps" and "governments" all one, and saith, "It is a great blessing of God, in matters of the spirit, to have an helper and exhorter<sup>u</sup>." Ambrose saith, "In the fifth place is given the gift of understanding. For they be governors, that with spiritual reins do guide men<sup>x</sup>." Theophylact referreth it to the deacons. "Helps, governments; that is, to receive the sick, and guide and dispense the (goods) of our brethren<sup>y</sup>."

Then neither do the scriptures any where mention lay presbyters: nor the fathers expounding the places that are brought for them, did ever give so much as an inkling of any such persons. The words of Paul to Timothy be not only cleared from them by divers sound interpretations, but produced against them. For they admit no elders but such as were for their work's sake maintained at the costs of the church, and so were never any lay presbyters. The two other places name rulers and governors, but express neither what persons or things they governed, neither who they were that did govern, whether laymen or pastors. Laymen had Christian governments, but over their families; over the church and house of God, none had in the apostles' days, that we read, save pastors and teachers, I mean, such as did feed and watch the flock committed to their charge.

And yet if we should grant, that in the apostles' time, for want of a magistrate to uphold the discipline of the church,

<sup>t</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. de Moderatione in Disputationibus servanda. [Oratio. xxvi. 450. ed. Lutet. Par. 1609.... Κυβερνήσεις, εἴτ' οὖν παιδαγωγίαι σαρκός....]

<sup>u</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xii. Homil. 32. [t. xi. 344. Μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς, τὸ προστατικὸν εἶναι, τὸ πράγματα οἰκονομεῖν πνευματικά.]

<sup>x</sup> Ambros. in 1 Cor. xii. [t. v. 279. "Sunt et gubernatores qui spiritalibus retinaculis hominibus documento sunt."]

<sup>y</sup> Theophylact. in 1 Cor. xii. [In Pauli Epist. p. 271. ed. Lond. 1636. Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενῶν, καὶ τὸ κυβερνᾶν, ἥτοι οἰκονομεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.]

and punish the disorders and offences of loose brethren, there were certain grave and wise elders joined with the prophets and pastors to admonish the unruly, examine the guilty, and exclude infamous and scandalous persons from the common society of Christians; is it any consequent, the like must be used with us in a Christian kingdom under a believing prince? The apostolic churches were planted in populous cities, where they could not lack meet men to sustain that charge; ours are dispersed in rural hamlets, where there can be no hope to find so many fit governors as shall be requisite. To the first churches came none but such as were willing and zealous, without all compulsion; to ours come all sorts, atheists, hypocrites, and how many rather forced by law than led with devotion; yea, would God it did not often so fall out, that in many places the richer and wealthier men either regard no religion, or secretly lean to the worst. Every church with them had many prophets, pastors, and teachers, the number and need of the people, and time so requiring; so that their presbyteries might be indifferently weighed without overbearing either side; we have but one in each parish, and to exact maintenance for more at the people's hands in every village, would breed that sore which no plaister would heal. To give that one a negative voice in all things against the lay elders, were to fill the whole realm with infinite contentions and questions. To give him no voice, but as one amongst the rest, is to shake the church in sunder with every faction and fancy of the multitude. Lastly, those churches under persecution had none that could justly challenge to rule the rest; ours hath a lawful monarch professing the faith, to whom by God's law the government of all crimes and causes ecclesiastical doth rightly belong, and therefore the private and popular regiment of the afflicted churches must cease, since God hath blessed this realm with a public, peaceable, and princely government. The greater and stronger power doth always determine and frustrate the lesser and weaker in the same kind. What need we private men to punish vices, when we have princes to do it? What need we suffrages of lay elders to reform disorders and abuses in pastors, when we have open and known laws to work the same effect with more



force and better speed? In popular states and persecuted churches some pretence may be made for that kind of discipline; in Christian kingdoms, I see neither need nor use of lay elders.

Howbeit, for my part, I do not believe that lay elders were used in the apostles' times to govern the church. With imposition of hands, remission of sins, distribution of sacraments, I am right assured, no just proof can be made they did or should intermeddle; yea, the oversight of those things could not belong, whiles the apostles lived, to laymen; and after their deaths, the churches planted by them, and ages succeeding them, never used nor acknowledged any lay elders, which is to me an invincible demonstration, that the apostles left them none. For would all the churches in the world with one consent immediately upon the apostles' deaths, reject that form of governing the church by lay elders, which was settled and approved by the apostles, and embrace a new and strange kind of government without precept or precedent for their so doing? How others can persuade themselves, that the whole church of Christ fell so generally and presently to a wilful apostasy, I know not; for myself, I confess I had rather forsake the device and conceit of some late writers, were they in number more than they are, before I will proclaim so many apostolic men, and ancient and learned fathers, to be manifest despisers of the apostolic discipline, and voluntary supporters, if not inventors, of Antichrist's pride and tyranny. Wherefore if they shew me lay elders universally received for governors in the churches and ages next following the apostles, I will agnize they came from the apostles; if there were no such after the apostles, I cannot believe they were in the apostles' times.

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## CHAP. XI.

*What presbytery the primitive churches and catholic fathers did acknowledge, and whether lay elders were any part thereof, or no.*

MANY men think and write that the first churches and fathers after the apostles retained and used lay elders for governors; and so witness (as they say) “obscurely Ignatius,



Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine ; more clearly Ambrose, Hierom, Possidonius, and the Canon law :” and therefore I do not well in their opinions to pretend the authority of Christ’s church against them. If all these fathers, or any of them, did clearly mention or witness lay elders, I would be far from contradicting them : but now I cannot admit them, nor in this case the first authors of them, by reason I find no such elders expressed or testified in any father or writer of the primitive church. Elders I find, lay elders I never find ; and by the name of elders or presbyters, the ancient fathers do mean such teachers and labourers in the word, as with their counsel and consent did advise and direct the bishop of each church and city in cases of doubt, danger, and importance, when as yet neither synods could assemble, nor Christian magistrates be found to help and assist the church against the deadly poison of heresies, and cruel rage of persecutors, which those days did usually offer. Examine your own witnesses ; if they say not as much, as I affirm, I am well content to yield the whole.

Ignatius is the first that is alleged for lay elders, and the first, if his testimony may be taken, that will utterly overthrow the lay presbytery. He often mentioneth the presbytery, but chiefly in his second epistle, where he writeth thus, to the church of Trallis : “ Be subject to the bishop, as unto the Lord ; he it is that watcheth over your souls, as one that shall account unto God ; you must, therefore, whatsoever you enterprise, do nothing without the bishop ; but be subject also to the presbytery, as unto the apostles of Jesus Christ. You must likewise by all means please the deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ. The bishop is the figure of the Father of all ; the presbyters as the senate of God, and a knot of the apostles of Christ : without these the chosen church is not, nor the company of saints, nor the assembly of the holy. What is the bishop but one that hath power over all, as much as is possible for a man to have ; a ressembler in power, of Christ, that is, God ? What is the presbytery but a sacred assembly, the counsellors and coassessors of the bishop ?” Presbyters or

<sup>z</sup> Ignatii Epist. ad Trallianos. [ed. Is. Vossius. Lond. 1680. p. 156. *Τῷ ἐπι- σκόπῳ υποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀγρυπνεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς*

elders we see here with all their titles, lay elders we see none. To presume upon the ambiguity of the word that they were lay, is so childish a proof, that it should not come in wise men's heads; yet lest we should be carried with that wilful persuasion, which I see many possessed with, mark what elders they were of whom Ignatius spake. He calleth them in this epistle, "a knot or company of apostles (or, messengers) of Christ;" and in the next he saith: "As the Lord did nothing without (his) father, so (must not) you without the bishop, (whether you be) presbyter, deacon, or layman<sup>a</sup>." To the church of Philadelphia he writeth thus: "The presbyters, deacons, and the rest of the clergy, together with all the people, obey the bishop<sup>b</sup>." And so every where: "Let the laymen be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the presbyters, the presbyters to the bishop<sup>c</sup>." And expressing their office with St. Peter's words, he saith: "You presbyters, feed the flock that is with you, till God shew who shall be ruler (or, bishop) over you, for I now hasten to gain Christ<sup>d</sup>." Presbyters then, with Ignatius, were pastors and part of the clergy; and so far from being laymen, that all laymen were subject unto them as unto the apostles of Christ, and not joined with them in the same presbytery to govern the church.

λόγον ἀποδώσω Θεῷ. . . . . Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, ὅσα περ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς. Ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διαγόντες, ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρεθησόμεθα.] Δεῖ δὲ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν. . . . . [Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστωσαν τοιοῦτοι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέπεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ φύλακες εἰσὶ τοῦ τόπου. ὡς καὶ] ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ, χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἁγίων, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων. . . . .  
p. 161. Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος; ἀλλ' ἡ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάντων κρατῶν, ὡς οἷόν τε ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν μμητὴν γινόμενον κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τί δὲ πρεσβύτεριον; ἀλλ' ἡ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.]

<sup>a</sup> Ejusd. Epist. ad Magnesianos. [p.

33. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε ἡνωμένος ὢν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε.]

<sup>b</sup> Ejusd. Epist. ad Philadelphios. [p. 179. [Οἱ ἄρχοντες, πειθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι· οἱ στρατιῶται, τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.] διάκονοι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀρχιερεῖσιν· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κλήρος, ἅμα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, [καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι] τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.]

<sup>c</sup> Ejusd. Epist. ad Smyrnenses. [p. 199. Οἱ λαϊκοί, τοῖς διακόνους ὑποτασσέσθωσαν· οἱ διάκονοι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· [ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ Πατρί.]

<sup>d</sup> Ejusd. ad Antiochenos Epist. [p. 86. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. [αἰ. σπένδομαι.] ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω.]

Hierom, the next of your witnesses, (for I take them not as their ages, but as their testimonies join nearest together,) writing on Esay, saith; "We have in the church our senate, even the assembly (or, company) of presbyters<sup>e</sup>." And again: "The churches were (at first) governed by the common advice of the presbyters<sup>f</sup>." That elders at first did govern the church by common advice is no doubt at all with us; this is it which is doubted and denied by us, and shall never be proved by any, that those elders were laymen, which so governed the church. What elders Jerome meant is soon discerned by his own words: "An (elder or) presbyter then is the selfsame that a bishop is, and before there were factions in religion by the devil's instinct, and the people began to say, 'I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas,' the churches were governed with the common advice of presbyters. But when every one thought those whom he baptized to be his own and not Christ's; it was decreed in the whole world that one of the presbyters chosen should be set above the rest, to whom the whole care of the church should appertain<sup>g</sup>." Jerome avoucheth that bishops and presbyters were at the first all one, and saith the church was guided by their common advice, until the presbyters began to challenge such as they had baptized, for their own, and not for Christ's. He writeth then of such elders as did baptize, and feed the flock, and differed from pastors and bishops neither in dispensing the word nor sacraments, but only in wanting power to impose hands. For so, debating the very same matter in his epistle to Evagrius, he saith: "What doth a bishop, save ordering (or, imposing hands), which a presbyter may not do<sup>h</sup>?" Then presbyters, with Jerome, did preach, baptize, and administer the Lord's supper as well as

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Esaïam, cap. iii. [t. v. 17. "Et nos habemus in ecclesia senatum nostrum, cœtum presbyterorum."]

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [t. ix. 245. "Communi presbyterorum consilio, ecclesiæ gubernantur."]

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Tit. i. [t. ix. 245. "Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo,

ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."]

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. Evagrio, tom. ii. 329. "Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?"

bishops ; and were indeed teachers and pastors by whose counsel at the first the churches were governed. And of such Jerome saith : “ Bishops must know they are greater than presbyters, rather by custom, than by the truth of the Lord’s disposition, and ought to govern the church in common<sup>i</sup>.” Let any man that hath care of his conscience or credit read the places in Hierom’s epistle to Evagrius, and in his commentaries upon Titus i., where he sheweth what elders did and should govern the church ; and if this that I say be not more than evident, I will hazard mine before God and man.

Ambrose is another that speaketh to the same effect : “ Amongst all nations age is honorable. Wherefore the (Jewish) synagogue, and after the church, had seniors (or, elders), without whose counsel nothing was done in the church. The which by what negligence it is out of use, I know not, unless it be by the sloth or rather pride of the teachers, whiles they alone will seem to be somewhat<sup>j</sup>.” Here likewise is mention of elders, without whose advice nothing was done in the church ; but by Ignatius and Jerome we saw before they were not laymen but clergymen, by whose counsel the churches were governed. Had we not Ambrose’s opinion elsewhere delivered, that in cases of faith and manners laymen never did, never might judge of priests, of whom yet the presbytery might and did judge ? what one word is here sounding for lay elders ? They were aged that were called to the regiment of the church in former times, and not one, but many. Ambrose misliketh that in his time some, whiles they would seem alone to rule, had excluded or neglected the rest that were wont to be joined with them in consulting and caring for the church. By this you may prove that ancient good bishops in guiding their flocks used the help and advice of their clergy ; that laymen were coupled with them to govern the church, you cannot prove. He doth not blame

<sup>i</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Tit. i. [t. ix. 245. “ Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere.”]

<sup>j</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. v. [t. v. 406. “ Nam apud omnes utique gentes hono-

rabilis est senectus. Unde et synagoga, et postea ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. Quod qua negligentia obsoleverit nescio, nisi forte doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.”]



them for refusing lay elders to be their colleagues, but for affecting to be so wise, that they needed not the aid and counsel of their brethren, who were wont to advise and assist their bishops as well in doctrine as in discipline.

What Ambrose thought of lay judges over persons and causes ecclesiastical, his epistle to Valentinian the emperor will quickly resolve: "No man ought to think me obstinate," saith Ambrose, "when I avouch that, which your father of sacred memory, not only answered in words, but established by his laws: in a matter of faith, or touching any ecclesiastical order, he ought to be judge, that hath neither his calling diverse, nor his right different. Those are the very words of the rescript; that is, he would have priests to be judges over priests. Yea, if a bishop be to be reprov'd for any other thing, and his manners to be examined, this also would he have pertain to the judgment of bishops. When ever heard you, most gracious emperor, in a matter of faith, that laymen judged of bishops? Shall we then so bow with flattery, that we forget the right of priests; and what God hath given to me, shall I commit to others? If a bishop must be taught by a layman what to follow, let the lay teach, and the bishop hear; let the bishop learn at a layman's hands. Your father a man of ripe years, said: 'It is not for me to sit judge amongst bishops:' you shall be old, by God's grace, and then shall you find what a bishop he is that casteth the right of bishops under laymen's feet<sup>k</sup>." Would he call it pride in bishops to refuse laymen for their consorts in censuring all persons and causes of the church, that greatly praised the emperor for saying it was not his part "to judge amongst

<sup>k</sup> Ambros. Epist. lib. v. 32. [t. iii. 121. "Nec quisquam contumacem judicare me debet, cum hoc asseram quod augustæ memoriæ pater tuus non solum sermone respondit, sed etiam legibus suis sanxit, in causa fidei vel ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis. Hæc enim verba rescripti sunt: hoc est, sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit judicare. Quinetiam si alias quoque argueretur episcopus, et morum esset examinanda causa, etiam hanc voluit ad episcopale judicium pertinere. . . . . Quando audisti clementissime imperator

in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse? Ita ergo quadam adulatione curvamus, ut sacerdotalis juris simus immemores, et quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est episcopus a laico, quid sequetur? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audiat; episcopus discat a laico. . . . . Pater tuus Deo favente vir maturioris ævi dicebat, Non est meum judicare inter episcopos. . . . . Eris Deo favente etiam senectutis maturitate provector, et tunc de hoc censebis, qualis ille episcopus sit qui laicis jus sacerdotale substernit."']



bishops?" and highly commended the law that barred all judges over priests, save such as were "of the same calling and right" that priests were? The longer we seek, the further we are from finding lay elders. We have now a public and imperial law, that with ecclesiastical causes and persons no layman should meddle; but leave them to bishops, as best acquainted with the rules and canons of the church, by which such men and matters must be guided.

Tertullian, Austin and Gregory admit all three one answer. They use the Latin word *seniores*, for those whom Hierom and others call by the Greek name *presbyteros*, such elders as were pastors and priests. "*Presbyter* in Greek," saith Isidore, "is in Latin *senior*, presbyters (and elders) being so called not for years and old age, but for the honour and dignity which they took (when they entered that order)<sup>1</sup>." This name the translator of the New Testament giveth them, even in those places where the Greek calleth them *πρεσβυτέροις*: "The seniors that are among you I beseech, being myself a senior; feed ye the flock of God that is with you<sup>m</sup>." And again: "The senior to the elect lady;" and, "The senior to the most dear Gaius<sup>n</sup>:" and yet I trust St. Peter and St. John were no lay elders. At first, pastors and teachers were usually chosen by their age, as to whom the rather for their wisdom and gravity, reverence and honour should be yielded in the execution of their office; and afterward, when some of rare gifts, though younger in years, were elected to that charge, they retained the name which use had accustomed, and so generally men of that profession were and are called *presbyters* and *seniors*, which in English are *elders*. What proof is this then for lay elders, if Latin writers now and then call them *seniores*, which is common to all pastors and ministers of the word and sacraments?

The circumstances perchance will somewhat induce that those fathers spake of lay elders. They will the contrary very

<sup>1</sup> Isidori Hispalensis, Episc. Ethimologiarum, lib. vii. cap. xii. fol. 40. [ed. Parrhis. 1509. "Presbyter Grace, Latine senior interpretatur: non pro ætate vel decrepita senectute, sed propter honorem et dignitatem quam acceperunt,

presbyteri nominantur."]

<sup>m</sup> 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. "Seniores, qui in vobis sunt, obsecro consenior."

<sup>n</sup> 2 John, ver. 1. "Senior electæ dominæ;" 3 John, ver. 1. "Senior Gaio charissimo."

well; but this they will never. Tertullian opening to the Gentiles the manner of the Christian assemblies, and what they did, when they were gathered together, saith: "We meet in a company, that we may join as an army in our prayers to God. We meet to the rehearsing of the divine letters (where) with sacred words we nourish faith, we stir up hope, and fasten confidence, and nevertheless confirm discipline by the often instructions of (our) teachers. There are also exhortations, reprehensions, and divine censures. Judgment is used with great deliberation, as being out of doubt that God seeth (us). There (have we) an evident foreshewing of the judgment that shall one day come, if any so offend that he be banished from the fellowship of (our) prayers, assembly, and all holy company. The rulers (of our meetings) are certain approved seniors, such as gat this honour, not by reward, but by good report; for nothing that is God's may be bought<sup>o</sup>." Praying, reading of the scriptures, teaching, exhorting, reproof in their public assemblies, were pastoral duties; why should not censuring be the like? The selfsame persons that were in one, were rulers in all these actions. Again, the honour which they had "to sit before" the rest in the church, and was so sacred, that it could not be procured by reward, but by good report, sheweth they were clergymen, and not lay persons that did moderate their meetings. The very word *præsidere* with Tertullian is an evident distinction between the pastors and the people: "The discipline of the church and precept of the apostle suffer not a man that hath more wives than one, *præsidere*, to be a bishop<sup>p</sup>," which by

<sup>o</sup> Tertull. in Apologetico. [cap. xxxix. p. 31. ed. Lut. Par. 1664. "Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. . . . . Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus; spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri iudicii præiudicium est,

si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Præsident probati quique honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti; neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat."]

<sup>p</sup> Tertull. ad Uxorem, lib. i. [cap. vii. p. 165. "Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiæ secundæ, disciplina ecclesiæ et præscriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram non concedit: aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet."]

reason of their function did sit before all others in the church. "How many with the second wife are presidents (and bishops) amongst you, insulting on the apostle<sup>q</sup>," that saith a bishop should be the husband of one wife! And again: "We take not the sacrament of the eucharist at any other's than at the pastor's (or ruler's) hands<sup>r</sup>."

Handling this assertion, "We that are of the laity, are we not priests?" he saith, "A difference between the order (of priests) and the people, the authority of the church hath made; and the honour sanctified of God by the setting together of their order." And shewing how many degrees he accounted in the clergy, he saith: "When the first men, that is the deacons, presbyters, and bishops, flee, how shall the lay (forbear fleeing)? when the leaders flee, which of the soldiers will stand? He is an evil pastor, Christ confirming it, that fleeth when he seeth the wolf, and leaveth his sheep to the spoil. Which is never more done than when in persecution the church is forsaken of the clergy. Then if it be neither seemly nor lawful for the rulers of the flock to flee when the wolves rush in—for he that pronounced such a one an evil shepherd, did doubtless condemn him—the overseers of the church may not flee in persecution<sup>t</sup>." By this we may plainly perceive there were, in Tertullian's time, no leaders, rulers, nor overseers of the flock and church, but pastors and clergy-men; and those either deacons, priests, or bishops: lay elders are far from Tertullian's words, and further from his meaning.

<sup>q</sup> Tertull. de Monogamia. [cap. xii. p. 533. "Quot et digami president apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo?"]

<sup>r</sup> Tertull. de Corona. [cap. iii. p. 102. "Eucharistiæ sacramentum non de aliorum manu quam presidentium summus."]

<sup>s</sup> Tertull. de Exhortatione Castitatis. [cap. vii. p. 522. "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? . . . Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus adeo [al. a Deo] ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus."]

<sup>t</sup> Tertull. de Fuga in Persecutione. [cap. xi. p. 541. "Sed quum ipsi auctores, id est, ipsi diaconi, presbyteri, et episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus in-

telligere poterit, qua ratione dictum, Fugite de civitate in civitatem? Itaque quum duces fugissent, quis de gregario numero sustinebit ad gradum in acie figendum suadentes? . . . . . Ceterum, Christo confirmante figuras suas, malus pastor est, qui viso lupo fugit, et pecora diripienda derelinquit. . . . Quod nunquam magis fit, quam cum in persecutione destituitur ecclesia a clero. . . . Porro, si eos qui gregi præsumt fugere cum lupi irruunt nec decet immo nec licet, (qui enim talem pastorem malum pronunciavit, utique damnavit: omne autem quod damnatur, illicitum factum est sine dubio,) ideo præpositos ecclesiæ in persecutione fugere non oportebit."]

Why his book "De Baptismo" should be alleged for lay elders, I cannot so much as guess. Some men are so infected with the fancy of lay elders, that they no sooner read the word *presbyter* but they straight dream of their lay presbytery. Otherwise, if we would seek for a place to cross their new discipline, we could not light on a better. "To give (baptism) is the right of the chiefest priest, which is the bishop. After (him), the presbyters and deacons, not yet without the bishop's authority for the honour of the church (that is, the honour allowed him in the church): the which being observed, peace is preserved; otherwise it were lawful for laymen to do it<sup>u</sup>." Here find we the bishop to be the chiefest priest, and without his leave the rest not to baptize. With his leave the presbyters and deacons might, but not laymen, save in cases of extremity; then, as he thinketh, any layman might. The truth of his opinion I am not here to discuss; the tenor of his report I have no cause to distrust; I find it confirmed by others, that in the presence of the bishop the rest might not baptize, as also that none of these three degrees were laymen. Admit the bishop to be the chiefest, the elders and deacons without his authority to do nothing; and remove laymen from the number of bishops, elders, and deacons, the platform of your lay presbytery must needs fall.

Augustine much misliked the fond and lewd excuses that some in his time made, when they were rebuked for their sins. "When they are reproved by (the, or their) elders for drunkenness, rapine, and killing of men in tumults, they answer; What should I do, being a secular man or a soldier? have I professed to be a monk or a clergyman<sup>x</sup>?" Here is the bare name of elders; but whether they were laymen or clerks, here is no mention. If this admonition and reprehension were private, the elders may be the one or the other, as you will;

<sup>u</sup> Tertull. de Baptismo. [cap. xvii. p. 230. "Dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi autoritate propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo salva pax est; alioquin etiam laicis jus est."]

<sup>x</sup> August. de Verbis Domini Serm. xix. [t. x. col. 88. "Illud autem quale

est, cum ob errorem aliquem a senioribus arguuntur, et imputatur alicui de illis cur ebrius fuerit, cur res alienas persuaserit, cædem cur turbulentus admiserit: statim respondeat, Quid habebam facere, homo secularis aut miles? numquid monachum sum professus aut clericum?"]



every Christian man hath liberty to reprove and admonish his brother privately for any sin committed ; and it best becometh age and grey hairs to mislike the disorders and enormities of younger and rasher heads ; and then the words of Austin are, “ when they be reprovèd by their elders.” But if the rebuke were open, then *seniores* were the elder sort of such clergymen as had the charge and oversight of other men’s lives and manners ; and sat in judgment with the bishop to exhort, chastise, and censure licentious persons. That laymen in Austin’s time intermeddled with the keys or sacraments, I utterly deny ; and therefore the word *elders* cannot import that which then was not. The keys, whereon excommunication dependeth, and the sacraments, from which offenders are excluded, were then the pastor’s charge, and not the people’s. It is more than ignorance for those that would seem learned, to imagine that Austin ever heard or thought any laymen had an interest in the open and ordinary use of the keys and disposition of the sacraments.

The judges that Austin acknowledged in the church were no lay elders, as plainly appeareth by his words before alleged, neither had laymen any judgment seats provided for them in the church : “ But the seats of the rulers and the rulers themselves,” saith Austin, “ are understood, by whom the church is now governed.” And lest you should doubt who governed the church in his days, bishops, or lay elders ; noting upon the 106th psalm, “ three tentations that every religious and faithful man amongst the people of God might have trial of,” he saith : “ Haply thou shalt be (found) worthy to whom the people may be committed, to sit at the helve of the ship, to govern the church. There is the fourth temptation. The storms of the sea that shake the church, trouble the governor. This fourth is ours. The higher our honour, the greater the danger. The temptation, then, of governing, the temptation of troubles in ruling the church, chiefly concerneth us : yet are ye not free. For, brethren, though you sit not at

†August. de Civitate Dei, lib. xx. cap. 9. [t. v. col. 1214. “ Sed sedes præpositorum et ipsi præpositi intelligendi sunt ; per quos ecclesia nunc gubernatur.”]



the same stern, yet sail you in the same ship<sup>z</sup>." Pastors, then, in St. Austin's time, and no lay persons did govern the church, and rule the flock, and by them judgment was given and discipline exercised against wicked and dissolute livers. "When they that rule the church may, without breach of peace, (that is, danger of schism,) exercise discipline upon lewd and wicked offenders; then are we to be stirred up with the sharpness of those precepts that lead to severity of repressing (evil), that directing our steps in the way of the Lord, we neither slack under the name of patience, nor rage under the show of diligence<sup>a</sup>."

But St. Austin in his hundred thirty and seventh epistle, writeth; "To the clergy, elders and whole people of the church of Hippo<sup>aa</sup>;" where the elders are reckoned by themselves, as no part of the clergy.] If naming elders by themselves make them no part of the clergy, by that consequent they be likewise no part of the people; for they be reckoned asunder from the people. But these inferences have no sufficient ground; they must be either of the clergy or people, and yet here they be named betwixt them. The rules of civility are not always bound to the rules of logic. They that have preeminence above others, may be saluted apart from others, though the general salutation before or after, by force of reason doth include them. Wherefore if any man answer, that Austin naming the whole clergy of his church in that epistle, thought to make a more special remembrance of the better sort of them, by the title of elders, it cannot be refuted; the words do well endure it. If any dislike that exposition, let him take elders in God's name for the better sort of the laity; I mean for the rulers and governors of the people, as

<sup>z</sup> August. in Psalm. cvi. [t. viii. col. 1250. "Fortassis dignus eris cui populus committatur, constituaris in gubernaculis navis, rectoris ecclesiam. Ibi quarta tentatio. Tempestates maris quatientes ecclesiam, turbant gubernatorem. Quarta ista nostra est. Quanto plus honoramur, tanto plus periclitamur. Tentatio ergo gubernandi, tentatio periculorum in regenda ecclesia nos potissimum tangit."]

<sup>a</sup> August. de Fide et Operibus, cap. v. [t. iv. col. 59. "Cum vero eis, per

quos ecclesia regitur, adest salva pace potestas disciplinæ adversus improbos aut nefarios exercendæ, tunc rursus ne socordia segnitiaque dormiamus, aliis aculeis præceptorum quæ ad severitatem coercionis pertinent, excitandi sumus, ut gressus nostros in via Domini ex utrisque testimoniis illo duce atque adiutore dirigentes, nec patientiæ nomine torpescamus, nec obtentu diligentia sæviamus."]

<sup>aa</sup> ["Clero, senioribus, et universæ plebi ecclesiæ Hipponensis."]

if a man should write "to the clergy, aldermen, and commons" of any good city; for an alderman is the right English for *senior* in Latin, when it doth not import an ecclesiastical function: and it is not unlikely that Austin, then absent and writing to the whole city, divided the superior sort of the laity from the inferior by that style. Howsoever you bestow the word, it is evident by the whole course of that epistle, those elders had no power in the church more than the rest of the people. Yea, the hearing of the cause then in question about the accusation of Bonifacius, a priest, for a foul crime objected unto him by another of the clergy, did so little concern them, that Austin heard the matter himself alone, and took order in it as he thought good, and kept it from the knowledge of them all. And in this epistle giving a reason why he did not remove Bonifacius from his degree at the first examining of the matter, he saith; "The name of his priest I durst not suppress or strike out from the number of the colleagues, lest I should seem to offer wrong to God's judgment, under whose trial the matter yet dependeth, if I should prevent his judgment with my censure<sup>b</sup>." Read the epistle: if he attribute any more to those elders, than he doth to the lowest of the people and clergy; if he did not take the whole cause into his own hands, and set an order in it without their consents or privities; I will agnize your lay elders.

Haply you think St. Austin did the lay elders wrong to keep this cause from them, and to deal in it without them. I cannot let you from so thinking, but all that be well advised will rather suppose lay elders had nothing to do with such cases in St. Austin's time, and that the good bishop did not close up such horrible offences by wrongful withholding the cause from the knowledge of the elders, to whom by order of the church it then appertained, but he kept it from them and the rest with good conscience using his own right, as himself saith: "Lest he should trouble their minds with a grievous sorrow to no purpose<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> August. epist. cxxxvii. [t. ii. col. 657. "Nomen autem presbyteri propterea non sum ausus de numero collegarum ejus vel suppressere vel delere, ne divinæ potestati, sub cujus examine causa adhuc pendet, facere viderer in-

juriam, si illius judicium meo vellem præjudicio prævenire."]

<sup>c</sup> In eadem epistola. [col. 657. "Ne vos atrociter et inaviter contristando turbarem."]

Gregory's authority is quoted out of the canon law for name of lay elders; which sure were very strange, that six hundred years after Christ, the power of lay elders should remain in the church, and their name all this while not heard of; but I think we shall find no more here, than we did before: "If," saith Gregory, "any thing come to thine ears of any clerk whomsoever, which may justly offend thee, believe it not easily; but in the presence of the elders of thy church, search out the truth diligently, and if the quality of the matter shall so require, let the offender be punished according to the rigour of the canons<sup>cc</sup>." Elders of the church I hear, lay elders I hear not; and by the laws imperial long before this established, even in Ambrose's time, a clergyman's cause could not be examined and determined but by men of the same right and the same calling. And of all others Gregory is the unfittest man to prove that lay elders should have the hearing and deciding of clergymen's causes, who could not endure that any thing whatsoever pertaining to the clergy should be committed to the hands of laymen. "Your brotherhood must beware that ecclesiastical matters be not committed to secular men, and such as live not under our profession<sup>d</sup>." The punishment, which by the very words must be 'canonical,' or according to the canons, sheweth that these elders were the discreetest and wisest of his clergy. For what have laymen to do either with the knowledge or execution of the canons? What reason to charge them with the canons to whom the canons were not written? He meaneth, therefore, the elders of his church, that is, such clergymen as were of best account and greatest experience in his church.

And so the council of Turon decreed: "Whom negligence maketh unworthy of his place, let him be removed by the

<sup>cc</sup> S. Gregorii lib. xi. 49. [Regist. Epist. lib. xiii. (Indictione vi.) Epist. xlv. t. ii. col. 1249. Par. 1705. "Si quid igitur de quocumque clerico ad aures tuas pervenerit, quod te juste possit offendere, facile non credas, nec ad vindictam te res accendat incognita; sed, præsentibus senioribus ecclesiæ tuæ, diligenter est veritas perscrutanda: et tunc si qualitas rei poposcerit,

canonica districtio culpam feriat delinquentis."]

<sup>d</sup> Gregor. lib. vii. epist. lxvi. [Reg. Epist. lib. ix. ep. lxx. t. ii. col. 982. "Cavendum est a fraternitate vestra, ne secularibus viris atque non sub regula nostra de gentibus res ecclesiasticæ committantur, [sed probatis de vestro officio clericis.]"

advice of all the presbyters<sup>e</sup>." And Gregory himself saith : " Lest there be any dissension amongst brethren, lest any discord be nourished between the rulers (of the church) and those that be under them, it is needful for the priests to meet in one place together, that they may discuss such causes as happen, and wholesomely confer about ecclesiastical rules, so as things past may be amended, and an order set for things to come<sup>f</sup>." Of laymen the council of Hispalis saith : " It is an unseemly thing for a layman to be vicegerent to a bishop, and for secular men to judge in the church. Wherefore we must obey the books of God, and the precepts of our fathers being holy men ; decreeing that they which are joined with the bishops in the administrations of the church, should not differ from them neither in profession nor habit<sup>g</sup>." If lay elders had been current in Gregory's time, and assisted the bishop in clergymen's causes as his coassessors, the council of Hispalis, not long after him, did open wrong to the truth, in saying it was against the book of God and rules of their forefathers that laymen should be joined with bishops in any causes or matters of the church ; but, for any thing we yet see, they spake the truth, and no more than was long before confirmed as well by the decrees of councils, as public laws of the Roman empire.

" If it be an ecclesiastical cause," saith Justinian the emperor, " let not the civil (or, temporal) judges any way intermeddle with the examination thereof ; but according to the sacred rules, let the most holy bishop determine the matter<sup>h</sup>."

<sup>e</sup> Concil. Turonens. ii. can. vii. [t. v. col. 854. " Quem culpa aut negligentia ejicit, cum omnium presbyterorum consilio refutetur."]

<sup>f</sup> Gregor. lib. vii. ep. 110. [Regist. Epist. lib. ix. (Indict. ii.) epist. cvi. t. ii. col. 1010. " Unde ne qua inter fratres dissensio, ne qua inter præpositos et subjectos sint fomenta discordiæ, in unum convenire sacerdotes necesse est, ut et de ingruentibus causis disceptatio, et sit salubris de ecclesiastica observatione collatio, quatenus dum per hoc et præterita corriguntur, et regulam futura suscipiunt, [omnipotens ubique Dominus fratrum concordia colaudetur."]

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Hispalens. ii. cap. ix. [t. v. col. 1666. " Indecorum est laicum vicarium esse episcopi, et seculares in ecclesia judicare. Unde oportet nos et divinis libris, et sanctorum patrum obedire præceptis ; constituentes, ut hi qui in administrationibus ecclesiæ pontificibus sociantur, discrepare non debeant, nec professione, nec habitu."]

<sup>h</sup> Authentic. Collat. ix. tit. vi. Novell. Constit. Justin. cxxiii. cap. 21. [Gotting. 1797. p. 502. Εἰ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα, μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἐχέτωσαν οἱ πολιτικοὶ ἄρχοντες πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξέτασιν, ἀλλ' οἱ δοῦλωτατοι ἐπίσκοποι κατὰ τοὺς ἱερὺς κανόνας τῷ πρᾶγματι πέρας ἐπιτίθετωσαν.]

Now who were to be present with the bishop when he sat in judgment, and assist him, the fourth council of Carthage declareth in these words: "Let the bishop determine no man's cause without the presence of his clergy; otherwise the sentence of the bishop shall be void, that is not confirmed with the presence of the clergy<sup>i</sup>." With the bishop sat no lay elders in judgment, but his own clergy; and those not all, but the graver and elder sort of them. The deacons and the rest of the clergy beneath their degree, might not sit with the priests, much less with the bishop. The council of Nice saith: "The deacons may not sit in the company or assembly of priests<sup>k</sup>." So that only clergymen and priests sat with the bishop in church and consistory, and their presence and advice was required, as we see by the council of Carthage, before the bishop might give judgment against any man.

This course Gregory willeth the bishop of Panormus in Sicily to observe, as nearest to the canons, and freest from all challenge, when he convented any clergyman, not rashly to pronounce, but advisedly to deliberate with the wisest and eldest of his clergy, and then to proceed accordingly; for priests and deacons the case is clear, the bishop alone might not deprive them. The council of Hispalis saith: "The bishop alone may give priests and deacons their honour; but he cannot take it from them alone. They may not be condemned by one, neither may they lose the privilege of their honour by the judgment of one; but being presented to the judgment of a synod, let them be ruled and ordered as the canon prescribe<sup>l</sup>." Over the rest, the bishop alone might sit judge, without the assistance of other bishops; but not without the elders of his own church and clergy: for so the council of Carthage decreeth, and Gregory adviseth: "If any priests or deacons be accused, let the bishop of the parties accused discuss their causes, taking to him a lawful number (six in a

<sup>i</sup> Concil. Carthag. iv. can. xxiii. [t. ii. col. 1202. "Ut episcopus nullius causam audiat, absque præsentia clericorum suorum; alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi, nisi clericorum præsentia confirmetur."]

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Nicæni, can. xviii. [t. ii. col. 37. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν

πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον.]

<sup>l</sup> Concil. Hispal. ii. can. vi. ["Episcopus sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest."]



priest's, three in a deacon's) of the bishops adjoining such as the defendants shall require. The causes of the rest of the clergy, the bishop of the place alone shall hear and determine<sup>m</sup>." Lay elders, I trust, are excluded by this canon, from deciding or debating the causes of any priests, deacons, or other clergymen, and so are they by all the canons that were ever made in any council provincial or general, since the apostles' times.

Lastly, the canon law itself is produced for the name of lay elders. I might take just exception against the compiler of those decrees; his corruptions and oversights do pass the number of his leaves. Hierom's name is twice abused by him, and twice alleged by you, without any regard whether those authorities be found in his works, or make to your purpose. The first is 16. *quest.* 1. §. *ecclesia*, which place is nowhere found in Hierom, though his book *ad Rusticum* be extant, prescribing the manner how a monk should order his life. Some of the words were patched out of his commentaries upon Esay, and the rest touching monks added, which are not at all in Hierom. The second place, *distinct.* 95. *ecco ego*, is a lusty tale, not of Hierom's, but of some other's in his name; beginning with a forged inscription, and ending with a presumptuous untruth, and freighted in the middle with unsavoury railing. Hierom wrote indeed to Rusticus, a Frenchman, but as yet no clergyman; that ever he wrote unto him after he was bishop of Narbon, neither do we read it in any of his works, neither is it likely; forsomuch as Leo, bishop of Rome, more than thirty years after Hierom's death, wrote "To Rusticus, bishop of Narbon<sup>n</sup>." And touching the matter of which this counterfeit Hierom talketh; Leo writing unto the bishops of France and Germany, convinceth this prater of manifest falsehood; for where this forged

m Concil. African. can. κκ. [t. ii. col. 1059. Ἐὰν δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι κατηγορηθῶσι, προσζευγνυμένου τοῦ νομίμου ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πλησιαζούσης τοποθεσίας αἰρετικῶν ἐπισκόπων, οὓς οἱ κατηγορούμενοι αἰτήσονται· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἕξ, καὶ τοῦ διακόνου τριῶν· σὺν ταῦτοις αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἐπίσκοπος τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἐξετάσει, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν

καὶ ὑπερθέσειν καὶ ἐξετάσειν καὶ προσώπων μεταξὺ τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ κατηγορουμένων τόπου φυλαττομένων. Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κληρικῶν τὰς αἰτίας καὶ μόνος ὁ ἐντόπιος ἐπίσκοπος διαγνώσκει καὶ περατώσῃ.]

n S. Leonis Magni Op. epist. xcii. xciv. [ep. ii. lxxxii. p. 404. 603. Lut. Par. 1675. "Ad Rusticum Narbonensem episcopum."]

Hierom saith it was used in Rome, in Africa, in the East, in Spain, France, and Britain, and calleth them "proud, envious, and most injurious" prelates that otherwise do; Leo, with a council of bishops, affirmeth it was not used, but where men were altogether ignorant of the ecclesiastical rules, and expressly forbiddeth it by a synodal consent, as contrary to the canons<sup>o</sup>.

Whosoever were the author of that sturdy epistle, he turneth your lay elders clean out of doors; for as he affirmeth, that presbyters or elders were "at first judges of the church's affairs, and present at the bishops' councils"; so he saith the same elders must "preach in the church, bless and exhort the people, consecrate Christ at the altar, restore the communion, visit the sick, and finish all the sacraments of God<sup>o</sup>." I shall not need to put you in mind that here is no room for lay elders; the words be so plain, that if you but read them, I think you will quickly resign all the interest you have in them.

Thus have we perused the proofs that are brought out of ancient fathers to uphold the lay elders; whether these be great inducements to enforce your lay eldership, I appeal to your own consciences. You have not so much as one circumstance in any father to infer they were lay. The names of *presbyteri* and *seniores*, which in English are *elders* or *priests*, you shew, whereof we never doubted; but those names when they imply age, are common to all men that are stricken in years; when they note an office, they are proper to clergymen. More than the doubtful signification of the word *elders*, I profess before him that seeth the secrets of all men's hearts, I see no inforcement in any father yet produced. On the contrary, though it might suffice me to stand on the negative, that no lay elders can be proved; yet because I seek

<sup>o</sup> S. Leonis Mag. Ep. lxxxviii. alias lxxxvi. [t. ii. 632. "Spuria Epistola." Vide "Index Epistolarum" in init. tom. i. "Quod quidem non est mirum id præcepisse viros ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ ignaros, quod est canonica regulæ contrarium."]

<sup>p</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Gregor. xiii. Distinc. xcvi. [Halæ, 1747. t. ii. col. 278. "Presbyteri ab initio, ut legimus, negotiorum judices esse mandati

sunt, presbyteri interesse sacerdotum concilio."]

<sup>q</sup> Ibidem. ["Sed quia scriptum est; 'Presbyteri duplici honore honorentur, maxime qui laborant in verbo Domini,' prædicare eos decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare, convenit reddere communionem, necesse est visitare infirmos, orare pro invalidis, atque omnia Dei sacramenta complere."]

not to distinguish words, but to search out the truth, I have proved by other places out of the same writers, that they had no such intent as you pretend; use your eyes and not your fancies, I am well content yourselves shall be judges.

But the rest that remain, as Cyprian, Socrates, and Posidonius, do most clearly speak of laymen.] Of laymen they speak indeed, for they speak of the whole people: but of your lay elders, they speak not a word. This short answer might serve for all the places that are behind, neither is there any cause to stand longer in discussing them, were it not that I seek rather to satisfy the objectors as brethren than to repel them as adversaries, for whose sake I will rip up the circumstances.

“Agelius,” a Novatian bishop, “ready to die, imposed hands on Sisinnius to be bishop in his place, being one of the presbyters that were under him. The people of the Novatians (misliking or) complaining of the fact, for that he rather laid not hands on one Marcian, by whose means the Novatians in the time of Valens, enjoyed quietness, Agelius willing to ease the people’s grief, laid hands also on Marcian. And when he was a little recovered, he entered into the church, and in his own person said; You have Marcian to succeed me, and after Marcian Sisinnius<sup>r</sup>.” This is the true report of Socrates’ words; and in these, what one letter for lay elders? Sisinnius was no layman; he was a clergyman long before this, as Socrates himself recordeth<sup>s</sup>. As for the name of elders or presbyters, besides that in all the church stories it noteth an ecclesiastical function; and laymen by the canons could not be made bishops, except they were first in orders; this very chapter is a manifest testimony, that none were promoted to bear that name, or have that place, but by imposition of

<sup>r</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 21. [Cantab. 1720. p. 289. Ἀγέλιος τελευτών, χειροτονεῖ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἑαυτοῦ Σισίννιον ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς πρεσβύτερος μὲν ἦν τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ ταπτομένων. . . . Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ τῶν Ναυατιανῶν μεμφαμένου τὴν χειροτονίαν, ὅτε μὴ μᾶλλον Μαρκιανὸν ἐπ’ εὐλαβείᾳ ἐκπρέποντα ἑχειροτόνησεν, δι’ ἣν ἐπὶ Οὐδάλεντος οἱ Ναυατιανοὶ ἀτάραχοι μεμενῆκεσαν, ὃ Ἀγέλιος τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραμυθῆσθαι λύπην βουλόμενος,

ἐπιχειροτονεῖ τὸν Μαρκιανόν, καὶ μικρὸν βραῖσας τοῦ νόσου, πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ προσεφώνει οὐ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ εἰπὼν· Μαρκιανὸν μὲν φησιν, ἔχετε μετ’ ἐμέ· μετὰ δὲ Μαρκιανόν, Σισίννιον.]

<sup>s</sup> Socrat. lib. v. cap. 10. [p. 272. Συστῆναι δὲ λόγοις περὶ τοῦ δόγματος οὐκ ἰσχύων, ἀναγνώστην ὑπ’ αὐτῷ Σισίννιον ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸ διαλεχθῆναι προβάλλετο.]

hands. I had occasion before to allege the words of Marcian, repenting that ever he laid his hands on Sabbatius and others, to make them priests, I will not now repeat them.

But the people's dislike made Agelius recall his fact.] Of all examples, this is one of the weakest and worst. The Novatians were schismatics from the church of Christ, and no members of it; it skilleth not therefore whatsoever they or their bishop did. Next, it was but a point of policy in Agelius, to retain the liking of his followers; for as they departed from the catholic church upon a conceit, so were they as like upon a spleen, to return thither again, and forsake the Novatian bishops. Thirdly, he might justly fear, and so prevent a schism amongst his own, lest some adhering to Sisinnius, and some to Marcian, his congregation should be divided, which was no rare thing in the elections of bishops. Lastly, if this example were worth the standing on; it is certain, that Agelius lying sick in his bed, made first Sisinnius bishop without the people's consent; and meaning to please the multitude, he did as much for Marcian; and when he came to the church upon his recovery, he asked no consents for Sisinnius; but told the people, that according to their desire Marcian should be next, and Sisinnius should expect till Marcian was dead. In all this proceeding, there is no one part answerable to the canons of the church, and as for lay elders, not so much as any suspicion of them.

The people had always an interest in the choice of their bishop and elders, as appeareth in Posidonius by their preferring St. Austin to be an elder.] I do not deny, but after the apostles and their followers were dead, in whose days the Holy Ghost named the most of the pastors and teachers; the good will and liking of the people was greatly respected in the choice of their bishops; and when there wanted presbyters and deacons needful for the church, the bishop of the place used to admonish and exhort the people, if they found any men amongst themselves meet for their good behaviour and towardness to serve in the church of Christ, to bring them forth or name them, that he might accordingly consider of them, whether by the canons they were capable of that honour. And when himself would prefer such as he knew to

be sufficient for their learning, he proposed their names to the people, that their lives and conversations in time past might be remembered and examined, lest any suspected or infamed for notorious crimes, or otherwise prohibited by the canons of the church, might secretly creep to that degree. This am I far from refuting or impugning. I wish it rather with zeal to be enjoyed, and with care to be observed, that none might be taken to serve Christ in his church, but such as are unreprouvable, and so well tried and reported of, that neither the people of God might be offended with their enormities, nor the church burdened with their indignities. But what is this to the lay presbytery? Was Austin made a lay elder? or did the lay elders prefer him to the bishop to receive imposition of hands, or join with the bishop in laying hands on him? Can any of these things be thence so much as surmised? View the place.

When Valerius, bishop of Hippo, "spake to the people of God, and exhorted (them) about the providing and ordering of a presbyter for the city, the necessity of the church so requiring; the catholics already knowing the endeavour and learning of St. Austin, laid hands on him as he sat amongst the people, not fearing nor thinking what should follow; and holding him fast, brought him to the bishop to be ordered, as the manner was in such cases; all with one consent and desire, praying it to be done and finished, and earnestly following it with great zeal and outcries<sup>t</sup>. Valerius which ordered (or, imposed hands on) him, rejoiced and gave thanks to God that his prayers were heard, which he had often made, that God would send him such a man as might edify the church with the word of God, and with wholesome doctrine. And to the same presbyter he gave leave to preach in the church in his presence, and very often to expound the gospel; indeed against the manner and custom of the churches of Africa;

<sup>t</sup> Posidonius de Vita Augustini cap. iv. [t. i. August. op. col. 828. "Qui cum flagitante ecclesiastica necessitate, de providendo et ordinando presbytero civitatis plebem Dei alloqueretur et exhortaretur, jam scientes catholici sancti Augustini propositum et doctrinam, manu injecta, quoniam et idem in populo securus et ignarus quid futurum

esset astabat. Solebat autem laicus, ut nobis dicebat, ab eis tantum ecclesiis quæ non haberent episcopos suam abstinere præsentiam. Eum ergo tenuerunt, et ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique perentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus."]



whereupon some bishops were offended with him<sup>u</sup>." This is the whole narration of Posidonius, touching St. Austin's presbytership, which was no lay function, as we see by the sequel, neither given him by any lay elders; but motioned and urged by all the people, and consummated by Valerius, that ordered him without the help or assistance of any other to join with him.

Cyprian I reserved to the last, though in years he were first; because he is largest, as being alleged no less than six times; howbeit the number of allegations do not help forth the matter, but the truth and force of them is more to be regarded. Of these six, there is one place of some importance; the rest are soon answered. Cyprian writing to the presbyters and deacons of Carthage, where he was bishop, saith; "To that which Donatus, Novatus, and Curdus our compresbyters wrote unto us, I alone could answer nothing, forso much as I have resolved with myself even from my first entrance into the bishopric, without your counsel and the consent of the people, to do nothing upon my private opinion<sup>x</sup>." If the presbyters to whom Cyprian wrote, had been lay elders, it were somewhat to the purpose; but Cyprian never heard of any such. They were clergymen to whom he wrote, and clergymen of whom he spake: they sat with him in the church, with them he treated in common of the church affairs, their counsel and advice he used in all things. This, if you read Cyprian, cannot be strange unto you; if you peruse but the places which yourselves have quoted, you will confess it.

Writing to the whole church of Carthage of one Numidicus, that in persecution was scorched with fire, overwhelmed with stones, and left for dead amongst many that were slain;

<sup>u</sup> Ibidem cap. 5. ["Sanctus vero Valerius ordinator ejus [ut erat vir piissimus et Deum timens,] exultabat, et Deo gratias agebat, suas exauditas a Domino fuisse preces, quas se frequentissime fudisse narrabat: scilicet ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis, qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina salubri ecclesiam Dei ædificare: [cui rei se homo natura Græcus, minusque Latina lingua et literis instructus, minus utilem providebat.] Et eidem presbyteropotestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium

prædicandi ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africarum ecclesiarum. Unde etiam ei nonnulli episcopi detrahebant."]

<sup>x</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 10. [ep. xiv. p. 33. Oxon. 1682. "Ad id quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri Donatus et Fortunatus, Novatus et Gordius, solus rescribere nil potui, quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere."]

and yet after found half alive by his daughter, and recovered ; Cyprian saith : “ Know ye, brethren, yourselves to be admonished and instructed by this favour of God, that Numidicus the presbyter should be adjoined to the number of the presbyters of Carthage, and sit with us amongst the clergy, (for this, as we see, was the cause of preserving him,) that the Lord might add him to our clergy, and adorn with glorious priests the perished honour of some of our presbyters <sup>y</sup>.” The presbyters or elders then of Carthage, were the clergy, that sat with the bishop ; and with him consulted of matters concerning the good of the church. To Lucius bishop of Rome, he saith ; “ The Lord (by persecution) shewed which was his church, who was his bishop ; who were presbyters joined with the bishop in priestly honour, and which the true people of Christ <sup>z</sup>.” And again : “ To the presbyters and deacons there wanted not the vigour of priesthood, to compress those that being unmindful of discipline, and rashly running on, began to communicate with such as were fallen (in persecution <sup>a</sup>)”. These presbyters and elders were *σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ*, “ counsellors and coassessors to the bishop,” as Ignatius remembereth ; they “ ruled the church in common,” as Hierom avoucheth ; and “ without their counsel was nothing done in the church,” as Ambrose asserteth ; and they had even “ the honour and vigour of priesthood,” as Cyprian witnesseth. Of these speaketh Cyprian in every epistle ; of lay elders no syllable can be found in all his writings. These elders be as rare as the other be rife ; the one every where, the other nowhere to be proved or pretended.

If the people must consent before any thing may be done, why not also the lay elders ?] Nay, if the people’s assent must be sought to every thing, what needed lay elders ?

<sup>y</sup> Cyprian. lib. iv. ep. 10. [ep. 40. ed. Oxon. “ Ut Numidicus presbyter ascribatur presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero, ..... ut eum clero nostro Dominus adjungeret, et desolatam per lapsum quorundam presbyterii nostri copiam, gloriosis sacerdotibus adornaret.”]

<sup>z</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 1. [ep. 61. ed. Oxon. “ Ut ad confundendos hæreticos et retundendos ostenderet Dominus quæ esset ecclesia, quis episcopus ejus

unus, divina ordinatione delectus ; qui cum episcopo presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti, quis adunatus et verus Christi populus Dominici gregis caritate connexus.”]

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 5. [ep. 20. ed. Oxon. “ Item presbyteris et diaconis non defuit sacerdotii vigor ut quidam minus disciplinæ memores et temeraria festinatione præcipientes, qui cum lapsis communicare jam ceperunt, comprimerentur, intercedentibus nobis.”]

Where the whole multitude should be asked, why do you take a part to exclude the rest? Lay elders are not the people, but part thereof; all, both old and young, are comprised in that name; and yet Cyprian maketh this rule of consulting the people in every thing, neither general for others, nor necessary for himself. He doth not say that he and others by God's law were bound to do nothing without the people; but that he from the beginning determined in all things to take the counsel of the presbyters, and consent of the people. And why? he was vehemently impugned from his first ingress to the bishopric, all occasions were sought to draw the people from him; many advantages by reason of his absence from the place in time of persecution, were taken against him, to disgrace him and cross him in all his doings. To strengthen himself, and retain the love of his clergy and people towards him; what better way could he take, than in all his enterprises to depend on the counsel of the clergy, and consent of the laity? for by that means he stood assured, that neither schism could arise, nor faction prevail against him.

You ask where I find that I say? Even in Cyprian himself, and that not once or twice. "That I could not come to you before Easter, the malice and perfidiousness of some of the presbyters hath brought to pass, whiles mindful of their conspiracy, and retaining their former venom against my being bishop, yea rather against your suffrages (and election), they begin afresh their ancient manner of impugning us, and renew again their sacrilegious devices, with their wonted lying in wait for us. Against our counsel they rebel, and all priestly authority and power is destroyed by their factious conspiracies. Is it not sufficient, that I have now been two years banished from your presence, and separated from your sight? that tears fall night and day from me, because my luck was not as yet to salute you or embrace you, whom you made (bishop) with so great love and zeal? A greater grief oppresseth my languishing mind, that in so great a distress and need, I cannot myself come unto you, whiles I beware, lest at our coming, through the threats and secret practices of perfidious persons, a greater tumult rise among you<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 8. [ep. 43. p. 81. presbyterorum malignitas et perfidia ed. Oxon. "Hoc enim quorundam perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem paschæ

His epistle to Cornelius largely rehearseth and lamenteth their erecting another bishop after him, their maintaining a faction against him, their rejecting his letters, and despising his threats, their perverting and enticing to take part with them as many as they could, with sundry other practices and conspiracies too long to recite. "We," saith he, "in the very time of persecution wrote our letters, but we were not regarded; after often consulting, we not only with our consent, but with our commination decreed, that our brethren should shew themselves penitent, and no man hastily give peace to such as did not penitence; (yet) they sacrilegious against God, carried headlong with a wicked rage against the priests of God, forsaking the church, and lifting up parricidal arms against the church, do all they can (to accomplish their intent with a devilish malice) that God's mercy should not cure in his church such as are wounded<sup>c</sup>." And again: "What danger is not to be feared when some of the presbyters neither remembering their place, neither thinking there is a bishop over them, with the reproach and contempt of the chief, challenge the whole unto them? The disgraces of my office I can dissemble and bear, as I always have. But now is no time to dissemble, when our brethren are deceived by some of you, which seek to be plausible without regard of restoring them to the health (of their souls)<sup>d</sup>." What marvel if

venire licuisset: dum conjurationis suæ memores, et antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum, imo contra suffragium vestrum et Dei judicium venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam, et sacrilegas machinationes insidiis solitis denuo revocant. Eadem nunc ratio, ut..... contra hoc consilium nostrum rebelletur, et omnis sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas factiosis conspirationibus destruat. .... Non suffecerat exilium jam biennii, et a vultibus atque ab oculis vestris lugubris separatio, dolor jugis et gemitus, qui me solum sine vobis continua lamentatione disruiat: lacrymæ diebus ac noctibus profluentes, quod sacerdoti, quem tanto amore et ardore fecistis, nec dum vos salutare, et nec dum complexibus vestris inhærere contingat. Accessit hic tabescenti animo nostro dolor major, quod in tanta sollicitudine ac necessitate excurrere ad

vos ipse non possum, dum per minas et per insidias perfidorum cavemus, ne advententibus nobis tumultus illic major oriatur."]

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 3. [ep. 59. p. 134. ed. Oxon. "Nos in ipso persecutionis tempore de hoc ipso literas misimus, nec auditi sumus. Concilio frequenter acto, non consensione tantum nostra, sed et comminatione decrevimus, ut poenitentiam fratres agerent, ut poenitentiam non agentibus nemo temere pacem daret: et illi contra Deum sacrilegi, contra sacerdotes Dei impio furore temerarii de ecclesia recedentes et contra ecclesiam parricidalia arma tollentes, elaborant (ut opus suum diaboli malitia consumment, ne vulneratos divina clementia in ecclesia sua curet)."]

<sup>d</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 14. [ep. 16. p. 36. ed. Oxon. "Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini; quando aliqui de presbyteris,



Cyprian thus besieged, thus impugned, and banished from his church and charge, did not only purpose and profess to do nothing without the full consent of the clergy and people ; but persisted in that course, which he saw to be safest for himself, and surest against his maligners, to decrease their number and defeat their expectance ? But whether he were bound by God's law so to do, and all others tied to the same rule, that is the greatest part of this doubt. If it were but a private moderation and provision for his own security, no man is obliged by his example to do the like. If it be a general form of governing the church prescribed by the Holy Ghost ; then neither might Cyprian, nor any man else swerve from that direction, without transgressing the will and word of God ; then all councils both provincial and general, that assembled and concluded in the primitive church without the liking and agreement of the people, did wilfully break the commandment of the living God, and all Christian princes, that in former ages by their laws and edicts intermeddled with matters of the church without the knowledge and consent of their subjects, presumed without warrant, and offered open wrong to the kingdom of Christ ; yea, Cyprian himself was the first that cashiered his own confession, and when cause so required, yea, sometimes without cause, excluded and overruled the people's just desires.

One example may serve for the present ; your own allegations will afterward more at large evince as much. " With much ado persuade I the people, yea, rather extort from them to suffer such to be admitted ; and the grief of the brethren is the juster, for that one or two being by my facility received, (the people striving against it, and contradicting it,) waxed worse than they were before<sup>e</sup>." Cyprian admitted some to

*nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent ? . . . . Contumeliam episcopatus nostri dissimulare et ferre possum, sicut dissimulavi semper et pertuli ; sed dissimulandi nunc locus non est, quando decipiatur fraternitas nostra a quibusdam vestrum qui dum sine ratione resti-*

*tuendæ salutis plausibiles esse cupiunt, magis lapsus obsunt."*

<sup>e</sup> Cyprian. lib. i. epist. 3. [ep. 59. p. 137. ed. Oxon. " Vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti ; et iustior factus est fraternitatis dolor, ex eo quod unus atque alius, obnitente plebe et contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti, peiores extiterunt quam prius fuerant ; nec fidem pœnitentiæ servare potuerunt, quia nec cum vera pœnitentia venerant." ]



the church after repentance, when the people withstood it and gainsaid it, and were justly grieved with his overmuch remissness. Wherein Cyprian did not violate the duty which he ought to God, nor tyrannize in the church with the contempt of his brethren; but relented from his purpose to do nothing without the people's consent, for reasons then moving him, or of his own inclination leading him to hope their amendment, that were thus admitted with favour and facility to the church of God.

See whether your own examples do not prove as much. The first place you allege is this: "In ordering of clerks, most dear brethren, our manner is to consult you first, and to weigh the behaviour and deserts of every one with common advice<sup>f</sup>." This use notwithstanding, where just occasion served, he ordered clerks without their consents; and so much is expressed in the very next words: "But the witness of men must not be expected, when God's approbation is precedent<sup>g</sup>." The conclusion is, that where one Aurelius, a youth, had twice in stocks and torments professed Christ, Cyprian and his colleagues that were present with him (for he was not then at Carthage) had made the said Aurelius, though young in years, a reader in the church; and so much he signifieth by his letters to the presbyters, deacons, and people of Carthage; not doubting but they would embrace him, though they gave no consent to his ordering. "He deserved a further degree of clerical ordination, but in the mean time it hath pleased us he should begin with the office of a reader. Know you therefore, most beloved brethren, that I and my colleagues which were here with me, have ordered him (a reader), which I know you will gladly accept, and wish many such to be ordered in our church<sup>h</sup>." Cyprian

<sup>f</sup> Cyprian. lib. ii. ep. 5. [ep. 38. p. 74. ed. Oxon. "In ordinandis clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare."]

<sup>g</sup> Cyprian. lib. ii. ep. v. [ep. 38. p. 74. ed. Oxon. "Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum præcedant divina suffragia."]

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. "Merebatur talis, clericæ

ordinationis ultiores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis sed de meritis æstimandus; sed interim placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat. . . . Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, a me et a collegis qui præsentibus aderant, ordinatum sciatis; quod vos scio et libenter amplecti, et optare tales in ecclesia nostra quam plurimos ordinari."]

was absent from his own church, by reason of persecution then raging; and without the consent either of his clergy or people, he did order Aurelius, and sent him with letters to be received as a reader in the church of Carthage.

The like he did for Optatus, Saturus, Cælerinus, and Numidicus, as your own authorities do witness: for as by them you prove Cyprian was wont to take the good report and testimony of the people concerning such as should be admitted to the clergy, and with common advice to examine their worthiness; so by the selfsame places I shew that Cyprian brake that custom when he saw time and cause require; and without the consent of his people or clergy, ordered such as he found to be meet for that calling. Whereby we collect that the consent of the people and clergy is no essential point in ordering ministers, without the which they may not be called; but a very Christian and commendable course to keep off all notorious and enormous persons from that function; and the surest way to save the bishop from communicating with other men's sins, whiles he trusted not his own judgment or knowledge; but used the eyes, ears, and consciences of the whole church, for the better view, search, and trial of their integrity, gravity, and industry, to whom the flock of Christ was to be committed. This which I say will appear to be true, even by your own authorities.

“Because many of the clergy of Carthage were wanting; and those few that remained did scant suffice for the daily work of the ministry,” for which cause it was requisite to have more; “Know you,” saith Cyprian, writing to the presbyters and deacons of his church, “that I have made Saturnus a reader, and Optatus a subdeacon, whom a good while since by common advice we appointed to be next placed in the clergy. I have then in your absence done no new thing; but that which long ago took a beginning with all our advices, upon urgent necessity I have finished<sup>1</sup>.” In the like case

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 22. [ep. 29. p. 55. ed. Oxon. “Et quoniam oportuit me per clericos scribere: scio autem nostros plurimos absentes esse, paucos vero qui illic sunt, vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere, necesse fuit novos aliquos constituere qui mitteren-

tur: Fecisse me autem sciatis lectorem Saturnum, et hypodiaconum Optatum confessorem; quos jam pridem communi consilio, clero proximos feceramus; quando aut Saturo die paschæ semel atque iterum lectionem dedimus; aut modo cum presbyteris doctioribus lectores

writing to the presbyters, deacons, and whole people of Carthage, he saith of Cælerinus, that openly professed Christ, and valiantly endured the rage and fury of the heathen persecutors; "Exult and rejoice with us at the reading of our letters, by which I and my colleagues which were present signify unto you, that Cælerinus our brother is received into our clergy, not by the voices of men but by God's acceptance; because it was neither lawful nor seemly, that he should be without ecclesiastical honour, whom the Lord so honoured with the excellency of (his) heavenly glory. He and Aurelius were appointed for a time to be readers; but now know you that we have assigned unto them the honour of the presbytery, and to have the same allowance with the presbyters, and to sit with us, when they come to ripe and perfect years<sup>k</sup>." Of Numidicus we spake before, why he "was taken" by Cyprian "into the number of the presbyters of Carthage;" and that without the consent or knowledge of the people or clergy. I suppose it to be clear by these examples (which are your own) that as Cyprian for his discharge did take the liking and advice of the clergy and people, for the better examining of their lives and behaviours, that were to serve in the church of Christ; so when he found such as in his conscience he knew to be fit and worthy, he and other bishops, his colleagues, imposed hands on them, without expecting the assent or agreement of the people or presbyters of Carthage, where he was bishop.

These be the fathers which yourselves picked out to muster before her majesty's presence, as pregnant witnesses for the lay presbytery; and these, if you suffer them to tell on their

diligenter probaremus, Optatum inter lectores doctorem audientium constituimus. Nihil ergo a me absentibus vobis factum est; sed quod jam pridem communi consilio omnium nostrum cœperat, necessitate urgente, promotum est."]

<sup>k</sup> Cyprian. lib. iv. ep. 5. [ep. 39. p. 76. ed. Oxon. "Exultate itaque et gaudete nobiscum lectis literis nostris, quibus ego et collegæ mei, qui præsentibus aderant, referimus ad vos Cælerinum fratrem nostrum, virtutibus pariter et moribus gloriosum, clero nostro non

humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione conjunctum. . . . .; quia nec fas fuerat nec decebant sine honore ecclesiastico esse quem sic Dominus honoravit cœlestis gloriæ dignitate. . . . . Jungendus in lectione Aurelio fuerat, . . . . . hos lectores constitutos sciatis: . . . . . Cæterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, ut et sportulis iisdem cum presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, sessuri nobiscum pro vectis et corroboratis animis suis."]

tales, most clearly refute your lay elders. Other places I know are alleged, or rather abused, to the same purpose; but the mistaking of them is so palpable, that children will not be deceived with them. For what if the word *presbyter* in Greek signify an aged man, as well as a priest; hath it any sound or show of reason, where the councils and fathers use the word *presbyteri*, you should straight enforce they were lay elders? To innovate the discipline received and established ever since the apostles' times, you should have better grounds than these; you will otherwise hardly discharge your credits before men, howsoever you will your consciences before God. For my part, though I compare not with their gifts which first began, and now maintain this device; yet by perusing their proofs I find that the prejudice of their own opinion rather inclineth them to this conceit, than the weight either of scriptures or fathers. For were they not over-willing to embrace this fancy, where there is one place for them to stumble at the ambiguity of the word, there are an hundred fair and plain testimonies to recall them, and direct them to the ancient and true discipline of Christ's church. So that in this question (whether there were any lay elders to govern the primitive church) no diligent or indifferent examiner of the fathers can long err; the case is so clear, that unless we affect rather our wills than the truth, we cannot be led away.

The sum of all that is said touching lay elders resteth in three points; which I wish the learned advisedly to consider, and the rest carefully to remember. First, it cannot be proved, either by scriptures or fathers, that in the apostles' times or after, any lay elders were part of the presbytery, or that any such were authorized or acknowledged to be governors in the church of Christ. Secondly, if there were such censors of manners appointed by the whole church to remove the unruly, and banish them from the fellowship and company of the faithful, lest their offensive behaviour should be a shame and slander to the gospel; yet no text nor title can be shewed in scripture, council, or father, that they governed the power of the keys, imposition of hands, or any other ecclesiastical duty, which concerned the dispensation of the word and sacraments. In those things they were to obey, and not to rule their pas-

tors. Thirdly, though the oversight and restraint of evil disposed and disordered pastors were then committed to such elders for want of believing magistrates to take care thereof; yet since by the law of God the government of such causes, as well as of civil affairs, belongeth to Christian princes, and they have straighter charge, higher power, and better means to repress such disorders, and reform such abuses in pastors and others; whatsoever pretence may be made for lay elders and governors in time of persecution, they must utterly cease and give place where the magistrate receiveth the faith, and upholdeth the church. His power not only includeth, but excludeth theirs; since they be governors by consent of private men; and the magistrate hath his power and sword delivered him immediately from God; to which all men, pastors, lay elders, and whosoever must be subject not only for fear of vengeance, but for regard of God's ordinance. As for the Jewish synedrion, to which some men fly for help, it cannot be (as I have touched before) either rule or refuge for the lay presbytery. God erected that as the platform of the Jews' commonwealth, and made their elders civil magistrates to execute the judicial part of Moses' law, as well without as under the king. And therefore as they might not alter it, so we must not urge it in Christian kingdoms; it contradicteth the truth and freedom of the gospel, to tie all Christian commonwealths to the pattern of Moses' policy; yea, that position, if it be stiffly stood to, maimeth all monarchies, and reduceth them to popular, or at least to synedriconal regiments; the consequences whereof are so desperate and dangerous to all Christendom, that I trust of yourselves you will forbear, and, if need be, disclaim that assertion.

It is agreed on both sides there was a presbytery in every church; but those you say were clergymen.] Not in every church, but in every city, there were presbyters assisting and aiding the bishop, and those were clergymen. The churches in villages and country towns, had neither bishop nor presbytery; but were subject to the bishop of that city within whose precincts the villages were; and had a presbyter or priest ordained by the bishop, or sent from the bishop to teach them, and yield them divine service and sacraments. And



where the bishops of the cities were content to ease their own travail, and supply their absence or sickness, that in certain country towns bishops should be appointed, whom they called *χωρεπισκόπους*, those country bishops were so restrained by the canons<sup>1</sup>, that without special leave of the bishop of the city, to which they were subject, they might execute no part of episcopal power and preeminence, and in short space after were abolished for presumption<sup>m</sup> and intrusion upon the bishop's office; since which time every city and diocese adjoining, had but one bishop. The council of Sardica for the west, disliked and prohibited the making of bishops in villages and small cities. "None must be permitted to ordain a bishop either in a village or small city, where one presbyter will suffice<sup>n</sup>." The council of Laodicea did the like for the east. "None must place bishops in towns and villages, and those that are already placed, must do nothing without the consent of the bishop of the city<sup>o</sup>." As then there were no bishops but in cities; so was there no presbytery to attend and assist the bishop, but in the same place where the bishop had his chief charge and church. And therefore your urging of presbyteries in every parish and village, is a thing utterly dissonant from the regiment of the primitive church.

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Ancyran. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1461. *Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.*]

Conc. Neocæsariens. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1483. *Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως, οὔτε μὴν ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῇ, οὔδὲ ποτήριον. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπῶσι, καὶ εἰς εὐχὴν κληθῇ μόνος, δίδωσιν.*]

Concil. Antiocheni can. x. [t. ii. col. 565. *Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμας, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἰεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἐαυτῶν μέτρα, καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ καθιστᾶν καὶ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐφορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ· μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διά-*

*κονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ἢ ὑπόκειται αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ χώρα. εἰ δὲ τολμήσειέ τις παραβῆναι τὰ ὀρισθέντα, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἥς μετέχει τιμῆς. Χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ὑπόκειται, ἐπισκόπου.*]

<sup>m</sup> Leonis epist. lxxxvi. [Lutet. Par. 1675. t. ii. 632. *"Ergone ultra talis a vobis licentia usurpetur, communi sententia statuendum oportuit, scientes, quia sicut chorepiscopo, vel presbytero illicita consecratio est altaris, ita et constitutio."*]

<sup>n</sup> Concilii Sardicens. can. vi. [t. ii. 632. *Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἢ βραχεῖᾳ πόλει, ἢ τινὶ καὶ εἰς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ.*]

<sup>o</sup> Concil. Laodicen. can. lviii. [t. i. col. 1506. *"Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς μέντοι ἤδη προκατασταθέντας μὴδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει.*]

In each populous city there was a bishop to govern the people committed to his charge; and a presbytery, that is a number of priests to help the bishop in all sacred actions, and advise him in all judicial and ecclesiastical proceedings; and these are called “the priests of the city<sup>p</sup>,” by the ancient councils of Ancyra and Neocesaria<sup>q</sup>. The villages and country towns, as they were converted to the faith, and by reason of the number that believed, needed a minister of the word and sacraments, to be a resident amongst them, and were able and willing to maintain one; so repaired they to the bishop of the city next to them, and desired of him a fit man to serve their necessities, and became subject both the people and priest to that bishop, who first gained them to Christ, or who first erected and ordered their churches. By which means each bishop had not only his principal church and chair in that city where he was pastor, which the ancient councils and stories call *παροιμία*, but had the care and oversight of the towns and villages round about that city, which they call *διοίκησις*: for *παροιμία* doth not import a country parish, as our age abuseth the word; and whereon some unwisely have collected that every such parish had and should have a bishop, but the greatest cities with their suburbs, and the chiefest churches, in the world were so termed, as appeareth by Eusebius<sup>r</sup> calling Alexandria, Corinth, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Lyons, Carthage, Antioch, and such other famous cities and churches, by the name of *παροιμίας*: the like is extant in the same writer, lib. 4. cap. 1. 4. 5. 15. 19. 23. lib. 5. cap. 22. 23. 27. lib. 6. cap. 1. 8. and lib. 7. cap. 28, and in many other places. And so much the very composition of the words importeth; *παροιμία* containing not only the citizens, but all such borderers and strangers as dwelt near and repaired to any chief church or city; and *διοίκησις* comprising all the villages and churches that were dispersed in divers places, but under the regiment of one bishop.

Jerome sheweth that in his time and long before, not only a city, but also a province or region belonged to each bishop:

<sup>p</sup> Added L: “non ignoto nomine.”  
<sup>q</sup> [Vid. n. 1, p. 245.]

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 21. 4. 11. 31.  
 lib. v. 5. lib. vii. 3. 28.

in which though presbyters and deacons baptized with his leave, yet he always imposed hands and examined and confirmed their baptism. "You, in admitting a layman (to repentance) save one soul by receiving (him); I, in receiving a bishop join to the church, I say not the people of one city, but the whole province (or diocese) which is under him<sup>r</sup>." Then bishops had not only the people of one city, but of one province or country committed to their charge and subject unto them, and their dioceses did reach even to far towns and villages where presbyters and deacons had cure of souls under them, as Jerome elsewhere remembereth. "I deny not," saith Jerome, "but this is the custom of the churches, that the bishop shall go even to those, that afar off in lesser towns were baptized by priests and deacons, and impose hands to invoke the Holy Ghost on them<sup>s</sup>." But this imposition of hands on parties baptized, Jerome saith was reserved to the bishop rather for the honour of his priesthood, than for necessity of their salvation. "Otherwise, if the Holy Ghost come only at the bishop's prayers; their case," saith he, "were lamentable, that being baptized by priests and deacons in villages, castles and places far distant, die before the bishop can visit them<sup>t</sup>." No bishop might order or confirm but in his own diocese; to do any such thing in another man's diocese, was no custom of the church, but repugnant to all the canons of the church. There belonged therefore to the bishops, not only the cities where their chief churches were, but also villages, towns, castles, and remote places in which priests and deacons discharged divine service and sacraments; and those places the bishop (under whom they were) did at certain times visit, to examine the faith of the baptized, and the manner of their baptism, lest to churches and chapels far

<sup>rr</sup> Hieron. advers. Luciferianos. [t. ii. p. 136. "Tu in eo quod recipis laicum unam animam recipiendo salvam; et ego in recipiendo episcopum, non dicam unius civitatis populos, sed universam cui præest provinciam ecclesiæ socio."]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. advers. Luciferianos. [t. ii. p. 139. "Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos, qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presby-

teros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Spiritus sancti manum impositurus excurrat."]

<sup>t</sup> Ibidem. ["Alioqui, si ad episcopi tantum imprecationem Spiritus sanctus defluit, lugendi sunt, qui in viculis, aut in castellis aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur."]

distant, heresy might have the easier access by the bishop's absence. Clergymen then there were in every diocese, that ministered the word and sacraments in villages and smaller towns ; but none were of the presbytery that assisted and advised the bishop in ecclesiastical causes, save only the clergy and priests of that city, where the bishop had his church and seat.

The rural bishops (for such you confess there were) had they no presbyteries to assist them in ecclesiastical actions and censures? They needed none ; for they were bishops in word, but not in deed ; they enjoyed the name, not the power and preeminence of bishops ; but were in all things restrained as other priests were, and subjected to the bishop of the city, in whose circuit they were. The council of Antioch saith of them: "Those that are in towns and villages, called rural bishops, though they have received imposition of hands, as bishops ; yet it seemeth good to this sacred synod, they should acknowledge their (degree, or) measure, and content themselves with the care of their own churches, and not to presume to impose hands on a priest or deacon without the bishop of the city, to which both himself and his charge are subject<sup>u</sup>." The council of Laodicea commanded the rural bishops, "to do nothing without the liking of the bishop of the city<sup>x</sup>." So that they were in all things ruled and governed by the bishops of their cities under whom they were, and not directed by any presbyters of their own.

If it seem strange to any, that the ancient councils should endure the name and title of a bishop to be given, to whom the power and office of a bishop was not given, he must consider for what causes they first permitted rural bishops to be made. The one was, to supply the wants that often happen in the absence or sickness of the bishop. In which cases being but vicegerents in some things, there was no reason they should have the same power and prerogative the right bishops had, without their leave or liking. For that had been to erect another bishop in the same diocese besides, and against the true bishop ; and not to place a substitute under

[<sup>u</sup> See note l, p. 245, par. 3. "Concil. Antiocheni," &c.]

[<sup>x</sup> See note o, p. 245.]

him. The next cause was, to content such as were bishops amongst schismatics, who would rather persist in their factions, than return to the catholic church with the loss of that honour and calling they had before. And therefore to such the bishop of the city might either allow the name and title of bishops, if it so pleased him, or else appoint them the places and charges of rural bishops. And so the council of Nice decreed: "If any of the Novatians will return to the catholic church either in village or city where there is already a bishop, or priest of the catholic church; it is clear that the bishop of the church shall have the authority and dignity of the episcopal function; and he that was reputed a bishop amongst the Novatians, shall retain the honour of a priest, unless it please the bishop (of the church) to impart with him the honour of that title. If he like not so to do, let some place of a rural bishop or priest be provided for him, that he may seem to continue in the clergy, and yet not be two bishops in one city<sup>z</sup>."

Touching presbyteries then, though they were needful for greater cities, where they might well be maintained; yet in villages and smaller towns, there was neither use of them, nor provision for them, by reason the country churches were small and could not find many; and the parties that lived in such places were subjected to the bishop of the diocese, and in all things directed by him. The city of Rome at the first had under one bishop "forty-six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes; exorcists, readers, and sextons, fifty-two;" (in the whole one hundred and fifty-five;) "all found through the goodness and grace of God<sup>z</sup>," at the charges of

y Concil. Nic. can. viii. [t. ii. col. 33. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ὄντος, προσέρχονται τινες πρὸς τὸν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξει τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· ὁ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις καθαρῶς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔξει· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοῖ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκει, ἐπινοήσῃ τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν.]

z Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 198. Paris. 1678. Ὁ ἐκδικητὴς οὖν τοῦ ἐναγγελίου οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἡγνόνει· πῶς γὰρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ· διακόνους ἑπτὰ· ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλῶντας δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα· χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις, ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας· οὓς πάντας ἡ τοῦ δεσπότητος χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει.]



the church there, besides one thousand five hundred widows and afflicted persons in like sort sustained by the oblations of the people. The number of priests so increased afterward, that Jerome saith of them: "The scarcity of deacons maketh them to be more esteemed, the multitude of priests causeth them to be less regarded<sup>a</sup>." In Constantinople the number of the clergy was grown so great, that the church was not able to maintain them; and therefore the emperor by his laws was forced to limit how many there should be of every degree; and so he appointed sixty priests, one hundred deacons, ninety subdeacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five singers, one hundred sextons<sup>b</sup>; in sum four hundred and eighty-five clergymen to attend the service of the church under the bishop. The number of clergymen that were in other cities is not so precisely described, but the proof of their presbyteries is every where occurrent.

The presbyteries of Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist<sup>c</sup> to the killing of Proterius<sup>d</sup> after the great council of Chalcedon, and of Antioch, from the preaching of Paul to the burning of the said city by the Persians<sup>e</sup>, are often remembered in the ecclesiastical histories<sup>f</sup>, and divers presbyters of either church that were famous men and writers in the church of God named by Eusebius<sup>g</sup>, Jerome<sup>h</sup> and Gennadius<sup>i</sup>; as in the church of Alexandria amongst others, Clemens, Origen, Heraclas, Pierius<sup>k</sup>; in the church of Antioch, Geminus, Malchion<sup>k</sup>, Lucianus<sup>k</sup>, Chrysostom and divers such. The church of Carthage had Tertullian<sup>h</sup> and Cyprian<sup>h</sup>, who being

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. p. 329. "Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit."]

<sup>b</sup> Novellæ Constitutiones Justiniani. [collat. i. tit. iii. Nov. Constit. iii. "Ut determinatus sit numerus clericorum." Cap. i. Gotting. 1797. "Ὅστε θεσπίζομεν, μὴ περαιτέρω μὲν ἐξήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι· διακόνους δὲ ἄρρενας ἑκατὸν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ θηλείας· καὶ ὑποδιακόνους ἑννενήκοντα· ἀναγνώστας δὲ, ἑκατὸν δέκα, καὶ ψάλλτας εἰκοσι πέντε. ὥς εἶναι τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν τῶν εὐλαβεσάτων κληρικῶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας

ἐν τετρακοσίοις εἰκοσι πέντε προσώποις· καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῦτοις τῶν καλουμένων πυλωρῶν.]

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. p. 329.]

<sup>d</sup> Evagrius, lib. ii. cap. 8. [Paris. 1673. p. 299.]

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. v. cap. 9. [p. 427.]

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 2. 42. lib. vii. cap. ii. 29. 32. [Par. 1678.]

<sup>g</sup> Socrat. lib. i. cap. 5. [Cantab. 1720.]

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. de Eccl. Script. [t. iv. 320.]

<sup>i</sup> Gennadius de Viris Illustribus. [Hieron. Op. t. i. 314.]

<sup>k</sup> Hieron. Magno Oratori Romano. [t. ii. fol. 327.]

after made bishop of the same city and forced to be absent, wrote many letters to the presbyters and deacons of Carthage<sup>1</sup>. In the church of Lyons in France was Irenæus a presbyter under Pothinus, whom he succeeded in the bishopric. At Hippo St. Austin was first a presbyter under Valerius<sup>m</sup>, and being bishop himself had under him "a number of presbyters<sup>n</sup>" that were "colleagues" and clerks. Ignatius remembereth the presbyteries of Smyrna, Philadelphia, Philippi, Magnesia, Trallis, and Ephesus, in his epistles to the same churches. Of other cities and ages the like might be shewn: but because it is a thing rather urged than doubted by you, I will spare that pains as superfluous. He that readeth either the councils or the stories of the church, shall soon perceive every bishop had presbyters and deacons in the same city with him and under him.

We be far from denying there were presbyteries in every church; but that they consisted only of clergymen, neither do we believe it, nor can you prove it.] We never learned to prove the negative; we affirm they were clergymen, and that we prove. You think there were also laymen amongst them, which we deny; that must you prove. Your want of proof in that point, maketh our assertion good. You have all this while scanned the fathers, and overlooked the councils; bring now but one for lay elders, we give you the rest. Their general silence is a full inference against you, which avouch they had such, and cannot shew where they mention any such. Yet this will I do; name me but one father or council that speaketh of the office and duty of presbyters, and you shall presently see he meaneth clergymen. Or if that please you not, look to the manner of admitting presbyters into the church, their sitting, serving, and conversing in the church, their maintaining by the church, and their removing from the church, and you shall clearly find there were no presbyters joined with the bishop in any ecclesiastical affairs but clergymen. They were ordained by imposition of hands; and so

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lib. iii. 6. 10. 14. col. 686.]  
<sup>n</sup> Ibid. Ep. cxxvii. [t. ii. col. 655.]  
<sup>m</sup> August. Epist. lib. cxlviii. [t. ii. Ep. cx. [t. ii. col. 514.]

were not lay elders: they sat with the bishop in the chancels apart from all laymen: they baptized, and consecrated the Lord's supper; and so might not laymen: they lived under stricter rules than laymen did, as not to have strange women about them, not to change cities, not to resort to spectacles or victualling houses, not to travel without letters of license and such like (which all laymen were free from): they were maintained at the charges of the church; and so were not laymen: and when they were deprived of their honour and office, they were suffered to communicate amongst laymen. These were the presbyters of the primitive church; other than these, no council, no father doth any where mention, that were united or associated unto the bishop; and these in sight could be no laymen. Proofs if you require, I protest without vaunting, a whole volume might soon be made of them. Some you had, more you shall have; if they seem tedious, I must be pardoned: your importunity hath thereto forced me.

Of Origen Eusebius saith, the bishops of Jerusalem and Cesaria "had laid hands on him to make him one of the presbytery<sup>o</sup>." Cornelius saith, "Novatus was advanced to the presbytery by the favour of the bishop that laid hands on him to give him the lot of the presbytery<sup>p</sup>." The fourth council of Carthage sheweth the manner how a presbyter shall be ordained with imposition of hands. "When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop blessing the party and holding his hand on the party's head, let all the presbyters that are present hold their hands on his head near the bishop's hand<sup>q</sup>." Of Sabbatius when he was advanced to the dignity of a presbyter, Marcian said: "I had been better have laid my hands on thorns, than on Sabbatius when I made him presbyter<sup>r</sup>." Ordination then with the Latin fathers importeth as

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 8. [p. 170. Par. Χείρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασι.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 199. ed. Par. Κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χείρας εἰς πρεσβυτέρου κλήρον.]

<sup>q</sup> Concil. Carthag. iv. can. 3. [t. ii. col. 1199. "Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum

super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant."]

<sup>r</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 21. [p. 281. Καὶ δυσφορῶν ἔλεγε βέλτιον ἢν ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις τεθεικέναι τὰς χείρας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ὅτε τοὺς περὶ Σαββάτιον εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέριον προεβάλλετο.]

much as laying on of hands doth with the Greek ; and was an essential ceremony taken from the apostle's words and used from the apostles' times in making of presbyters, and calling any to be of the presbytery ; which if your elders must receive, they be no laymen ; if they must not, they be no presbyters. More authorities that presbyters were made with imposition of hands, if any desire, let him read the thirteenth canon of the council of Ancyra ; the ninth canon of the council of Neocæsaria, and likewise of the council of Antioch ; the sixth of the council of Calcedon ; the tenth of the council of Sardica ; the twenty-seventh and fifty-sixth of the African council.

In sitting in the church, the presbyters were likewise severed from the people. For they had a place enclosed from all the laity, where the Lord's table standing in the midst, the bishop's chair and the presbyters' seats were round about. This place Sozomen calleth *ιερατεῖον*<sup>s</sup>, the sacrary, which divided the bishop and presbyters from the people ; and of this Cyprian saith, " Let Numidicus be ascribed to the number of the presbyters of Carthage, and sit with us amongst the clergy<sup>t</sup>." The council of Laodicea calleth it *βῆμα*, by reason it was somewhat higher than the rest of the church that all the people might behold it ; and saith, " The presbyters must not go and sit in their stalls before the bishop come ; but enter in with the bishop, unless the bishop be sick or from home<sup>u</sup>." The canon law calleth it *presbyterium*<sup>x</sup>, the place for presbyters. Into this place when Theodosius the emperor would have entered to receive the communion, St. Ambrose, then busy in divine service, sent him this word ; " These inclosures, O king, only priests may enter ; they are shut up

<sup>s</sup> Sozomen. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 25. [ed. Gul. Reading. Cantab. 1720. p. 317. Ἔθος ἦν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερατεῖῳ ἐκκλησιάζειν, κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν δρῶν τοῦ λαοῦ κεχωρισμένους.]

<sup>t</sup> Cyprian. lib. iv. ep. 10. [Ep. 40. p. 78. ed. Oxon. " Nam admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero."]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Laod. can. lvi. [t. i. col. 1505. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρεσβυτέρους πρὸ

τῆς εισόδου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνωμαλίῃ ἢ ἀποδημοῖ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.]

<sup>x</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Gregor. xiii. [Halæ, 1747. t. i. (Distinct. ii.) De ( onsecrat. col. 1147. " Nulli laicorum liceat in eo loco ubi sacerdotes, et reliqui clerici consistunt (quod presbyterium nuncupatur) quando missa celebratur consistere, ut libere ac honorifice possint sacra officia exercere."]



and exempted from all others<sup>1</sup>." "The deacons might not sit amongst the presbyters<sup>2</sup>," but stand, as the general council of Nice telleth us; much less was there any place there for lay elders.

The service of the presbyters in the church declareth also there were no laymen amongst them: for they blessed, baptized, and ministered the Lord's supper in the absence of the bishop, and assisted him, being present in those actions. "It is come to the hearing of this sacred and great synod," saith the council of Nice, "that in some places and cities the deacons deliver the sacraments to the presbyters. This neither the canon nor custom alloweth, that they which have no power to offer the sacrifice, should give the body of Christ to them that offer<sup>a</sup>." "I hear," saith Jerome, "that some are grown so senseless that they prefer deacons before presbyters. What meaneth the servant of tables and widows to extol himself above them at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ are consecrated<sup>b</sup>?" To all laymen the deacons might deliver the sacraments, to presbyters they might not; the presbyters therefore were no laymen. And if presbyters were therefore better than the deacons, because they did offer the sacrifice at the Lord's table, which the deacons might not, it is evident the presbyters were no laymen.

Besides this, the presbyters were tied to many rules, to which no layman was tied. For example, no presbyter might go from his own church and city to any other place, by the great council of Nice, can. 15, and the council of Antioch, can. 3; but laymen, I trust, might change their dwellings. Again: "no presbyter" by any means might have "any

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 17. [ed. J. A. Noesselt. Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 1050. Τὰ ἔνδον, ὧ βασιλεῦ, μόνοις ἐστὶν ἱερεῦσι βατὰ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἅδυνά τε καὶ ἄψανστα.]

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Nicæni, can. xviii. [t. ii. col. 37. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον.]

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Nicæni, can. xviii. [t. ii. col. 37. Ἦαθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τισὶ τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι

διδόασιν· ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι δίδοναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.]

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Evagrius. [t. ii. 329. "Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est episcopis anteferebat. Nam cum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos; quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque efficitur?"]



strange woman in his house, that was not his mother, sister, aunt<sup>c</sup>, or such like; but laymen in that case were left to their liberty. There are a number of such rules, to which all presbyters were bound, and from which all laymen were free. The councils therefore never comprised any laymen under the name of presbyters.

For their maintenance, the case was first ruled by St. Paul, as I have touched before; and after duly observed in the primitive church, as we may perceive by the allowance yielded to presbyters in Cyprian's<sup>d</sup> time; by Cornelius's<sup>e</sup> letters reporting the number of presbyters that were maintained in the church of Rome; and likewise by the emperor's<sup>f</sup> laws limiting what number should be maintained in the churches of Constantinople. This maintenance since all the elders of every church had, and laymen neither by the canons of the church had, nor by God's law could have; it is certain the ancient councils and fathers did not attribute the honor and place of presbyters to lay elders. And when presbyters were deprived of their office and function for any fault committed, they might upon their submission be received amongst laymen to the communion, as Cyprian<sup>g</sup> and Athanasius<sup>h</sup> testify, but in no wise be restored to the degree and calling of presbyters; and consequently they might be laymen, when they could not be presbyters by the canons.

But why labour I so much to exclude lay elders from the presbyters of the primitive church, whenas you have neither reason nor authority to include them? It may suffice any sober mind, that where presbyters are so many thousand times named in councils, fathers, and stories; and so sundry rules and canons extant describing and limiting every part of their vocation and conversation, you have not for all this so much as one circumstance to prove there were lay elders amongst

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Nicæni, can. iii. [t. ii. col. 29. Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ, μήτε διακόνῳ, μήτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἅρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἢ μόνᾳ πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφουγε.]

<sup>d</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lib. iv. ep. 5. [ep.

39. p. 78. ed. Oxon.]

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. [ed. Par. 1678.]

<sup>f</sup> Novell. Constit. Justinian. iii. [vide p. 250. n. b.]

<sup>g</sup> Cyprian. lib. ii. ep. 1. [ep. 72. p. 197. ed. Oxon.] lib. iv. ep. 2. [ep. 55. p. 101. Oxon.]

<sup>h</sup> Athanas. Apologia ii.

them, nor a sentence or syllable of any ancient writer to justify your assertion.

If we mistake the use of the word *presbyter*, many learned men have mistaken it before us.] There is no man less willing than I am to decrease the fame, or discredit the judgment of any late writer, that hath otherwise well deserved of the church of God; but an evident truth I must prefer before the opinions and commendations of men, be they never so learned, if they be otherwise minded. And in this case the truth is so clear, that I must needs say, not their learning but their affection carried them to the contrary part. For who that hath but opened the fathers, doth not find that *presbyteri* were clergymen, not laymen, and in the middle between the bishops and the deacons, underneath the one and above the other? and that the very word *presbyter*, without any other addition amongst ecclesiastical writers, doth distinguish a clergyman from a layman? Ignatius, which you so much esteem, because he nameth the presbytery so often, doth he not divide the church into "laymen, deacons, presbyters," and "bishops?" This partition standing good, laymen were neither deacons nor presbyters, but each part must be distinct from the rest; much less might presbyters be laymen, to whom as well the deacons as all the laity must be subject. Tertullian objecting to the heretics, that their "order" and government was "rash, light," and "unconstant;" for proof thereof saith, Amongst you "to-day a presbyter, to-morrow a layman<sup>k</sup>." If one man might be both, as you make your lay presbyters to be, that could not be absurd and strange in heretics, which was perpetual, as you think, and general in the church of Christ. He also maketh the same partition of the church that Ignatius doth; into "laymen, deacons, presbyters," and "bishops;" and expressing the same parts in two words, he calleth them, "the flock and the leaders; the church (or, assembly) and the clergy<sup>l</sup>;" and elsewhere, "the order and the

<sup>i</sup> Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrnæos et Mag-nesios. [Vide supra p. 216. n. a, et c.]

<sup>k</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. adversus Hæ-reticos. [p. 217. Lut. Par. 1664. "Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus, qui cras lector:

hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus: nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt."]

<sup>l</sup> Tertull. de Fuga in Persecutione. [p. 541.] et De Baptismo [p. 230. "Quod nunquam magis fit quam cum in persecutione destituitur ecclesia a

people<sup>m</sup> ;” and “ the order of the church and the laity<sup>n</sup>.” And shewing that presbyters were no laymen, but chosen and taken out of laymen, and so made clergymen, he saith : “ Unless laymen observe those things which must be respected in the choice of presbyters, how shall any presbyters be chosen out of laymen<sup>o</sup> !” Presbyters were of the “ order” of the church, laymen were not : yea, presbyters were opposed to laymen in the division of the church, and to be taken from the number of laymen, before they could come within the order of the church to be presbyters. Your lay presbyters then make a plain contradiction to the fathers’ words, and a confusion of the parts, which they distinguish.

The fathers in those places by presbyters meant priests.] Indeed they could not mean your lay presbyters whom they never knew : but had there been lay presbyters in their times, as you imagine there were, how frivolous, confused, and repugnant to themselves were not only these partitions and conclusions of theirs, but even the rules and canons of all the councils ! For what word doth any council or father use for a priest, but *presbyter* ? Nay, what one word could they have to distinguish those that had charge of the word and sacraments from bishops and deacons, but only by calling them *presbyteros* ? Wherefore all councils provincial and general do by that name, without any other adjection, sever them from bishops and deacons ; and wheresoever we find *presbyteros* in any ecclesiastical writer, we presently know they were neither laymen nor deacons. For proof hereof take what council or father you list, that maketh mention of them, and see whether you shall not confound all their writings, if you observe not this rule.

The council of Nice, decreeing that none should immediately upon their baptism be admitted to the office of a

clero.” “ Cæterum si grex fugere deberet, non deberet præpositus gregis stare.” “ Unum baptisma et una ecclesia in cælis.” “ Itaque quum duces fugiunt, quis de gregario numero sustinebit ad gradum in acie figendum suadentes ?”]

<sup>m</sup> Tertull. in Exhortatione Castitatis. [p. 522. “ Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas.”]

<sup>n</sup> Tertull. de Monogamia. {p. 531. inf. “ Quomodo totum ordinem ecclesiæ de monogamis disponit, si non hæc disciplina præcedit in laicis, ex quibus ecclesiæ ordo proficit ?”]

<sup>o</sup> Tertull. in Exhortatione Castitatis. [p. 522. “ Usque adeo nisi et laici ea observent per quæ presbyteri alleguntur, quomodo erunt presbyteri qui de laicis alleguntur ?”]

bishop, "or to the presbytery," giveth this reason: "The apostle's precept is evident, that he should not be newly converted (to the faith)" or "newly inserted" into the church. "For there is need of time that he should be catechised, and after baptism (another time) of long trial. In which time if any fault be proved against the man, let him be kept from the clergy<sup>p</sup>." By these words he which was admitted to the presbytery, was admitted to the clergy; and he that was kept from the clergy, was likewise kept from the presbytery. Then had laymen no places in the presbytery. Again, speaking of such as were bishops amongst the Novatians, and content to return to the catholic church, the same council saith: Let the bishop "provide such a one the place of a presbyter, that he may seem still to remain in the clergy<sup>q</sup>." The Nicene council made account, if he were a presbyter, he must needs be a clergyman; they never heard of presbyters in the church of Christ that were laymen. The council of Antioch: "If any dissolve the rule of the great Nicene council for the feast of Easter, let them be excommunicated; thus we decree touching laymen. But if any of the governors of the church, either bishop, presbyter, or deacon" (where a deacon is expressly contained in the word *προεστώτων* used by St. Paul) "celebrate Easter with the Jews<sup>r</sup>," he shall be deprived of his office, and banished from

p Concil. Nicæni, can. ii. [t. ii. col. 29. 'Ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ ἤτοι ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἄλλως ἐπειγομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο παρὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ὥστε ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ ἐθνικοῦ βίου ἄρτι προσελθόντας τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατηχηθέντας, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν λουτρὸν ἄγειν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ βαπτισθῆναι προάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ πρεσβυτερίον· καλῶς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο γίνεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρόνου δεῖ τῷ κατηχουμένῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα δοκιμασίας πλείονος. σαφὲς γὰρ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν γράμμα τὸ λέγον, Μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ παγίδα τοῦ διαβόλου. Εἰ δὲ προΐοντος τοῦ χρόνου, ψυχικὸν τι ἀμάρτημα εὐρεθῇ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐλέγχω τοῦ ὑπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων πεπαύσθω τοιοῦτος τοῦ κλήρου· ὃ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν, ὡς ὑπεναντία τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ θρασυόμενος, αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσει περὶ τὸν κλήρον.]

q Concil. Nicæni, can. viii. [t. ii. col.

33. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκει, ἐπινοήσκει τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν.]

r Concil. Antioch. can. i. [t. ii. col. 561. Πάντας τοὺς τολμῶντας παραλύνειν τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου, τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συγκροτηθείσης ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἑορτῆς τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάσχα, ἀκοινωνήτους καὶ ἀποβλήτους εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ ἐπιμένουσιν φιλονεικότερον ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς τὰ καλῶς δεδογμένα. καὶ ταῦτα εἰρήσθω περὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν· εἰ δὲ τις τῶν προεστώτων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον τολμήσειεν ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ τῶν λαῶν, καὶ ταραχῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἰδιάζειν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ πάσχα· τοῦτον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ἀλλότριοιον ἔκρινεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὡς οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῷ ἁμαρτίας ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς



the church. Laymen had neither the same preferment nor punishment that presbyters had: for presbyters were rulers of the church, laymen were not; presbyters were deprived of their ministry and removed from the church, laymen were only excommunicated. Presbyters then were no lay persons. Sometimes one penalty served for both laymen and presbyters, and yet then were they severed by two diverse names. "If any be excommunicated by his bishop, let not others receive him, till he be reconciled to his own bishop, or make his answer at a synod: this definition to be in force for laymen, presbyters, deacons, and all others under the canon<sup>s</sup>." The council of Laodicea: "The sacred or priestly men from the presbyter to the deacon, and so along the ecclesiastical order, must not enter into tippling houses<sup>t</sup>." Then presbyters were sacred, and within ecclesiastical orders; and before any such might be laymen, you must have a new metamorphosis for them. The council of Africa: "Presbyters and deacons deprehended in any grievous crime, which necessarily depriveth them of their function, shall never have hands imposed on them as penitents or lay persons<sup>u</sup>." All lay persons upon repentance might be reconciled with imposition of hands; no presbyters deprived for any grievous sin might be reconciled with imposition of hands; therefore no presbyter was a lay person. The fifth general council kept at Constantinople: "He that taketh a second wife after baptism, or marrieth a widow, or a woman divorced, or a bondwoman, cannot be either bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or in any other sacred

διαθορᾶς καὶ διαστροφῆς γινόμενον αἷτιον, καὶ οὐ μόνον τοὺς τοιοῦτους καθαιρεῖ τῆς λειτουργίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τολμῶντας τοῦτοις κοινωνεῖν μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν· τοὺς δὲ καθαιρεθέντας ἀποστειρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν τιμῆς, ἧς ὁ ἅγιος κανὼν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερατεῖον μετέληφεν.]

<sup>s</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. vi. [t. ii. 563. Εἰ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινωνήτος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἐτέρων δεχθῆναι, (εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθῇ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου) ἢ συνόδου γενομένης ἀπαντήσας ἀπολογήσεται, πείσας τε τὴν σύνοδον, καταδέξοιτο ἐτέραν ἀπόφασιν. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρὸς ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ

πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι.]

<sup>t</sup> Concil. Laod. can. xxiv. [t. i. 1501. "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων, καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν, ἢ ἀναγνώστων, ἢ ψαλτῶν, ἢ πορκιστῶν, ἢ θυρωρῶν, ἢ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ὑσκητῶν, εἰς καπηλεῖον εἰσιέναι.]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Afric. can. xxvii. [t. ii. col. 1063. Ὁμοίως ἐβεβαιώθη, ὡς ἂν ποτε πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι, ἐπὶ τινι βαρυτέρᾳ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐλιγχνῶσι τῇ ἀναγκαίῳ αὐτοὺς τῆς λειτουργίας ἀποκινούσῃ, μὴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι αὐτοῖς χεῖρας ὡς μετανοοῦσιν, ἢ ὡς πιστοῖς λαϊκοῖς.]



order<sup>x</sup>." No lay elders were tied to these rules ; all presbyters were : there was great odds then between lay elders and presbyters.

If you trust not these councils for the use of the word *presbyter*, the laws imperial will direct you. The Christian emperors giving many privileges to clergymen, do likewise express who shall enjoy them ; " Presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, singers, and readers ; all these we call clergymen<sup>y</sup> ;" and all these accordingly had the prerogatives and immunities of clergymen, by the Roman laws. Now if no lay elder could claim any clerical privilege in the Roman commonwealth under the name of *presbyter*, as undoubtedly he could not ; I much marvel how by force of the very same word in the fathers, who use it as strictly as the emperors do, laymen should claim to have the government of the church. But indeed it is a mere conceit of our age ; transforming clergymen into laymen, contrary to the words and meaning as well of fathers as of laws and canons, rather than they will loose their hold of the lay presbytery, which they have framed after their own fancy, and not by the direction or deposition of any council or father. For they all with one consent use the word *presbyter*, as the civil laws and sacred canons do.

In what sort Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian and Athanasius use the word *presbyter*, we have seen before ; the rest do fully concord with them. Irenæus : " We must obey those presbyters in the church, which have their succession from the apostles ; and with the order of their presbytery yield wholesome doctrine to the information and correction of others. Such presbyters the church doth nourish<sup>z</sup>." Origen : " There

<sup>x</sup> Concil. in Trullo, can. iii. col. 1143. Labbe. tom. vi. Lutet. Par. 1671. [Ὅριζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος, καὶ ἀναγεόμενοι τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τὸν δυσὶ γάμοις συμπλακέντα μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἢ παλλακὴν κτησόμενον, μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν χήραν λαβόντα, ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην, ἢ ἐταίραν, ἢ οἰκέτην, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ]

<sup>y</sup> Novell. Constit. Justinian. cxxiii.

[Gotting. 1797. p. 500. cap. xix. Τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ψάλτας οὓς πάντας κληρικοὺς καλοῦμεν.]

<sup>z</sup> Irenæus adversus Hæreses, lib. iv. cap. 43. [p. 381. Lutet. Par. 1639. " Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum episcopatus successionem, charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum patris acceperunt."]

Cap. 44. [p. 383. " Ab omnibus igitur talibus abstinere oportet: ad hæreere vero his qui et apostolorum,

are in the church of Christ that love the chief places, and labour much, first to be deacons, not such as the scripture describeth, but such as devour widows' houses under pretence of long prayer. And such deacons covet to attain the chief chairs of those that are called presbyters. And some not therewith content, practise many ways to be called bishops by men; which is as much as Rabbi. Howbeit he that exalteth himself, shall be humbled. Which I wish all would mark, but specially the deacons, presbyters and bishops, which think these things are not written to them<sup>a</sup>." A deacon being already in sacred orders could by no means become a lay elder; the rooms therefore which they aspired unto, were the chairs of clergymen, and these were called the presbyters of the church. Of these he saith elsewhere: "Though I be taken for a right hand, and be called a presbyter, and seem to preach the (true) word of God; yet if I do any thing against the discipline of the church, or rule of the gospel, the whole church with one consent must cut me off being their right hand, and cast me from them<sup>b</sup>." Then were presbyters not only right hands in the church, but also preachers of the word; and that not some, but all. "All bishops, and all presbyters or deacons do teach us, and in teaching do reprove and sharply rebuke<sup>c</sup>."

sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, et cum presbyteri ordine sermonem sanum, et conversationem sine offensa præstant ad informationem et correctionem reliquorum. . . . . Tales presbyteros nutrit ecclesia."]

<sup>a</sup> Origenis in Matthæum Homilia xxiv. [t. ii. fol. 45. D. Navarr. Par. 1512. "Manifeste hujusmodi delicta non tantum apud tunc scribas et Phariseos solos inveniebantur: vel inveniantur apud ipsos, sed etiam in ecclesia Christi inveniuntur non solum convivium, et facientium ea mensas suscipientes; sed etiam cathedras primas in eis amantes, et multa facientes, primum quidem ut diaconi fiant, non tales quales dicit scriptura, sed quales sunt qui comedunt viduarum domos, occasione longa orantes: et propterea accipient judicium majus. Et qui tales diaconi fieri volunt, consequenter visibiles primas cathedras eorum qui dicuntur presbyteri præripere ambiunt.

Quidam autem nec istis contenti plurima machinantur, ut episcopi vocentur ab hominibus, quod est Rabbi." . . . .

"Quod utinam omnes quidem audirent; maxime autem diaconi et presbyteri: et episcopi maxime qui arbitrantur sibi hæc non esse scripta, 'Qui se exaltaverit humiliabitur'."]

<sup>b</sup> Idem Homil. vii. in Lib. Josuæ. ["Super Jesum Nave. Homilia vii. t. i. fol. 157. Navarr. Paris. "Ut ego qui videor tibi manus esse dextera, et presbyter nominor, et verbum Dei videor prædicare; si aliquid contra ecclesiasticam disciplinam, et evangelii regulam gesserò, ita ut scandalum tibi ecclesiam faciam; in uno consensu ecclesia universa conspirans excidat me dexteram suam et projiciat a se."]

<sup>c</sup> Idem in Psalm. xxxvii. Homil. i. ["Omnes episcopi atque omnes presbyteri vel diacones erudiant nos: et erudientes, adhibent correctiones, et verbis austerioribus increpant."]

“ There be four sorts of men in the church,” saith Optatus, “ bishops, presbyters, deacons and the believers<sup>d</sup>.” Out of which of these four will you fetch your lay elders? From the believers? Then were they no presbyters. Will you comprise them in presbyters? Then were they no laymen. For Optatus in the same place chargeth the Donatists with subverting of souls for making presbyters to be laymen; “ You found deacons, presbyters and bishops; you made them laymen. Acknowledge then you subverted souls<sup>e</sup>.” If you doubt I force his words against his meaning, hear what himself saith touching those four parts of the church: “ What shall I reckon laymen, which were then advanced with no dignity in the church? What (need I repeat) the servitors (of the church)? The deacons in the third, the presbyters in the second degree of priesthood! The chief and top of all, even many bishops, wickedly delivered the instruments of God’s law (to the fire)<sup>f</sup>.” Laymen had no degree nor dignity in the church; much less the honour or office of presbyters. For they were plainly priests. Had you but one such place for lay elders as here is against them, we would never strive with you about them.

Nazianzen telling how the goodness and providence of God brought that learned and famous man Basil “ to the sacred seats of the presbytery, by the order and course that should be observed in spiritual climbing,” saith; “ He first read the sacred books to the people, and expounded them, not disdain- ing this place of the chancel, and so (came) to the chair of the presbyters, and after of the bishops<sup>g</sup>.” The seats then of the presbytery in Nazianzen’s time, were not only sacred and severed from the people, but the right orderly way to ascend unto them, was first to pass through other ecclesiastical de-

<sup>d</sup> Optatus, lib. ii. ad Parmenianum de Schismate Donatistarum. [“Quatuor genera capitum sunt in ecclesia; episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum et fidelium.”]

<sup>e</sup> Ibidem. [“Invenistis diaconos, presbyteros, episcopos: fecistis laicos. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse.”]

<sup>f</sup> Idem ad Parmen. lib. i. [“Quid commemorem laicos, qui tunc in ecclesia nulla fuerant dignitate suffulti? Quid ministros plurimos? Quid diaconos in

tertio, quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes omnium aliqui episcopi instrumenta divinæ legis impie tradiderunt.”]

<sup>g</sup> Greg. Nazianz. in Laudem Basil. Magn. Orat. [p. 336. Lut. Par. 1609. Τὰς γὰρ ἱερὰς πρότερον ὑπαναγινώσκων τῷ λαῷ βιβλούς, ὁ τούτων ἐξηγητὴς, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀπαξίωσας τὴν τάξιν τοῦ βήματος, οὕτως ἐν καθέδρᾳ πρεσβυτέρων, οὕτως ἐν ἐπισκόπων αἰνεῖ τὸν Κύριον.]

grees and offices<sup>h</sup>, as Cyprian calleth them, and so to rise to the highest, and not for laymen to sit in them as fellow presbyters with the bishops. "The presbyters themselves are not permitted to be present in the mysteries, and yet they do administer the sacraments<sup>i</sup>," saith Julius to the bishops at Antioch. "I am a bishop," saith Hilary to Constantius, "continuing in the communion of all the churches and bishops of France though I be in banishment, and still distributing by my presbyters the communion of the church (or, to the church<sup>k</sup>)."

"The ordering of a presbyter is the same that a bishop's is," saith Ambrose, "for both are priests<sup>l</sup>." "Either let a deacon be made of a presbyter," saith Jerome, "that he may be proved to be lesser than a deacon, to whose place he riseth as from the lower degree; or if a presbyter be made of a deacon, then is he inferior to the deacon in gain, but in priesthood superior<sup>m</sup>." "What Aaron and his sons were, that we must remember the bishop and presbyters are. There is but one Lord, one temple, one ministry<sup>n</sup>." And answering this objection of Jovinian, that "bishops, presbyters and deacons were appointed by the apostle to be the husbands of one wife and to have children," he saith; "In appointing the ecclesiastical order, because the church of the Gentiles was yet raw, (the apostle) gave lighter precepts to those that were lately converted, lest being terrified (at the first) they should not be able to endure it<sup>o</sup>." And expounding the same words

<sup>h</sup> Cyprian. lib. iv. Ep. 2. [Ep. 55. p. 103. ed. Oxon. "Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus et in divinis administrationibus Dominum saepe promeritus ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit."]

<sup>i</sup> Athanasii ad Imperat. Constant. Apologia ii. [t. i. p. 750. Par. 1627. Προσβύτεροι μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται παρ-εῖναι, οἱ καὶ τῶν μυστήριων λειτουργοὶ τυγχάνοντες.]

<sup>k</sup> Hilarius in libro quem ipse Constantino tradidit. [col. 341. Par. 1652. "Episcopus ego sum in omnium Gallicarum ecclesiarum atque episcoporum communione licet in exilio permanens, et ecclesiæ adhuc per presbyteros meos communionem distribuens."]

<sup>l</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402. "Presbyteri et episcopi una est ordinatio, uterque enim sacerdos est."]

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. Evagrio. [t. ii. 329. "Aut igitur ex presbytero ordinatur diaconus, ut presbyter minor diacono comprobetur, in quem crescit ex parvo: aut si ex diacono ordinatur presbyter, noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem."]

<sup>n</sup> Hieron. ad Nepotian. de Vit. Cleric. [t. i. 14. "Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc episcopum et presbyteros esse noverimus. Unus Dominus, unum templum, unum sit etiam ministerium."]

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. lib. i. advers. Jovin. [t. ii. 39. "Quomodo de virginibus apostolus dicit se non habere præceptum, et tamen dat consilium, quasi misericordiam



of Paul to Titus, he saith, "The apostle commanding this to bishops and presbyters" (that they should be the husbands of one wife) "no doubt released it unto others<sup>p</sup>." All laymen might take a second wife, but no presbyter by Jerome's construction: there were therefore no laymen that were presbyters in his time.

When six of the bishops came from Tyrus, to examine matters against Athanasius, the presbyters of Alexandria perceiving their malice protested against their proceedings, and wrote their letters unto them subscribed with their names, in this wise: "I Dionysius presbyter send these letters; and I Alexander presbyter<sup>q</sup>," and so with eighteen more names, fourteen of them having the title of presbyters, and four of deacons. Whereupon Athanasius saith, "The letters and names of the clergymen of the city are these. The clergy of Mariot wrote in this manner. To the holy synod of bishops of the catholic church, all the presbyters and deacons of Mariot send greeting<sup>r</sup>." Then all the presbyters of Mariot were clergymen by Athanasius' own words, as also the presbyters of the city. The commentary upon Matthew joined with Chrysostom's, in applying the parable of the talents, affirm that presbyters have five talents, deacons two, the people one. The five talents of the presbyters he reckoneth thus; "Good life, careful overseeing the church, sincere preaching the word of truth, baptizing according to Christ's rule, and offering an undefiled sacrifice, and praying for the sins of the people. But if a presbyter or deacon be found a

consecutus a domino, et hoc agit in omni illa disputatione, ut virginitatem præferat matrimonio; et suadet quod imperare non audet, ne injicere laqueum, et plus imponere ponderis, quam potest hominum sustinere natura: ita et in ecclesiastico ordine constituendo, quia rudis ex gentibus constituebatur ecclesia, leviora nuper credentibus dat præcepta, ne terriți ferre non possent."]

<sup>p</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum cap. i. [t. ix. 246. "Montanus et qui Novati schisma sectantur, nomen sibi mundiciæ præsumpsere, putantque secunda matrimonia ab ecclesiæ communione prohibenda, cum apostolus de episcopis et presbyteris hoc præcipiens, utique in cæteris relaxarit: non quod hortatur ad

secunda matrimonia sed quod necessitati carnis indulgeat."]

<sup>q</sup> Athanasii ad Imperat. Constant. Apologia ii. [t. i. 790. Διονύσιος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερος, Νεικῆς πρεσβύτερος, Λόγγος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀφθόνιος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀθανάσιος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀμύντιος πρεσβύτερος, Πιστὸς πρεσβύτερος, Πλουτίων πρεσβύτερος, Διώσκορος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀπολλώνιος πρεσβύτερος, Σαραπίων πρεσβύτερος, Ἀμμώνιος πρεσβύτερος, Γάιος πρεσβύτερος, Ῥίνος πρεσβύτερος, Αἰθαλῆς πρεσβύτερος, Μαρκελλῖνος διάκονος, Ἀππιανὸς διάκονος, Θέων διάκονος, Τιμόθεος διάκονος, καὶ Τιμόθεος ἄλλος διάκονος.]

<sup>r</sup> Ibidem. Τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κληρικῶν γράμματά τε καὶ ὀνόματα,



sinner, he is accounted as a layman that hath but one talent.\*" Good life is that talent which is common to all men, be they lay or clergy; but presbyters had four other talents proper to their calling, and so linked together, that they may not be severed. To whom the preaching, baptizing and offering at the Lord's table do belong; to them also careful ruling and governing the church doth appertain. Now your secular elders if they be presbyters, they must undertake all five talents; if they be lay, they must neither preach, baptize, nor administer the Lord's supper, nor consequently be presbyters, or govern the church. For all presbyters received those five talents or services in the church from their Lord and Master, but no layman received them at God's hand; I conclude therefore no laymen were presbyters in Chrysostom's age.

"How many bishops," saith St. Augustine, "do I know that are most holy and godly men, how many presbyters, how many deacons, and such like ministers of the divine sacraments!" And speaking of his own presbytership, saith, "Nothing is in this life, and specially in this time, more hard, laborious, and dangerous, than the office of a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon: but with God nothing more blessed, if it be in such sort discharged, as our chief ruler willeth. The way I could not learn, either in my childhood or youth; and when I began to learn, violence was offered me for my sins; (what else should I think?) that the second place of government should be committed unto me, who yet knew not how to hold an oar: and now finding what is necessary for him which ministereth the word of God and sacraments to the

ταῦτα. ἃ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρεώτου, κληρικὸι ἔγραφαν γινώσκοντες τὸν τρόπον τοῦ κατηγόρου, καὶ ἐν τῇ περιοδείᾳ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες; ἔστι ταῦτα.

Τῇ ἀγία συνόδῳ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ κατὰ Μαρεώτην πάντες πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.]

<sup>s</sup> Homil. liii. in Matth. xxv. [Authoris incerti opus imperfectum in Evang. Matth. Chrysostomo vulgo attributum, t. viii. 189. "De talento agnitionis Christi acquisivit unam justitiam bene vivendo. De presbyterio autem ipso acquisivit justitiam solite presidendo ecclesiæ. De verbo acquisivit justitiam,

verbum veritatis synceriter prædicando. De baptismo lucratus est secundum Christi regulam baptizando et dignos filios cum judicio ecclesiæ acquirendo. De sacrificio acquisivit justitiam, tam mundum et immaculatum sacrificium populo offerendo, et pro peccatis populi exorando. . . . Si presbyter aut diaconus peccator inventus fuerit, . . . quasi laicus invenitur inter eos qui unum talentum fidei acceperunt."]

<sup>t</sup> August. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. lib. i. cap. 32. [t. i. col. 744. "Quam enim multos episcopos optimos viros sanctissimosque cognovi, quam multos presbyteros, quam multos dia-

people, I am not suffered to attain it<sup>u</sup>” (for want of time). Presbyters in Austin’s time had their office in the church, to minister the sacraments, and propose the word to the people; and to such presbyters was the second place of government committed. Lay elders had neither to do with the one nor with the other part of that charge.

Socrates recording that the council of Nice inclined to make a law for the restraining of clergymen from their wives, saith; “It seemed good to the bishops to bring a new law into the church; that consecrated men, I mean bishops, presbyters, and deacons, should not sleep with their wives which they had married whiles they were laymen. But Paphnutius standing up contradicted with a loud voice, that this heavy yoke ought not to be laid on the sacred men<sup>x</sup>.” It shall not need to prove unto such as be learned, that *ιερασθαι* is to be consecrated a priest unto God; *ιερεὺς* is the plainest word the Grecians have for a priest, and *ιερωμένος* for one that is consecrated to that service. Those Socrates most evidently divideth into these three, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and saith by way of restraint, λέγω δὲ, “I mean” namely and specially these three degrees. The purpose was, that they “should not sleep with their wives which they had married, *ἔτι λαϊκοὶ ὄντες*, when as yet they were laymen,” that is, as Sozomen expoundeth it, “which they had married before they were consecrated<sup>y</sup>.” Now set this together, and you shall find they were laymen,

conos, et hujusmodi ministros divinarum sacramentorum, quorum virtus eo mihi mirabilior et majore prædicatione dignior videtur, quo difficilius est eam in multiplici hominum genere, et in ista vita turbulentiore servare.”]

<sup>u</sup> August. Epist. cxlviii. [t. ii. col. 686. “Item nihil esse in hac vita et maxime hoc tempore difficilius, laboriosius, periculosius, episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi officio; sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur quo noster imperator jubet. Quis autem iste sit modus, nec a pueritia, nec ab adolescentia mea didici: et eo tempore quo discere cœperam, vis mihi facta est, merito peccatorum meorum, (nam quid aliud existimem nescio) ut secundus locus gubernaculorum mihi traderetur, qui remum tenere non noveram. . . . . Quod si propterea in re ipsa didici quid sit homini necessarium qui populo min-

istrat sacramentum et verbum Dei, ut jam non mihi liceat assequi, quod me non habere cognovi, jubes ergo ut per-eam, pater Valeri?”]

<sup>x</sup> Socrat. lib. i. cap. ii. [p. 38. Ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπισκόποις νόμον νεαρὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἱερωμένους, λέγω δὲ ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, μὴ συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἄς ἔτι λαϊκοὶ ὄντες, ἡγάγοντο· καὶ ἐπεὶ περὶ τούτου βουλευέσθαι προέκειτο, διαναστὰς ἐν μεσφ τοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ Παφνούτιος, ἐβόα μακρὰ, μὴ βαρὺν (ὕγην ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀνδράσι.)]

<sup>y</sup> Sozomen. lib. i. cap. 23. [p. 437. Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τούτου βουλευέσθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔδοκει νόμον ἐπεισάγειν, ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους διακόνους τε καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, μὴ συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἄς πρὶν ἱερασθαι ἡγάγοντο.]

πρὶν ἱερᾶσθαι, “before they were consecrated;” and therefore ἱερωμένοι, “once being consecrated,” they ceased to be laymen any longer; but bishops, presbyters, and deacons were ἱερωμένοι, “men consecrated;” they were *ergo* no laymen. Much more might be said; but this may suffice for those that have not wedded their judgments to their appetites: as for such, nothing will serve except it please their humours; and therefore I leave them.

You prove that lay elders were not called by the name of presbyters in the primitive church, but that no such were admitted to govern the church, you do not prove.] Give me leave to tell you what I prove; repel it if you can. I prove that you greatly deceive yourselves and abuse the fathers, when you make the world believe they had lay presbyters joined with the bishops to govern the church: for it is apparent by their writings they had no presbyters but clergymen, and of such their presbyteries consisted, and not of any laymen, whom they particularly and perpetually exclude not only from the name, but also from the order, office, seats, power, and honour of presbyters.

Though they were not known by that name, yet were they called “seniores,” the elders of the church, as Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, Austin, and Gregory do witness; yea, though we should grant the church had no such lay elders in Jerome’s and Ambrose’s days, yet they both confess there were such in the first age of the church, and that the church should be governed by their advice and counsel. Their words are so plain, they cannot be shifted. And thence I make this demonstration: Lay elders in Ambrose’s time were out of use, as himself affirmeth, through the sloth, or rather pride, of bishops; but clergy presbyters were not out of use in Ambrose’s time; there were therefore lay elders in the first churches, without whose advice nothing was done, besides the presbyters that continued in Ambrose’s days. This argument is insoluble.] You are used to make few good arguments, that take this to be so strong. The force of these places I have examined before; and there shewed that they were wrested clean against the intent of the writers; but because I am to end the discourse of lay elders, and so to relinquish

them to their inventors, I will not be grieved to recapitulate the strength of your authorities, and search out the sureness of this last syllogism.

The first thing that I observe in your authorities is this; that with your own proofs you overthrow your own purpose. To convince that lay elders dured in the church till Gregory's time, which was six hundred years after Christ, you produce amongst others St. Ambrose, who saith that in his time two hundred and thirty years before, such elders "were out of use." If there were no such elders in Ambrose's age, how could they dure till Gregory's days, that lived more than two hundred years after him? This knot is more insoluble than your syllogism.

Another of your witnesses, I mean St. Jerome, in the very same place that you cite, layeth the whole plot of your lay elders in the dust; for both touching the persons that ruled the church, and the time which they continued, he crosseth all your assertions. The persons by whose common advice the church at first was governed, were presbyters, and those by your own confession were no laymen. Or if you make any bones to confess so much, St. Jerome will avouch no less. I must allege his words once again, and some of them in Latin, because you shall the more sensibly see your error, and the rest not distrust my translation. "Before there were factions in religion, and the people began to say, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephaz; the churches were governed by the common advice of the presbyters. But when every man thought those whom he had baptized to be his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen out of the presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom all the care of the church should appertain, and the seeds of division rooted out<sup>z</sup>." These words are so plain, they need no demonstration to help them. Before schisms grew in religion, the churches were governed by the common advice of pres-

<sup>z</sup> Hieron. in Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. t. ix. 245. ["Antequam fierent studia in religione, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ; communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ regebantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos bap-

tizaverat, suos esse putabat, non Christi; in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur, cæteris ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur, &c."]

byters ; but when the baptizers drew the people into factions, bishops were throughout the world elected, and advanced above presbyters to take the whole care of the church. They were both presbyters and baptizers that governed the church before bishops were decreed ; *ergo*, they were no lay elders. This were enough : but Jerome, to shew what presbyters they were, allegeth four places of the scripture, and thereby proveth they were teachers and pastors. I must set down his words ; but as short as I can, that men may be persuaded, or ashamed of their error in this part committed.

The very next words in Jerome, ensuing the former, are these ; “ Doth any man think this is not the position of the scriptures, but ours, that a bishop and presbyter are both one ? Let him read the words of the apostle to the Philippians, where he saith ; ‘ Paul and Timothy to all the saints that are at Philippi, together with the bishops and deacons.’ In one city there could not be many bishops as we name them : but because they called the same men bishops that were presbyters, therefore he speaketh of bishops as of presbyters, without any difference. In the Acts the apostle at Miletum sent to Ephesus, and called the presbyters of that church, to whom he said ; ‘ Look to yourselves, and to all the flock where the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops to feed the church of God.’ Here mark diligently, how calling for the presbyters of Ephesus only, he afterward termed them bishops. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the care of the church is equally divided amongst many ; for he saith to the people, ‘ Obey your rulers and be subject to them ; they are those that watch over your souls.’ And Peter in his Epistle saith ; ‘ The presbyters that are amongst you I beseech, myself being your fellow presbyter, feed ye the Lord’s flock that is with you.’ These things I bring to shew, that anciently presbyters were all one with bishops ; and that in tract of time, to pluck up the roots of dissension, all the charge (of the church) was committed to one<sup>a</sup>.” The presbyters that governed the church

Philip. i. 1.

Acts xx. 28.

Heb. xiii.

17.

1 Pet. v. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [t. ix. 245. “ Putat aliquis non scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, episcopum et presbyterum unum esse ; et aliud ætatis, aliud esse

nomen officii ? relegat apostoli ad Philipenses verba dicentis, ‘ Paulus et Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu, qui sunt Philippis cum episcopis et diaconis ; gratia vobis et pax,



in the apostles' times, did attend and feed the flock, and watch over souls, as those that should give account for them, and had all those qualities that the apostle required in bishops. The same charge and the same grace conclude the same function. And therefore if any were clergymen in the apostles' times, these presbyters were not laymen. But these governed the church, as Jerome saith: laymen therefore they were not, by Jerome's own confession, that did then govern the church.

The persons we see who they were; now for the time how long they continued governors of the church. Before schisms did arise, the church was governed by their common advice; but schisms and divisions grew even in the apostles' times, as it is evident by Paul's own report, and by St. John's likewise. Wherefore Jerome's words do not infer that presbyters ruled the church any longer than the apostles' times, nor so long neither. If I seem to take a nice advantage of the time, let Jerome express his own meaning. In his epistle to Evagrius, debating at large that bishops and presbyters were all one in the apostles' time; and alleging both the same and sundry other proofs for his intent, he addeth; "That after one was elected and advanced above the rest, this was to remedy schisms, lest every man drawing the church of Christ to himself, should rent it in pieces. So at Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist, to Heraclas and Dionysius, bishops there; the presbyters always chose one of themselves, and

1 Cor. i. 11;  
xi. 18;  
Rom. xvi.  
17.  
1 John ii.  
18.

et reliqua.' Philippi una est urbs Macedonia, et certe in una civitate plures, ut nuncupantur, episcopi esse non poterant. Sed quia eosdem episcopos illo tempore quos et presbyteros appellabant, propterea indifferenter de episcopis quasi de presbyteris est locutus. Adhuc hoc alicui videatur ambiguum nisi altero testimonio comprobetur. In Actibus Apostolorum scriptum est, quod cum venisset apostolus Miletum, emisit Ephesum, et vocaverit presbyteros ecclesie ejusdem quibus postea inter cetera sit locutus: 'Attendite vobis et omni gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos pascere ecclesiam Domini, quem acquisivit per sanguinem suum.' Et hic diligentius observate, quomodo unius civitatis Ephesi presbyteros vocans, postea eosdem episcopos dixerit. Si quis vult

recipere eam epistolam quæ sub nomine Pauli ad Hebræos scripta est, et ibi æqualiter inter plures ecclesie cura dividitur. Siquidem ad plebem scribit: 'Parete principibus vestris, et subiecti estote: ipsi enim sunt qui vigilant pro animabus vestris, quasi rationem reddentes, ne suspirantes hoc faciant; siquidem hoc utile vobis est.' Et Petrus qui ex fidei firmitate nomen accepit, in epistola sua loquitur dicens, 'Presbyteros ergo in vobis obsecro compresbyter, et testis Christi passionum, qui et ejus gloriæ quæ in futuro revelanda est socius sum, Pascite eum qui in vobis est gregem Domini,' etc. Hæc propterea ut ostenderemus apud veteres, eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam."]

placed him in a higher degree, and called him a bishop<sup>b</sup>." Lay elders Jerome never knew any to be governors of the church: the pastors and teachers that under the apostles governed the church by common advice, were forced, for the preventing and repressing of schisms, to transfer the whole care of the church to one, whom they called a bishop. This began at Alexandria, even from Mark the Evangelist.

Jerome's testimony you have heard. Now choose whether Ambrose shall contradict him, and give him the lie; or rather be reconciled and expounded by him. Ambrose saith the church had "elders without whose counsel nothing was done in the church<sup>c</sup>." These, say you, were lay elders. If we ask you how you prove they were lay, you be at a non-plus. They were pastors and teachers, say we. If you ask how we prove our assertion, we first shew you the judgment of Ambrose elsewhere, that "in matters of faith, or any ecclesiastical order<sup>d</sup>," laymen should not judge and govern priests, which yet the governors of the church must do. I speak still of the private regiment of elders, not of the public power of the magistrate. Next we shew you the verdict of Jerome, confirming his resolution by many places of the scriptures, that the churches at the first were governed by presbyters, which were pastors and teachers. Made we no further proof than this, I convent your own consciences, which of our avowries standeth on the surest ground; yours that leaneth only to your own wills and words; or ours, that besides the confession of the same father, hath a most evident attestation of another father as ancient and learned as the former. You would seem to be religious and wise; craze not your credits with a

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Evagrio, t. ii. fol. 329. "Quod autem postea unus electus est qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandria a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant."

<sup>c</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. v. [t. v. 406. "Seniores quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia."]

<sup>d</sup> Ambros. Epist. lib. v. 32. [t. ii. 121. "Nec quisquam contumacem ju-

dicare me debet, cum hoc asseram quod augustæ memoriæ pater tuus non solum sermone respondit, sed etiam legibus suis sanxit, in causa fidei vel ecclesiasti alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis: Hæc enim verba rescripti sunt: hoc est, sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit judicare."]

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Esaia, cap. iii. [t. v. 17. "Nos habemus in ecclesia senatum nostrum, cætum presbyterorum."]

<sup>f</sup> Idem in Michea, cap. iii. [t. vi. 175. "Judices domus Israel non sunt alii nisi episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi."]

*non obstante*, that your fancies must prevail, whatsoever councils or fathers say to the contrary.

For the rest we need no better expositor than Jerome, in the very place which yourselves allege. "We have in the church our senate, even the assembly of presbyters<sup>c</sup>." Elsewhere he saith; "The judges over the house of Israel are none other but the bishops, presbyters, and deacons<sup>f</sup>." And these three words, when they come together, import the order and degrees of ecclesiastical offices. "Bishop, presbyter and deacon, are not names of deserts, but of offices<sup>g</sup>;" and those clerical, not laical. "He became a clergyman, and so a presbyter by the accustomed degrees<sup>h</sup>," saith Jerome of Nepotianus. And again: "You bishops and presbyters, and all the ecclesiastical order, which feed your flocks<sup>i</sup>." If therefore Gregory call the presbyters *seniores ecclesiæ*, "the elders of the church," in respect of the rest of the clergy; or if Austin write unto them, *clero et senioribus*, "to the clergy and elders;" or if Tertullian writing to the ethnics, who understood not the order and offices of the church, say in commendation of the Christian meetings, *Præsident probati quique seniores*, "The rulers of our assemblies are certain approved elders;" what inference can hence be made, that they meant lay elders, since they use neither words nor circumstances, but such as will agree to the graver, wiser, and elder sort of the clergy, otherwise called presbyters? Yea, Ambrose himself will tell you, that amongst the clergy the presbyters were called *seniores*, "the elders," as next in honour, age, and judgment to the bishop. Speaking of ecclesiastical officers and ministers, he saith; "There is no cause for the youngers to resort to the houses of widows and virgins, except it be to visit them; and that with the elders, I mean with the bishop, or if the matter be urgent, with the presbyters. What need we give occasion to secular (or lay) men to backbite<sup>k</sup>?" How

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. advers. Jovin. lib. i. [t. ii. 41. "Episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina, sed officiorum."]

<sup>h</sup> Idem in Epitaphio Nepotiani. [t. i. 23. "Quid multa? Fit clericus et per solitos gradus presbyter ordinatur."]

<sup>i</sup> Idem in Jeremiæ, cap. vi. [t. v.

279. "Qui pascitis greges, episcopi et presbyteri, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus."]

<sup>k</sup> Ambros. Officior. lib. i. cap. 20. [t. i. 12. "Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, juniore adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est cum episcopo; vel, si gravior est

think you? were there not elders amongst the clergy, and those the same men that were otherwise called presbyters?

Yet my demonstration is unanswered.] Your mistaking of Ambrose's both meaning and words is a very simple kind of demonstration; you do not mark the text which you bring. Ambrose doth not say, the church had once elders which now are vanished; but, nothing at the first was done in the church without their advice, which now is out of use, whiles the pastors will seem alone to be wise. The men remained that were before, but less regarded and less consulted than at first. And so your demonstration is nothing else but a misconstruction of your author's words.

Since you leave me no better handfast in Jerome and Ambrose for lay elders, I will requite you with the like for bishops, which is this: that as the church at first was governed by presbyters without lay elders; so was it likewise without bishops. If I forego the one, you must also forego the other; and then gain you little if bishops must be removed from the government of the church as well as lay elders. And this is so clear, that no cunning can obscure it.] I did all this while look when you would revive your spirits with this mithridate<sup>1</sup>; you were even at last cast with your lay elders. But if we cannot justify the state of bishops by the scriptures and fathers, better than you do lay elders, we will quietly disclaim them.

Jerome's words are wonderfully plain, that bishops in the apostles' times did not differ from presbyters; and are now above them rather by the custom of the church than by the truth of the Lord's disposition, and ought to rule the church in common.] I am so far from rejecting or declining Jerome's authority in this point, though he seem very favourable to you, that if you will stand to his censure, I will do the like; but before we wade deeper, let us lay forth the state of the question, that we may thereby perceive what the sacred scriptures and ancient fathers do confess or confute.

causa, cum presbyteris. Quid necesse est ut demus obtrectandi locum secularibus."]

<sup>1</sup> Thus L.: "Expectabam equidem

quando ruentem et prope desperatam laicorum seniorum causam hac machina fulcires et reficeres."

## CHAP. XII.

*To whom the apostles departing or dying left the government of the church ; whether equally to all presbyters, or chiefly to some ; and how far the conceits of late writers herein vary from the ancient fathers, whose words they pretend to follow.*

**T**HAT order and discipline are not only profitful, but also needful in the church of God, and as well amongst pastors and teachers, as learners and hearers, might many ways be confirmed, if it were not on all sides concorded. They that most dissent in the kind of government, do first agree on the use of government ; they would else not strive for that which might still be wanted, and never missed in the church of Christ. “Order,” saith Nazianzen, “is the mother and preserver of all things<sup>k</sup>.” The utility and necessity whereof, as in all states and creatures, so specially in the church of God, and in the pastors and governors thereof, he that liketh at large to examine, let him read Nazianzen’s oration plentifully and purposely written of that argument. Only I advise with him, that under a show of religion and zeal, “No man be wiser than he should, no man uprighter than the law, clearer than the light, straighter than the rule, nor forwarder than the commandment<sup>l</sup>.” If order and discipline be necessary for all persons and ages in the church of Christ, the government of the church must not cease with the apostles, but dure as long as the church continueth, that is, to the world’s end ; and consequently so much of the apostolic power, as is requisite for the perpetual regiment of the church, must remain to those that from time to time supply the apostles’ charge, and succeed in the apostles’ rooms.

Afore we enter to intreat of the first institution of bishops.

<sup>k</sup> Nazianz. de Moderatione in Disputationibus servanda. [Oratio xxvi. 448. Lutet. Par. 1609. Τάξις μήτηρ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσφάλεια.]

<sup>l</sup> Idem ut supra. [p. 446. Μηδεὶς οὖν

ἔστω πλέον ἢ καλῶς ἔχει σοφὸς, μηδὲ τοῦ νόμου νομιμώτερος, μηδὲ λαμπρότερος τοῦ φωτός, μηδὲ τοῦ κανόνος εὐθύτερος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ὑψηλότερος.]



we must carefully distinguish these three points: *the things* which must be derived from the apostles to their helpers and successors in all ages and churches; *the persons* to whom they were committed; and *the times* when. If we wander in these, we shall never get any certain resolution of the matter in question.

What the things are which must abide for ever in the church, I shewed before<sup>m</sup>; it shall suffice now to rehearse them; namely, "power to preach the word and administer the sacraments, the right use of the keys, and imposition of hands," for the placing of fit men to undertake the cure of souls, and removing of unfaithful and unfit men from infecting and offending the church. These must not fail in the church, so long as there is a church; for the want of any one of them is the confusion, if not subversion of the church. These four parts in this chapter, for brevity's sake, I often reduce to two branches, which are *doctrine* and *discipline*; comprising in doctrine the dividing of the word and dispensing of the sacraments; and referring the rest, I mean the public use of the keys and imposition of hands, to the discipline or regiment of the church.

The parties to whom these ecclesiastical duties might possibly be committed, we then also numbered, and found four sorts of them:—"the people, the lay elders, the presbyters, and the bishops." The people must needs be excluded from intermeddling with pastoral duties: for if all should be teachers, who should be hearers? if there were none but shepherds, what should become of the flock? He that hath put a difference betwixt the "stewards" and the "household," the *Matt. xxiv.* "labourers" and the "harvest," the "watchmen" and the *Luke x. 2.* "citizens," the "builders" and the "stones," the "sower" *Ezek. xxxiii. 2.* and the "ground," the "husbandmen" and the "tillage," the *1 Pet. ii. 4, 5.* "leaders" and the "followers," even the same Lord hath prohibited those degrees to be confounded, which he hath distinguished. "Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers?" I think not. "If the whole body were the eye," *1 Cor. xii. 17.* where were the hearing? if the whole were hearing, where *1 Cor. xii. 29. 17.*

<sup>m</sup> Supra chap. ix. p. 159.

were the smelling?" Intrusion upon men is injurious; upon Numb. xvi. God, is sacrilegious. The examples of Korah, whom the  
 32. earth swallowed; of Uzzah, stricken to death, and Uzziah,  
 2 Sam. vi. 7. plagued with the leprosy, for affecting and invading the priest's office, are well known. Chrysostom saith of the last, "He entered (the temple) to usurp the priesthood, and he lost his kingdom. He entered to become more venerable, and he became more execrable. So evil a thing it is not to abide within the bounds that God hath appointed us, either of honour or knowledge."

What I say of the people, I say likewise of lay elders, forsomuch as they are but a part of the people; and look what the whole is prohibited, every part is interdicted. If laymen may intermeddle with ecclesiastical functions, why not the people? If the people may not, why should the elders, since both are lay? If they renounce the execution, and challenge the supervision of ecclesiastical duties, they fly from one rock, and fall on another; they clear themselves from the word, and entangle themselves with the sword. Governors of the church that be neither ministers nor magistrates, I yet conceive none; if any man's skill be so good, that he can describe us a government betwixt both, that shall wrong neither, I would gladly give him audience. Howbeit we need not trouble our heads with the manner of government that lay elders must have distinct from the priest's and prince's calling, before we have better proof for the persons that shall enjoy this privilege. When you make it appear there were such officers in the church of Christ, we will then intreat you to bound out their office by the word of God, or writings of the ancient fathers: till then we stand resolved there were never such governors nor government established by the apostles, nor acknowledged by their after-comers in Christ's church. The places pretended both in scriptures and fathers for such elders we have leisurably perused and examined, and we find not so much as the footsteps of any lay elders. Presbyters we find and rulers, but no reason to lead

<sup>n</sup> Chrysost. de Verbis Esaiæ, Vidi Dominum, hom. v. [t. iii. 766. Εἰσῆλθεν ἱεροσύνην λαβεῖν, ὃ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπώλεσεν. εἰσῆλθε, γενέσθαι σεμνότερος, καὶ γέγονεν ἐναγέστερος. καὶ γὰρ ἰδιώτου

παντὸς λοιπὸν ἀτιμότερος ἦν ἀκάθαρτος ὢν. τοσοῦτόν ἐστι κακὸν, τὸ μὴ μένειν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῶν δοθέντων ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μέτρων, ἂν τε ἐπὶ τιμῆς, ἂν τε ἐπὶ γνώσεως τοῦτο ᾗ.]

they were lay presbyters or rulers. Against them we find all the Christian and ancient councils, laws, and fathers that ever mentioned any presbyters. If I shuffle any writers' words, or dazzle the reader's eyes, shew me the place, I will yield to mine error. In the mean time I take him to witness that is Judge of all secrets, I endeavoured to walk soundly and simply, without swaying or leaning to either side more than the evidence of the truth enforced me.

Two sorts are left, (for I still profess that lay elders were never admitted to meddle with any such matters,) to whom the apostolic power and charge, which must always remain in the church, may be communicated and imparted; and those are presbyters and bishops. By presbyters, I mean those whom all the catholic fathers and councils with one consent call *presbyteros*, placing them in the middle between bishops and deacons, when they divide the clergy into *episcopos*, *presbyteros*, *et diaconos*, "bishops, presbyters, and deacons." Lay elders I overskip as mere strangers to all antiquity. So that when I speak of presbyteries, I understand thereby the assemblies of such presbyters as were clergymen, and in every city assisted the bishop in the service of God, and advised the bishop in all other affairs of the church°. Thus much I premonish, lest the often use of the word *presbyter* in this chapter should either perplex or unsettle the reader.

The times must likewise be remembered. The apostles, both in teaching and governing the churches, when they were present had helpers; when they were absent, had substitutes; after their final departures or deaths, left successors. So that the *things* originally descending from the apostles and continually remaining in the church, are the charge of the word and sacraments, and the power of keys and hands; the *persons* to whom they were committed, either presbyters or bishops; the *times* when, the presence, absence, departure, or death of the apostles. If we neglect or confound these parts, we shall but rove in the air at the right government of the church; if we observe them, we shall force the question to an issue that will not deceive us. And first for the word and sacraments.

° Thus L.: "majoraque ecclesie negotia communi consilio pertractabant."

It may not be denied, but as the word and sacraments are the most essential seeds of the church, so the handling and sowing thereof in the Lord's ground must be the general and principal charge of all pastors and presbyters, that either feed or rule the flock of Christ: for whether they be "apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors," or "teachers," I mean such as

- Eph. iv. 11. Paul reckoneth to the Ephesians for the work of the ministry ;  
 Tit. i. 7. or as the Holy Ghost in other places calleth them "bishops" and "presbyters," this power is common to them all. With-  
 1 Pet. v. 1. out the word and sacraments, the "saints" are not "gathered,"  
 Acts xx. 17. the "church" is not "edified," "faith" is not "perfected,"  
 Eph iv. 12, 13. heaven is not opened ; wherefore in preaching the word and administering the sacraments, the scriptures know no difference betwixt pastors and teachers, bishops and presbyters. Had not our Saviour delivered both in one joint commission to his apostles when he willed them to go and "teach all nations baptizing them ;" Paul sheweth that preaching the word was of the twain the greater and worthier part of his  
 Matt. xxviii. 19. apostolic function : "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel ;" not that he might not or did not use both,  
 1 Cor. i. 17. but the latter was the chief. So "John preached the baptism of repentance," not dividing the offer of the word from the confirmation of the sacrament, but joining them both together as coherent and consequent the one to the other ; for God doth not send his messengers to make empty promises, but ratifieth the truth of his speech with the seals of his word, which are the sacraments. And therefore he that hath charge from God to preach the one, hath also leave to perform the other. Whom God hath placed in his church, that by his mouth we should believe, by his hands also we may be baptized, as appeareth by Philip converting and baptizing, not only the eunuch, but the whole city of Samaria ; and for that cause St. Austin justly calleth as well presbyters as bishops, "ministers of the word and sacraments".

A new distinction is lately devised, that pastors in St. Paul

August. Epist. lib. cxlviii. [t. ii. 687. "Quod si propterea in re ipsa didici quid sit homini necessarium, qui populo ministrat sacramentum et ver-

bum Dei, ut jam non mihi liceat assequi quod me non habere cognovi ; jubes ergo ut peream, pater Valeri."]

were such as had not only the word and sacraments, but also the church and charge of souls committed unto them; and teachers those that laboured in doctrine, but received no charge neither of sacraments, nor souls. Indeed, Ambrose taketh them for catechizers<sup>q</sup> of infants; and at Alexandria there were moderators<sup>r</sup> of schools resembling our universities for the training and instructing of such as in time were likely to profit the church of God, but these were not ecclesiastical functions in the church; they were profitable members of a commonwealth that so did, but no necessary workmen in the ministry. And though there were such for a season at Alexandria, yet all other cities and churches had not the like; and they that governed those schools and taught the catechumens there, as Pantenus, Clemens, and Origen, were laymen, and never used at Alexandria to teach the people in the church, as appeareth by Demetrius's words, then bishop of Alexandria, finding great fault with the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsaria, for suffering Origen, after he had been catechist at Alexandria, to expound the scriptures before the people in the church. His words are these: "It was never heard, nor ever suffered, that laymen should teach in the church in the presence of bishops<sup>s</sup>." With no face could the bishop of Alexandria have disliked Origen's fact, if it had been usual in his own church; and the bishops that wrote in defence of the matter do not avouch it was a general or perpetual rule in the church of Christ for a catechizer to teach in the church, but allege three instances where they saw the like used, and confess they knew no more. Wherefore, unless their examples and reasons were stronger and surer, I prefer the judgment of Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others before this late conceit, who think the apostle expressed one office by two names, to shew what things belonged to the pastoral

<sup>q</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. 354. "Magistri vero exorcistæ sunt, quia in ecclesia ipsi compescunt et verberant inquietos: sive ii qui lectionibus imbuendos infantes solebant imbuere, sicut mos Judæorum est, quorum traditio ad nos transitum fecit, quæ per negligentiam obsolevit."]

<sup>r</sup> Eusebii Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 10. [p. 142. "Ὁ γὰρ μὲν Πάνταϊνος ἐπὶ πολ-

λοῖς κατορθώμασι, τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τελευτῶν ἡγείται διδασκαλείου· ζῶσῃ φωνῇ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματίζόμενος.]

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 19. [p. 180. Προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέ ποτε ἠκούσθη· οὐδὲ νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς δόμιλειν.]



charge. Austin: "Pastors and doctors, whom you greatly desired I should distinguish, I think to be all one, as you do; not that we should conceive some to be pastors, others to be doctors, but therefore he subjoined doctors to pastors, that pastors might understand doctrine pertained to their office".<sup>n</sup> "Every pastor is a doctor," saith Jerome<sup>x</sup>. "Pastors and doctors," saith Chrysostom, "were (they) to whom the whole people were committed," and "they were inferior to those that went about preaching the gospel, because dwelling in more quietness, they were employed only in one place <sup>y</sup>." "(Paul) calleth them pastors and doctors," saith Theodoret, "which were deputed and fastened to a city or village <sup>z</sup>." Œcumenius: "(By pastors and teachers) Paul meaneth bishops to whom the churches were committed <sup>a</sup>."

But grant pastors and doctors were distinct offices in the church, as you imagine, what gain you by it? You may thereby prove an inequality of ecclesiastical functions, you

Heb. xiii.  
17.

prove nothing else. "Obey your overseers," saith Paul, "and be subject to them: they watch over your souls to give account (for them)." Obedience and subjection to the pastor is due from the whole flock, and all degrees thereof which are no pastors; but teachers, as you say, were no pastors; they were therefore inferior to pastors, and subject to their oversight. Now take your choice; if pastors were all one with doctors, you have lost one of those offices which you affirm to be perpetual in the church; if they were distinct from them, they were superiors unto them; and so betwixt ministers of the word (for such were teachers by St. Paul's rule) you establish a difference of degrees.

<sup>n</sup> August. Epist. lix. [t. ii. col. 290. "Pastores autem et doctores quos maxime ut discernerem voluisti, eosdem puto esse sicut et tibi visum est; ut non alios pastores, alios doctores intelligamus, sed ideo cum prædixisset, pastores, subjunxisse doctores, ut intelligerent pastores ad officium suum pertinere doctrinam."]

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [t. ix. 223. "Ut unus atque idem præses ecclesiæ, sit pastor et doctor."]

<sup>y</sup> Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. hom. ii. [t. xi. 957. Ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, τοὺς ὁλόκληρον ἐμπεπιστευμένους

ἔθνος. τί οὖν; οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ διδασκαλοὶ ἐλάττους; καὶ πάνν, τῶν περιόντων καὶ εὐαγγελιζομένων οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἡσυχολημένοι, οἷον Τιμόθεος, Τίτος.]

<sup>z</sup> Theodoreti Interpret. Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [Halæ. t. iii. p. 424. Ποιμένας δὲ καὶ διδασκάλους, τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην ἀφωρισμένους λέγει.]

<sup>a</sup> Œcumenius in Ephes. cap. iv. [Lutet. Par. 1631. t. ii. 36. τοὺς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένους λέγει, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, οἷος ὁ Τιμόθεος, οἷος ὁ Τίτος ἦν.]

Thus much for the word and sacraments ; the dispensing whereof no doubt was common to all apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers ; and so to presbyters and bishops, notwithstanding the moderation and oversight of those things were still reserved to the apostles, as well absent as present, even when the power and charge thereof was imparted to others.

The discipline and government of the church, I mean the power of the keys, and imposing hands, are two other parts of apostolic authority which must remain in the church for ever. These keys are double ; the key of knowledge annexed to the word, the key of power referred to the sacraments. Some late writers by urging the one, abolish the other ; howbeit I see no sufficient reason to countervail the scriptures and fathers that defend and retain both. The “key of knowledge” must not be doubted of, our Saviour in express words nameth it : “Wo be to you interpreters of the law ;” for ye “have Luke xi. 52. taken away the key of knowledge ; ye entered not in yourselves, and those that were coming in, you forbade.” The “key of power” standeth on these words of Christ to Peter : “I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and Matt. xvi. whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in <sup>19</sup> heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” And likewise to all his apostles : “What- Matt. xviii. soever ye bind in earth shall be bound in heaven : and what- <sup>18</sup> soever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” And after his resurrection in like manner to them all : “Receive John xx. 22, ye the Holy Ghost : whose sins soever ye remit, they are <sup>23</sup> remitted unto them ; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.” And lest we should understand these places of the preaching of the gospel, as some new writers do, St. Paul hath plain words that cannot be wrested to that sense. Speaking of the incestuous Corinthian that was excommunicated and delivered unto Satan, he saith : “Sufficient for that man is 2 Cor. ii. 6, this rebuking of many ; so that now contrariwise ye ought <sup>7, 10</sup> rather to forgive (him), and comfort (him), lest he be swallowed up with too much sorrow. To whom you forgive any thing, I also (forgive) : for if I forgave aught to any, I forgave it for your sakes in the sight of Christ.” As Paul

delivered this offender to Satan, and shut both the church and heaven against him, so now upon the detesting and forsaking of his sin, he restored him to the peace of the church, communion of the Lord's table, and hope of God's kingdom, from which before he was excluded. And, this Paul did, not by preaching the word unto the penitent, for as then he was absent from Corinth, but by "forgiving him in the sight of Christ" and his church, as by his apostolic power he might. Both these keys, the one of knowledge, the other of power, Ambrose mentioneth in his 66th sermon<sup>b</sup>, and likewise Origen, in his 25th tractate upon Matthew, adding a third key, where he saith: "Blessed are they that open the kingdom of heaven, either by their word, or by their good work; for living well, and teaching rightly the word of truth, they open the kingdom of heaven before men, whiles they enter themselves, and provoke others to follow<sup>c</sup>."

The meaning of these late writers, it may be, is not wholly to cast away the key of power, but only to draw the words of Christ, spoken to Peter and the rest of his apostles, rather to the preaching of the gospel, than to excluding from the sacraments; and yet to the church or presbytery they reserve the power of the keys, that is, full authority to excommunicate notorious and rebellious sinners. These men foresee that if the power of the keys be given to the apostles and their successors, then have lay elders (who do not succeed in the apostles' rooms and functions) nothing to do with the apostles' keys. Because this was enough to mar the lay presbytery, therefore the patrons thereof convey the words of Christ to another sense, and build the groundwork of excommunication upon the 18th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, where the church is named, and not the apostles. But this device is both a prejudice to the apostles, and a preamble to the lay presbytery, which all the catholic fathers with one voice contradict, as I have before at large declared<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Ambros. Sermo lxvi. [t. ii. 291. "Ambo igitur claves a Domino perciperunt, scientiæ iste, ille potentiae."]

<sup>c</sup> Origenis in Matthæum hom. xxv. in Matth. xxiii. [t. iii. fol. xlvii. "Beati autem qui aperiunt illud vel verbo vel

opere suo bono. . . . Bene enim viventes, et bene docentes verbum veritatis, aperiunt ante homines regnum cælorum. Et dum ipsi intrant, alios provocant introire."]

<sup>d</sup> Supra chap. ix. p. 166.

Omitting the lay burgesses of the church, as having no interest in the apostles' keys, it resteth in this place to be considered to whom those keys were committed, whether equally to all presbyters, or chiefly to pastors and bishops. The like must be done for imposition of hands; whether that also pertained indifferently to all, or specially to bishops. Before we make a full resolution to these questions, we must search the time when bishops first began, and by whom they were first ordained and authorized. In which inquisition we will begin with the report and opinion of the ancient fathers, and so descend to the positions and assertions of such as in our age impugn and gainsay the vocation and function of bishops.

Epiphanius' report is this; "The apostles could not suddenly settle all things. There was (present) need of presbyters and deacons; for by those two the necessities of the church might be supplied. Where there was none found worthy of the bishopric, the place remained without a bishop. But where there was need, and fit men found for the episcopal function, bishops were ordained. Every thing was not perfect from the beginning; but in process of time, things were fitted for the furnishing of (all) occasions; the church in this wise receiving the perfection of her government<sup>e</sup>."

Ambrose somewhat differing from Epiphanius saith; "Paul calleth Timothy created a presbyter by himself," or, with his own hands, "a bishop, because the first presbyters were called bishops; so as (the first) departing, the next succeeded him. But for that the presbyters which followed, began to be found unworthy to bear the chief regiment; the manner was changed, a council providing that not order but desert should make a bishop appointed by the judgment of

<sup>e</sup> Epiphanius contra Aerium lib. iii. hæres. 75. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 908. Οὐ γὰρ πάντα εὐθὺς ἡδυνήθησαν οἱ ἀποστολοι καταστήσαι· πρεσβυτέρων γὰρ ἐγένετο χρεία, καὶ διακόνων· διὰ γὰρ τῶν δύο τούτων τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά δύνανται πληροῦσθαι· ὅπου δὲ οὐχ εὐρέθη τις ἄξιος ἐπισκοπῆς, ἔμεινεν ὁ τόπος χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου. ὅπου δὲ γέγονε χρεία, καὶ ἦσαν ἄξιοι ἐπισκοπῆς, κατεστάθησαν ἐπίσκοποι· πλήθους δὲ μὴ ὄντος, οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτεροι καταστα-

θῆναι, καὶ ἠρκέσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον μόνῳ ἐπισκόπῳ· ἄνευ δὲ διακόνου, ἐπίσκοπον ἀδύνατον εἶναι. Καὶ ἐπεμελήσατο ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος διακόνους εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, οὕτω τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαβούσης τὰ πληρώματα τῆς οἰκονομίας· οὕτω κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιροῦ ἦσαν οἱ τόποι, καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστον πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ πάντα ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ προβαίνοντος τοῦ χρόνου τὰ πρὸς τελείωσιν τῶν χρειῶν κατησιζέτο.]



many priests, lest an unfit person should rashly usurp (the place) and be an offence to many <sup>f</sup>."

Jerome's opinion is evident by his words, which I repeated before, and in effect he affirmeth thus much; "Before there were factions in religion, a presbyter and a bishop were both one; and the care of the church was equally divided amongst many <sup>g</sup>:" but when the teachers and baptizers began to draw disciples after them, it was "decreed throughout the world," that to stop the rising of schisms and divisions, "one of the presbyters should be elected and exalted above the rest, to whom the whole care of the church should pertain;" and he was called a bishop or overseer. And "so by the custom of the church rather than by the truth of the Lord's disposition, bishops are greater than presbyters," with whom they "should rule the church in common." I have not altered or neglected any word in Jerome that is material.

Some of our time whom for their learning and pains in the church of God I otherwise reverence, though I follow not their judgment in this point, collect out of Ambrose<sup>h</sup> and Jerome, that in the apostles' times bishops did not differ from presbyters: only there was in every place a president of the presbytery, who called them together, and proposed things needful to be consulted of; and this kind of priority went round to all the presbyters, every man holding it by course for a season, (which some think was a week,) even as the priests of the law had their weekly courses to serve in the temple. This kind of moderating the presbyteries by course for a week or a month, they take to be apostolic; all other sorts of regiment used after in the church, they suppose to be

<sup>f</sup> Ambr. in Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. p. 355. "(Apostolus) Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur; ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet. Sed quia coeperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente concilio, ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum multorum sacerdotum iudicio constitutum ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum."]

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. in Tit. i. [t. ix. 245.] et in Epist. ad Evagrium. ["Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus: et ante-

quam diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ curæ pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."]

<sup>h</sup> In Responzione ad tractationem de Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii ab Hadriano Saravia editam.



men's inventions, and therefore they call the one form of government *divine*, the other *human*.

I could wish that in men of great gifts, affection and prejudice did not often overrule learning and judgment; but the greatest men in Christ's church (excepting always the apostles) have inclined some to private opinions, some to known errors: and therefore later writers must think it no dishonour to have their reasons weighed before they be received: for my understanding I would gladly learn, where I shall read, that bishops in the apostles' times governed by weeks or years; and that this kind of priority went by course in every place to all the presbyters. I see it alleged out of Ambrose, but I find no such thing affirmed by Ambrose. He saith, "The first," that is, the chiefest or eldest, "presbyters were called bishops, so as he departing (or leaving the place) the next succeeded him<sup>i</sup>." He doth not say, the first departed at the week's or year's end; nor the next succeeded, and so round every man in his course; but "when the first departed" or left his place, (as by death, deprivation, desertion, translation, persecution, continual sickness or any other occasion,) they did not choose another to succeed him, but the next in order and standing to him that departed, took his place. By this you may imagine that the apostles at the first in every place where they came, took care to order the presbyteries in such sort, that every man might be placed according to the measure of the gifts and graces, which he had received of the Holy Ghost, and withal appointed the eldest or first to moderate their meetings until further order should be taken: and when the place was void by death or otherwise, the next to succeed him without any other or further consent or election of the people or presbytery. But what can be more against Ambrose's words and sense, than that a weekly or monthly government went round about to all the presbyters by course, since he affirmeth, that not all, but only the first presbyters were bishops? If all were bishops by course, how could only the first have that place? if all were first, who was second or third? By *primi*

<sup>i</sup> Ambros. in Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. 355. "Primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet."]

*presbyteri*, “the first presbyters,” he doth not mean all the presbyters that were in the first age of the church under the apostles; for then they should all be bishops, and none presbyters, which is a contradiction in the very words; but by *primus* and *sequens*, “the first” and “the next,” he meant those that were so placed in order by the apostles.

Let Ambrose himself tell you so much. “He is a bishop, which is first amongst the presbyters, so that every bishop is a presbyter, but every presbyter is not a bishop. (For example), Paul signifieth that he made Timothy a presbyter, but because he had none other before him, he was a bishop. Whereupon (Paul) sheweth him how he should ordain a bishop; for it was neither meet nor lawful, that the inferior should ordain the greater (or superior). No man can give that which he hath not received<sup>k</sup>.” Every presbyter was not a bishop, saith Ambrose; *ergo*, that office went not round by course along all the presbyters. Again, Timothy was therefore a bishop, because he had none other before him; but if they went round by order, Timothy had many weeks another above him, and afore him, and then Timothy was no bishop, but when his course came. Thirdly, if every presbyter were a bishop in his turn, how fond a reason were this, which Ambrose maketh, that Timothy must be a bishop before he could impose hands to ordain a bishop; since it is not lawful for an inferior to ordain his superior, and no man could give that which he had not received. For if that office went by order, every man received episcopal power to impose hands in his course, and consequently might give it. Wherefore it is no part of Ambrose’s meaning or saying, that the episcopal honour and dignity was in the apostles’ times imparted to all the presbyters of every church in their turns; each of them enjoying it a week or a year; it is a dream of yours, and so far from all proof and likelihood, that for your learning and credit’s sake you should not father it on Ambrose. What Ambrose proveth

<sup>k</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. i. cap. 3. [t. v. 402. “Sed episcopus primus est, ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non omnis presbyter episcopus. Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est. Denique Timotheum presbyterum ordinatum significat: sed, quia ante se

alterum non habebat, episcopus erat. Unde et quemadmodum episcopum ordinet, ostendit. Neque enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ordinaret majorem. Nemo enim tribuit quod non accepit.”]

for us against the main grounds of your new discipline, in place where, we will not forget.

To return to the ancient fathers, and sincerely to view their reports without shortening or lengthening them for either side, Epiphanius' speech is in part clear, in part obscure. I observe three points in him that appear to be true, and accord with the judgment of the rest of the fathers. The first is, the apostles could not at the new planting of the churches settle and dispose all things in such perfection, as in time they did. So saith Ambrose: "After that churches were established in all places, and offices (distinguished, or) digested, they took another order than at beginning<sup>1</sup>." And why? The first regard the apostles had, was to gain unbelievers to Christ; the second, to govern such as were gained. And these two respects might best be performed by two contrary courses. To increase the church, the more workmen the better. For when "the harvest is great," if "the labourers be few," the rooms Luke x. 2. cannot be filled. To guide the church, the fewer the better, except it be with counsel to advise. For divers men have divers minds and divers meanings, and in a multitude of governors, emulation and dissension are no rare springs. Wherefore no marvel though the apostles took besides themselves as many helpers as they could to convert the world unto Christ; and yet took not unto themselves as many rulers as they could in every place to govern the believers. By order of nature men must be gotten together, afore they need be governed; and so in the building of the church the number of preachers at the first was more requisite than the choice of governors. And for that cause Epiphanius' second position is very true, that presbyters and deacons) the one to labour in the word and dispense the sacraments, the other to relieve the poor and attend to divine service) were every where appointed by the apostles. These were sufficient to begin the churches, and these were fittest to increase the church. And therefore in many places, the apostles left none other but these. If you ask, who then governed the churches in those beginnings? I answer, the flock was both augmented and

<sup>1</sup> Ambros. in Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. aliter composita res est, quam cœperat.]  
355. "Postquam omnibus locis ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ et officia ordinata,

Acts xv. 36.  
xiv. 23.

directed by the presbyters that laboured in the word. The chief government to impose hands and deliver unto Satan rested yet in the apostles, who often visited the churches which they planted, and ordained presbyters (as they passed) to supply the wants of every church. The third point in Epiphanius' report is this; that although it be not extant in the apostles' writings, that in every place where they came at first they left bishops; yet the scriptures do witness that Paul furnished some places with bishops, as Ephesus and Crete with Timothy and Titus. Thus far I see not what you can refel in Epiphanius.

Perchance you will deride Epiphanius' simplicity, that could not discern betwixt an evangelist and a bishop; for (as you maintain) Timothy and Titus were evangelists and not bishops, and had an extraordinary and no ordinary calling. You cannot charge Epiphanius with ignorance in this behalf, but you must do the like to the eldest and best learned fathers of the primitive church, namely, Eusebius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Œcumenius, Primasius and others; which affirm as Epiphanius doth, that Timothy was a bishop ordained by St. Paul: but thereof anon; as also whether an evangelist might be a bishop or no; which conclusions of yours, though they be most feeble and unsure, yet they be lately taken up for oracles.

That which may be doubted in Epiphanius is this. The cause why bishops wanted in some places was, saith he, the lack of fit men to bear the office. It may be some will think it strange, that amongst so many prophets, pastors and teachers as were in most of those churches which Paul planted, not a fit man could be found for the episcopal function, and yet afterward meet men were found for all the churches in the world; but as that which Epiphanius saith, might be some cause of wanting bishops at the first; so, if I be not deceived, there were other causes that moved the apostles not straight-ways to place bishops in every church where they preached, which I will specify, when the testimonies of Ambrose and Jerome be thoroughly perused.

Ambrose at first sight seemeth somewhat to dissent from Epiphanius, in that he thinketh the churches had both pres-

byters and bishops left them by the apostles; and the presbyters were placed in an order, according to the deserts and worthiness of each man, by the apostles and others that founded the churches; and this rule delivered, that as the first and chiefest presbyter (who was bishop in name, and superior in calling to the rest) failed, so the next should succeed in his room, and enjoy the episcopal chair and power after his departure. And when some presbyters did not answer the expectation which was had of them, but scandalized the church, that course of standing in order to succeed was changed, and bishops were chosen by the judgment and liking of many priests, to cut off unworthy and offensive men from the place. I could admit this report of Ambrose, but that he expresseth not when, and by whom this change began, he saith, *Prospiciente concilio*, "A council (foreseeing or) providing, that not order but merit should create a bishop;" but what council? If he meant a council of the apostles, which is not expressed, but may well be intended, (for the world stand indifferent to any council,) no testimony can be weighier for bishops than this of Ambrose, which is brought against them. If he meant others after the apostles' deaths, what authority had they to change the apostolic government, or by their decree to bind the whole world? But this I reserve till Jerome's witness be repeated and examined.

Jerome in his words before cited<sup>m</sup> avoucheth three special things. First, that till dissensions sprang in the church, "bishops and presbyters were all one, and the churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters, amongst (whom) the care of the church was equally divided." Next, that to root out schisms rising very fast through the preachers' and presbyters' factions, "by a decree throughout the whole world, one of the presbyters was chosen" in every church, "and set over the rest," and to him "the whole care of the church did" ever after "appertain." Thirdly, that this "subjection of the presbyters" under the bishop, and "majority of bishops" above presbyters, grew "rather by the custom of the church, than by the truth of the Lord's disposition," for they "should rule the church in common."



These words of Jerome may be either very true according to the time that they be referred unto, or very false. If you so construe Jerome, that all the while the apostles lived, bishops were all one with presbyters, and had no more charge nor power in the church than presbyters; you make Jerome contradict the scriptures, himself, and the whole array of all the ancient fathers and apostolic churches, that ever were since Christ's time; for all these affirm and prove the contrary. But if you so expound Jerome that the apostles for a time suffered the presbyters to have equal power and care in guiding the church (themselves always sitting at the stern, and holding the helve whiles they were present in those parts of the world) till by the factions and divisions of so many governors the churches were almost rent in pieces; and thereupon the apostles forced, did set another order in the church than was at first, and with the good liking of all the churches, (either troubled with contentions, or justly fearing the like events in time to come,) did commit each place to one pastor, leaving the rest to consult and advise with him for the health and peace of the people, and by this example taught the whole church what perpetual rule to observe after their deaths; Jerome saith as much as I can or do desire. I come now to the quick; let the Christian reader mark this issue well in God's name, and what side bringeth soundest and surest proofs, there let the verdict go.

Jerome proveth by many scriptures, that a presbyter and bishop were names indifferent, and often used to the same persons. Paul calling for the presbyters of Ephesus said unto them, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath set you ἐπισκόπους, (overseers, or) bishops to feed the church of God." Inscribing his epistle to the Philippians, he saith, "To all the saints which are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons." And so to Titus: "I left thee in Crete to ordain presbyters in every city, if any be unrepvable: for a bishop must be unrepvable." Peter likewise writing to the Jews dispersed, saith, "The presbyters which are amongst you I beseech, which am also a presbyter: feed the flock of God committed to you, ἐπισκοποῦντες, overseeing it, not constrainedly, but willingly."

Act. xx.  
28.

Philipp. i.  
1.

Tit. i. 5.

1 Pet. v. 1,  
2.

All the presbyters that fed the flock are in these places called bishops : I grant it fully ; the words are clear. What hence conclude you ? *ergo*, the offices were then all one ? Nay, *ergo*, the names then were common. Otherwise, how think you by this argument ? Peter calleth himself *συμπρεσβύτερος*, “ a fellow presbyter ” with the rest ; are therefore the 1 Pet. v. 1. apostleship and the presbytership both one office ? Of Judas Peter saith in the Acts *τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ*, “ his bishopric let Acts i. 20. another take.” Will you grant, that an apostle doth not differ from a bishop ? Admit you the one, and I will receive the other. Names may be common, though offices be distinct.

There were then at Ephesus, and amongst the dispersed Jews no bishops, but such as were presbyters ; and they many, not one.] Distinguish the times, and the scriptures will agree. There was a time (as Jerome telleth you) when the “ churches were governed by the common advice of the presbyters.” In this time spake Paul to the presbyters of Ephesus, in this time wrote Peter to the presbyters amongst the Jews. After this, the factions of the teachers caused the apostles to establish another kind of government, and to commit the chief care of each church, which they had planted, to some chosen person that should oversee the flock as pastor of the place<sup>m</sup>, the rest being his helpers to disperse the word, and advisers to govern the church.

If you prove that, you say somewhat to the matter.] If I prove it not better than you do your lay elders, I am content to renounce the one, as I do the other.

Will you prove it by the scripture ?] I will so prove it, as you shall not refuse it, unless you reject both the book and church of God.

What will you prove ?] That the apostles in their lifetime did institute one pastor to take the chief care of one church ; and consequently the change which Jerome speaketh of, from the common and equal regiment of presbyters, to the particular and pre eminent moderation of the churches in each place by bishops, was not made after the apostles were dead, but whiles they lived ; and then of force by their decree ; for

<sup>m</sup> Thus L. : “electo uno aliquo singulari fide et doctrina prædito, qui ad clavum ecclesiæ cujuslibet sederet,”

during their times none might interpose themselves to change and alter the form of the church discipline settled by them, without their leave and allowance.

If it were ever decreed by them, it would be found in their writings, and that it cannot. Besides, had it been their doing, it might justly be called God's disposition and ordinance, which Jerome saith it may not.] Their doctrine indeed doth plainly appear by their writings; their successors do not. For how should the apostles declare by their pens who succeeded them after their deaths? Is not the whole church of Christ a lawful and sufficient witness in that case? If we believe not the churches, that were directed and ordered by the apostles' preaching and presence, nor their scholars that lived with them, and next succeeded in their rooms, who that wise is will believe our bare surmises and silly conjectures of things done 1500 years before we were born? Yet if the scriptures do not signify so much, we will lose it. But before I enter to prove it, I will search out the right cause why the apostles did not in every place where they came presently erect bishops to govern the churches which they planted.

The reasons why the apostles did not at the first preaching of the gospel commit the churches to the regiment of bishops, I find were these three. First: they reserved the chief power of imposing hands and punishing notorious offenders to themselves, whom Christ made bishops and overseers of his church. For though to feed, lead, and attend the flock, they took the presbyters to be their helpers, yet the weightiest matters of the church, as giving the graces of God's Spirit, and delivering unto Satan, they retained in their own hands, so long as they were in those places or parts of the world. The second is, that which Epiphanius noted, that although there were many endued with excellent gifts to preach the word, yet the apostles would trust none with the chief charge of the churches, till they had fully seen and perfectly tried, as well the soundness of their minds, as greatness of their gifts. Thirdly, lest they should seem to seek the advancing of their followers more than the converting of unbelievers, they suffered the churches to take a trial what equality of many governors would do; and when the fruits thereof

proved to be dissension and confusion, the apostles were forced to commit the churches at their departures to certain tried and approved men to be chief pastors of the several places, and the churches were all as willing to receive them, finding by experience what continual schisms and heresies grew by the perverseness of teachers, and could not be repressed by the confused government of the presbyters, which were many in number, and equal in power.

None of these things are expressed in the scriptures.] If the fathers alone did witness them, say we not much more for bishops than you do for lay elders! but you shall see the grounds of their reports testified even in the scriptures. That the apostles, at the first planting of the churches, kept to themselves the power of imposing hands and delivering unto Satan, which the fathers call episcopal power, is no news in the scriptures; they could not lose that, unless they lost their apostleship withal: you must shew by the scriptures where they committed this power to the presbyters of every place; or else our assertion standeth good that they retained it to themselves. For of their having it there is no doubt; of their committing it to the presbyters of every church there is no proof. And therefore the fathers do utterly deny that the apostles delivered that power to any but to bishops. Their proofs be stronger than you take them for, howsoever you will shift them.

There were presbyters at Ephesus besides Timothy, and in Crete besides Titus, and yet Paul left the one at Ephesus to "impose hands," and the other in Crete to "ordain presbyters" in every city. If without them the presbyters of either place might have done it, superfluous was both Paul's charge they should do it, and direction how they should do it. But his committing that power and care to them proveth, in the judgment of the ancient fathers, that the presbyters without them could not do it. Evangelists you say they were, and not bishops. Admit they were. Then as yet neither Ephesus nor Crete had any that might impose hands, and yet had they presbyters; and consequently this power to impose hands was at that time reserved from the presbyters to the apostles and their deputies.

St. Paul saith most apparently the presbytery might impose hands, for Timothy received from them imposition of hands.] I have told you already, that take the word how you will, you can prove no such thing thence. If it signify there the degree of a presbyter which Timothy then received, as Jerome expoundeth the place, it cometh nothing near your purpose. If you take it for the assembly then gathered, when Timothy was ordained, Chrysostom telleth you they were more than presbyters, for otherwise they could not lay hands on Timothy to make him a bishop. Chrysostom, you think, erred in not expounding the place as you do. Then give St. Paul leave to tell you that he was present in the presbytery when Timothy was ordained, and that he "imposed hands" on Timothy. But this I have handled before, to which I refer you; I only now put you in mind, that place will bear no such conclusion.

2 Thess.  
iii. 14.

1 Cor. iv.

21.

2 Cor. xii.

20., xiii. 2.

And as the apostles reserved imposition of hands from the presbyters to themselves, so did they keep the delivering of offenders unto Satan in their own power. "If any obey not our sayings, note him by a letter," saith Paul, "and keep no company with him." To what end should they note him by a letter unto Paul, unless Paul had reserved the punishing of such offenders unto himself? "Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in the spirit of meekness?" "If I come again, I will not spare (such as) have heretofore sinned, and not repented." I trust this be plain enough to prove that the apostles kept the punishing of sins to themselves, and referred them not over to the presbyters.

The apostles having of this power doth not exclude the presbyters from having the same; for at Corinth Paul not only willeth the church to excommunicate that incestuous sinner, but rebuketh them for not doing it before he wrote.] Paul doth not reprove them for not delivering that sinner unto Satan, but for "not sorrowing" that he might have been put from among them. Had they written of this notorious offence when they wrote of other things to the apostle, that he might have considered of the offender's punishment, they had done their duties: they could maintain factions, and swell one against another through pride of their gifts; but

1 Cor. v. 2.



they did not sorrow to see so grievous a crime committed and continued in the eyes both of believers and infidels; nor so much as signify the same by their letters, as desiring to have such a one excluded from their Christian fellowship. This the apostle chargeth them with; he goeth no further. They should have “noted him by a letter” unto Paul, and kept no company with him, till the apostle had decreed what to do with him. 2 Thess. iii. 14.

All this doeth you no good: for the apostles neither were nor could be bishops.] I am sure all the fathers with one mouth affirm the apostles both might be and were bishops. Cyprian: “The Lord himself chose the apostles, that is, the bishops<sup>n</sup>.” “The apostles are bishops<sup>o</sup>,” saith Ambrose. “At Rome the first were Peter and Paul, both apostles and bishops<sup>p</sup>,” saith Epiphanius. “James,” saith Chrysostom, “had the office of a bishop at Jerusalem<sup>q</sup>.” And so Eusebius: “James was the first that after the ascension of our Saviour had the episcopal seat (at Jerusalem)<sup>r</sup>.” Jerome himself, that is thought to speak much against the state of bishops, saith: “Peter after the bishopric of Antioch held the sacerdotal chair at Rome<sup>s</sup>.” And again: “James, called the Lord’s brother, after the Lord’s passion was straight ordained bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles<sup>t</sup>.” Theodoret: “(Paul) sheweth plainly that (Epaphroditus) had the episcopal function committed to him, by calling him an apostle<sup>u</sup>.” What need we more? I remembered you before Peter himself calleth

<sup>n</sup> Cyprian. lib. iii. epist. 9. [ep. 3. p. 6. Oxon. 1682. “Meminisse autem diaconi debent, quoniam apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit.”]

<sup>o</sup> Ambros. in Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. 354. “Apostoli episcopi sunt.”]

<sup>p</sup> Epiphanius. advers. Hæreses, lib. i. hæres. xxvii. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 107. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι.]

<sup>q</sup> Chrysost. in Act. Apost. cap. i. homil. iii. [t. ix. p. 31. Καὶ ὅρα τὴν ἐπιείκειαν Ἰακώβου. αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις, καὶ [ὅμως] τότε οὐδὲν διαλέγεται.]

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 5. [p. 59. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε Ἰακώβου τοῦ τὸν αὐτόθι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον, πρῶτον

μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένων.]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Catal. Scriptorum Ecclesiast. in Petro. [t. i. 262. “Post episcopatum Antiochenis ecclesiæ. . . . Romam pergit, ibique vigintiquinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit.”]

<sup>t</sup> Ibidem in Jacobo. [“Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini. . . post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus.”]

<sup>u</sup> Theod. in Epist. ad Philipp. cap. i. [Hæc. 8vo. 1771. t. iii. p. 445. Τὸν δὲ γε μακάριον Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν κέκληκεν ὑμῶν γάρ, φησιν, ἀπόστολον, καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς χρείας μου. σαφῶς τοίνυν ἐδίδαξεν, ὥς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευτο ἔχων ἀποστολῶν προηγούμενων.]

Acts i. 20. the apostleship “a bishopship.” And why not? if ἐπισκοπεῖν be to oversee the Lord’s flock, who better deserved that name than the apostles?

They were more than bishops.] So were they more than presbyters, and yet St. Peter could tell how to speak, when he called himself *συμπρεσβύτερον*, “a presbyter,” as well as others.

Bishops are overseers but of one place, apostles of many.] Bishops were fastened to one place, not by the force of their name, but by the order of the Holy Ghost, who sent apostles to oversee many places, and settled pastors to oversee one: but he that is overseer of twenty cities, is overseer of every one. And therefore the apostles were bishops, and more

Matt. xi. 9. than bishops, even as John was “more than a prophet,” and yet “a prophet.”

Matt. xxi.  
26. Luke i.  
76.

Confound you their offices? I keep them distinct, in that I say, every apostle was a prophet, a bishop, and a presbyter; but not every presbyter, bishop, or prophet was an apostle.

1 Cor. iv. 1. They were all “the ministers of Christ, feeders of his flock, and stewards of his mysteries;” but the apostles in a greater measure of grace, higher manner of calling, and mightier force of God’s Spirit than the rest. And whatsoever becometh of the names, it cannot be denied but the apostles had that power of imposing hands, and delivering unto Satan, which they after imparted unto bishops. And therefore whiles they remained in or near the places where they planted churches, there was no such need of bishops; the apostles always supplying the wants of those churches with their presence, letters, or messengers, as the cause required. But when they were finally to forego those parts, then began they to provide for the necessity and security of the churches, and left such fit men as they had, with episcopal power, as their substitutes to guide the churches which they had founded.

The second cause why bishops were not every where trusted with the churches at the first erecting thereof, is that which Epiphanius remembereth, and Paul toucheth in many places.

Philipp. ii. 19—21. “I trust to send Timotheus shortly unto you. I have no man like minded, who will faithfully care for your matters. For all seek their own, and not that which is Jesus Christ’s.” And

to Timothy ; “ This thou knowest, that all they which are in <sup>2 Tim. i.</sup> Asia be turned from me.” “ At my first answering, no man <sup>15.</sup> assisted me, but all forsook me. Demas hath forsaken me and <sup>2 Tim. iv.</sup> embraced this present world.” Wherefore Epiphanius’ surmise, that the scarcity of tried and approved men was some cause why every place was not furnished at the first with a bishop, is neither unlikely nor unpertaining to the purpose. <sup>16. 10.</sup>

The third reason I take to be this ; that as presbyters to labour in the word and augment the church were presently needful, the harvest being no less than the whole world ; and bishops to moderate the number of teachers, and to oversee as well the feeders as the flock, were not so requisite whiles the apostles (who took care of those things themselves) preached in or near the places ; so the wisdom of God would not impose that form of government on the church, but after long trial and good experience, what need the churches should have of it. This course he observed with the people of Israel, not straightway to associate the seventy elders unto Moses ; but to let them alone until Moses was wearied with the burden, and the multitude grieved for want of despatch, and Jethro seeing the judge afflicted with pains and the people discontented with delays, advised another way ; which the whole assembly liked, God confirmed, and Moses executed. In like manner Christ suffered his church to try, whiles his apostles yet lived, what equality and plenty of governors would work in every place ; and when it fell out in proof, upon the apostles’ absence, that so many leaders, so many followers, so many rulers, so many factions, cut every church in sunder ; the apostles were forced (“ the world,” as Jerome saith, “ decreeing it,” that is, the faithful “ throughout the world” being therewith contented and thereof desirous) to commit their places and churches not to presbyters in common and equal authority, but to their disciples and followers (whom afterward they called bishops) in a superiority, leaving unto them as unto their successors the chiefest honour and power of imposing hands and using the keys, and resting specially on their care and pains to oversee both teachers and believers, though the presbyters were not excluded from

helping and assisting them to feed and guide the flock of Christ.

This you say: but Jerome saith, It was not the Lord's disposition by his apostles, but rather a decree and custom of the church, that first made bishops to differ from presbyters.] Jerome saith it was decreed throughout the world, to change the equality of presbyters into the superiority of bishops\*: by whom it was so decreed, he doth not mention in this place; but if I prove, as well by the scriptures, as by Jerome himself, and the rest of the fathers, that this change began in the apostles' times, and was both seen and approved by them; I evince it to be an apostolic ordinance.

Then must it also be divine, which Jerome denieth.] What Jerome meaneth by "the truth of the Lord's ordinance," I will after examine; I must prove in order, I shall else but confound both myself and the reader. In the mean time I make this reason out of Jerome: When the schisms of presbyters began dangerously to tear the churches in pieces, then were the churches committed to the chief and preeminent charge of one; but those schisms and factions troubled all the churches, even in the apostles' times; under them therefore began the change of government which Jerome speaketh of.

At Corinth indeed there were contentions, who were baptized of the greatest men, which Jerome doth exemplify; but the factions must be more general and deadly that should cause an alteration of government throughout the world.] So there were even in the apostles' times. To those of Corinth he saith, "When you come together in the church, I hear there are dissensions amongst you; and I believe it in part. For there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved amongst you might be known." And when he saith, there must be heresies amongst you to manifest the good from the bad, he meaneth not only at Corinth, but every where; which came to pass accordingly. To the Romans he saith; "Mark them diligently, which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and

1 Cor. xi.  
18, 19.

Rom. xvi.  
17.

Galat. i. 6, avoid them." Amongst the Galatians were "some that in-  
7; iii. 1.

\* Thus L.: "Ut unus reliquis præponeretur:"

tended to pervert the gospel of Christ, and to carry them into another doctrine, bewitching them that they should not obey the truth." To the Philippians; "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workmen: many walk, of whom I told you often, and tell you now weeping, that are enemies of the cross of Christ: whose end is damnation, whose god is their belly, and glory to their shame, which mind earthly things." With the Colossians were some that "burdened" the churches "with traditions, even with the commandments and doctrines of men," and, "holding not the head, advanced themselves in those things which they never saw, and rashly puffed up with fleshly minds (beguiled the simple) with a show of humbleness and worshipping of angels." At Thessalonica, the resurrection of the dead was impugned; and some "troubled" the people "with visions," with feigned "messages," and forged "letters" in the apostle's name, "as if the day of Christ were at hand." It came to pass in every place which Paul foretold the presbyters of Ephesus: "This I know," saith he, "that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in amongst you, not sparing the flock. Yea of your own selves shall rise men speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them." Neither were the Gentiles only subject to this danger, but the Jews also, as Peter forewarned them: "There shall be false teachers amongst you, which privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath bought them, and many shall follow their damnable ways; and through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you." And so John: "Even now there are many antichrists: many false prophets and deceivers are gone out into the world."

To prevent these deceivers, and repress these perverse teachers, Paul was forced, while he lived and laboured in other places, to send special substitutes to the churches most endangered; and by their pains and oversight to cure the sores and heal the wounds, which these pestilent and unquiet spirits had made. So at Ephesus, when the teachers and doctors began to "affirm they knew not what, even profane and doting fables, whose word did fret as a canker, and crept into houses leading captive simple women laden with

Philipp. iii.  
2, 18, 19.

Coloss. ii. 8,  
18, 19, 22.

2 Thess. ii.

Ibid.

Acts xx. 29,  
30.

2 Pet. ii.  
1-3.

1 John ii.  
18. iv. 1.  
2 John 7.

1 Tim. i. 7.  
1 Tim. iv. 7.  
2 Tim. ii.  
17.  
2 Tim. iii. 6.



2 Tim. iv. sins, and led with divers lusts ; and others having itching ears  
 3, 4. gat them teachers after their own lusts, and turned their ears  
 2 Tim. ii. from the truth to fables ;" Paul sent Timothy thither to " stay  
 16. these profane and vain babblings," to " command that they  
 1 Tim. i. 3. taught no strange doctrine," to " impose hands" on such as  
 1 Tim. v. were fit, to " receive accusations against" sinful and ungodly  
 22. presbyters, and to " rebuke them openly" according to their  
 1 Tim. v. deserts, to " reject" young and wanton " widows," and to see  
 19. true " labourers in the word" honoured and cherished, and  
 1 Tim. v. 20. finally to oversee the whole house of God and every part  
 1 Tim. v. 17. thereof, as well teachers and presbyters, as deacons, widows,  
 and hearers. And not only instructed him how he should  
 1 Tim. iii. " behave himself" as a governor in the church, but " charged  
 15. him before the living God and his elect angels, that he ob-  
 1 Tim. v. served those things without respecting persons, or any in-  
 21. clinning to parts." Likewise in Crete, when " many vain  
 Titus i. 10. talkers and deceivers of minds, subverted whole houses," and  
 Tit. i. 11. loaded the church " with Jewish fables and commandments  
 Tit. i. 14. of men ;" Paul left Titus there to " redress" things amiss, to  
 Tit. i. 5. " stop their mouths that taught things which they ought not  
 Tit. i. 11. for filthy lucre's sake," to " stay foolish questions and con-  
 Tit. iii. 9. tentions about the law," to " reject heretics after one or two  
 Tit. iii. 10. admonitions," and " sharply to rebuke with all authority, not  
 Tit. ii. 15. suffering any man to despise him ;" as also to " ordain" good  
 Tit. i. 5, 9. and religious " presbyters and bishops in every city," that  
 should be " able to exhort with wholesome doctrine," and  
 " improve gainsayers." And here first did Paul by writing  
 express, that he placed substitutes where need was, with epi-  
 scopal power and honour to guide and rule the church of  
 God.

These examples make nothing to your purpose ; for, first, they did none of these, but with the advice and consent of the presbytery ; which bishops do not : next, they were evangelists and no bishops, and in that respect might have this special deputation from the apostle.] It may be your learning will serve you to say, that Paul left both these to rule the church in Crete and at Ephesus for a week, and in their order, as the rest of the presbyters did ; but such tests, if you dare adventure them. will crack both your cause and your

credit<sup>xx</sup>. Paul belike prayed Timothy to stay at Ephesus to call the presbytery together and to ask voices, and to do just what pleased the rest to decree ; but if you elude and frustrate the words of the apostle with such additions, not only besides, but against the text, you can deceive none save such as will not believe St. Paul himself if he should speak against the lay presbytery. For our parts we take the words as they stand, and so did the catholic fathers before us ; being persuaded that Paul had wit enough to discern to whom he should write for the performance of these things, and not to mistake Timothy for the presbytery. If Timothy had nothing else to do, but to consult what pleased the presbyters to determine in every of these points, how childish an oversight was it for Paul to skip the whole bench of them, and to charge and adjure him to see these precepts inviolably kept without sparing or fearing any man !

For thus you must expound, or rather imprison and fetter every word that Paul speaketh in those three epistles. "Command with all authority ;" "Receive not an accusation against a presbyter, but under two or three witnesses ;" "Rebuke them that sin ;" "Reject heretics after two warnings ;" "Refuse younger widows ;" "Stay vain contentions and unprofitable questions ;" "Ordain elders in every city ;" "Impose hands hastily on no man," that is, as you interpret, Call the presbytery together, and ask them whether they be contented it shall be so or no. And so, "I adjure and charge thee before God and Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these precepts inviolable and unblameable ;" that is, observe them if the presbytery will consent and agree unto thee, else not. But I think you dare not stand to these mockeries of the scriptures ; and therefore you will rather fly to the second part of your answer, that they were authorized to do these things, as evangelists, and not as bishops.

We expressed so much, that they were evangelists, and no bishops.] Evangelists you should say and bishops ; for when they left following the apostles, and were affixed to certain places with this power and authority which I have mentioned,

<sup>xx</sup> Thus L. : "*Cæterum nisi his fabulis desinatis, non causæ solum, sed nominis etiam vestri jacturam facietis.*"

what else could they be but bishops? They assisted the apostles present, and supplied their absence, and did continue the churches in that state in which the apostles left them. Now if the apostles, in respect of this power and care, were bishops when they stayed in any place; much more the evangelists. If the same fidelity and authority be still needful, and therefore perpetual in the church of God; they did these things, not by their evangelistical calling, which is long since ceased, but by their episcopal, which yet doth and must remain. For if this power and preeminence descended from them to their successors; it is evident this commission and charge was episcopal, since no part of their evangelship was derived to their aftercomers.

We cannot endure to have them called or counted bishops<sup>y</sup>.] Indeed, if succession of episcopal power came from the apostles to them, and so to their successors, we shall soon conclude that bishops came from the apostles, and therefore you do wisely to resist it: but by your patience you must endure it, the best stories and writers of the primitive church do make them bishops, and likewise Paul's precepts to them, the very patterns of episcopal charge and duty. "Timothy," saith Eusebius, *ιστορεῖται*, "is by the stories reported to be the first that took the bishopric of Ephesus, as Titus also did of the churches in Crete<sup>xy</sup>." Jerome, (whose words you strongly press to prove there were no bishops in the apostles' times, but such as were equal with presbyters and not superiors unto them,) saith, "Timothy was ordained bishop of Ephesus by blessed Paul; and Titus bishop of Crete preached the gospel there, and in the islands round about<sup>z</sup>." Ambrose: "(Paul) by his epistle instructeth Timothy, now created a bishop, how he ought to order the church<sup>a</sup>." And so of the

y Added L.: "Laudo equidem consilium vestrum."

yy Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 4. [p. 58. Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι· ὥς δὲ τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν.]

z Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. [t. i. 265. "Timotheus autem Ephesium episcopus ordinatus a beato Paulo, ex gentibus erat, non ex circumcisione."

"Titus episcopus Crætæ in eadem et in circumjacentibus insulis prædicavit evangelium Christi."]

a Ambrosii in Ep. i. ad Tim. Præfatio. [t. v. 397. "Hunc ergo jam creatum episcopum instruit per epistolam quomodo deberet ecclesiam ordinare."] Ejusd. in Ep. ad Tit. Præfatio. [t. v. 419. "Titum apostolus consecravit episcopum et ideo commonet eum ut sit sollicitus in ecclesiastica ordinatione."]

other: "The apostle had consecrated Titus to be a bishop, and therefore he warneth him to be careful in ecclesiastical ordination." Chrysostom: "Paul saith in his epistle to Timothy, 'Fulfil thy ministry,' when he was now a bishop; for that (Timothy) was a bishop, (Paul) declareth by his writing thus unto him, 'Lay hands hastily on no man'." And again, "Which was given thee by the imposition of hands of the presbytery;" for by no means presbyters could ordain a bishop<sup>b</sup>." And shewing how evangelists might become bishops, he saith, "Why doth Paul write only to Timothy and Titus, whereas Silas and Luke were (also his disciples and) endued with marvellous virtues? Because he had now delivered to them the government and charge of the church; the others as yet he did carry about with him<sup>c</sup>." Epiphanius: "The divine speech of the apostle teacheth who is a bishop, and who a presbyter; in saying to Timothy, a bishop, 'Rebuke not a presbyter, but exhort him as a father.' How could a bishop rebuke a presbyter, if he had no power over a presbyter? As also, 'Receive not an accusation against a presbyter, but under two or three witnesses<sup>d</sup>.'" Theodoret: "Titus was a notable disciple of Paul, and ordained by Paul bishop of Crete, and authorized to make the bishops that were under him<sup>e</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> Chrysost. in Epist. ad Philipp. cap. i. Hom. 1. [t. xii. 7. *Διὰ τοῦτο γράφων καὶ Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε, τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι. "Ὅτι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Χείρας ταχέως μὴδενὶ ἐπιτίθει. Καὶ πάλιν, "Ὁ ἐδόθη σοι μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου· οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνησαν.]*

<sup>c</sup> Chrysost. Præfatio in Ep. i. ad Tim. [t. xii. 403. *Εἰ δέ τις ἐξετάζῃ, τί δήποτε Τίτῳ, καὶ Τιμοθέῳ γράφει μόνοις, καίτοιγε δὲ Σίλας τῶν εὐδοκίμων ἦν, καὶ Λουκᾶς ἐστὶ μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ Κλήμης δὲ εἰς τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε· φησὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, Μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου. Τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν Τίτῳ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ γράφει μόνοις; ὅτι τούτοις ἦδη ἐκκλησίας ἦν ἐγκεχειρικώς, ἐκείνους δὲ ἔτι μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ περιήγε.]*

<sup>d</sup> Epiphani. adv. Hæres. lib. iii.

Hæres. lxxv. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 909. *Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐ δύναται ταῦτόν εἶναι, διδάσκει ὁ θεῖος λόγος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου, τίς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, τίς δὲ ἐστὶ πρεσβύτερος, ὡς λέγει Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, Πρεσβύτερον μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρακάλει ὡς πατέρα. Τί εἶχε πρᾶγμα, ἐπίσκοπον πρεσβύτερῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ ἦν ὑπὲρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν; ὡς καὶ πάλιν λέγει, Κατὰ πρεσβύτερον μὴ ταχέως κατηγορίαν δέχου, εἰ μὴ τί ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων.]*

<sup>e</sup> Theodoret. apud Œcumen. in Præfat. Epist. ad Titum. [Œcumen. Op. Lutet. Par. 1631. t. ii. 285. *Ὁ Τίτος θαυμάσιός τις ἦν μαθητὴς τοῦ Παύλου· ἐπίσκοπος δὲ τῆς Κρήτης μεγίστης οὐσης, κεχειροτόνητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου. Ἐπετέτραπτο δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους χειροτονῆσαι.]*

Vincentius Lirinensis, writing upon some words of Paul to Timothy, saith, "O Timothy, (that is,) O priest, O teacher, if the divine grace hath made thee meet for wit, exercise and learning, be thou Beseleel" (that is, a most skilful workman) "of the spiritual temple<sup>f</sup>." Augustine, instructing all pastors by Paul's words to Titus, addeth: "Was it said in vain to the servant of God now eminent amongst the members of the chief pastor, Shew thyself an example of good works to all<sup>g</sup>." Gregory: "Paul admonisheth his scholar, (Timothy,) now prelate of a flock, saying, Attend to reading till I come<sup>h</sup>." Primasius: "Timothy had the grace of prophecy, together with the order of a bishop<sup>i</sup>." And "(that grace was) the blessing which Timothy at the time of his making bishop received by the imposition of (Paul's) hands<sup>k</sup>." (Ecumenius. interlacing the words of Paul to Timothy, saith, "'Neglect not the gift which is in thee.' That is, either doctrine, or the office of a bishop; for it was the grace of God, that being young, he deserved to be made a pastor. 'Which was given thee by prophecy;' for by the commandment of the Holy Ghost bishops were made, and not at all adventure. 'With imposition of hands of the presbytery.' By presbyters he meaneth bishops: for presbyters did not ordain (him being) a bishop<sup>l</sup>." Yea, which of all the ancient fathers doth not with Tertullian confess that the epistles of Paul to

<sup>f</sup> Vincent. Lirin. *Commonitorium*. [Par. 1669. p. 350. "O Timothee, O sacerdos, O tractator, O doctor, si te divinum munus idoneum fecerit, ingenio, exercitatione, doctrina, esto spiritalis tabernaculi Beseleel; pretiosas divini dogmatis gemmas exsculpe, fideliter coapta, adorna sapienter, adice splendorem, gratiam, venustatem."]

<sup>g</sup> August. de Pastor., cap. iv. [t. ix. 1056. "An frustra dictum est servo Dei eminenti in membris summi pastoris, Circa omnes te ipsum bonorum operum præbe exemplum, et forma esto fidelibus?"]

<sup>h</sup> S. Gregor. *Regulæ Pastoralis*, part. iii. cap. xi. [t. ii. Par. 1705. col. 33. "Hinc est enim quod prælatum gregi discipulum Paulus admonet dicens, 'Dum venio, attende lectioni.'"]

<sup>i</sup> D. Primasii Episc. *Comment. in*

Ep. i. ad Tim. cap. iv. [Bibliotheca Max. Vet. Pat. Lugd., 1677. p. 239. D. "Prophetiæ habebat gratiam vel doctrinæ cum ordinatione episcopatus."]

<sup>k</sup> Ejusd. Ep. ii. cap. i. [p. 241. E. "Benedictionem, quam in episcopatu per manus ejus impositionem acceperat."]

<sup>l</sup> Ecumenii in Ep. i. ad Tim. [cap. iv. Epist. ver. 14. Cap. ix. Comment. t. ii. 234. Μη ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, τοῦτέστι, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Χάρις γὰρ Θεοῦ, τὸ ποιμένα εὐρεθῆναι τὸν νέον. Ὁ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας. Πνεύματος γὰρ προστάξει ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ οὐ χυδῆν. . . . Τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπισκόπους φησιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐχειροτόνησαν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.]



mothy and Titus, "were made concerning the ecclesiastical state" ? or doth not with Chrysostom, Ambrose, and (Ecumenius apply the words and precepts of the apostle written to them as "spoken to all bishops" ? You say evangelists could be no bishops; the whole church of Christ with one resolution said they were bishops; and whatsoever Paul speaketh to them, pertaineth to all bishops and pastors: and of all others, Jerome's confession is most clear in that behalf. How then could Jerome doubt but the vocation and function of bishops was an apostolic ordinance, and consequently confirmed and allowed by the wisdom of God's Spirit in his apostles ?

St. John in his Revelation will assure you, that the Son of God willed him to write to the "seven stars and angels" of the seven churches of Asia, that is, to the seven pastors and bishops of those seven places. Whereby it is evident<sup>o</sup>, that not only the apostles were living, when one superior governed the churches; but the Lord himself with his own voice confirmed that kind of regiment. I do not fear lest with Origen, you will wrest the place to the angels in heaven, and say that "in every church there were two bishops, one visible, another invisible<sup>p</sup>;" St. Augustine hath learnedly quenched that error. "If (the Lord) would have had those words understood of the angels of the higher heavens, and not of the rulers of the church, he would not have afterward added, 'But I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love: remember therefore whence thou art fallen, and

m Tertullian. cont. Marcionem, lib. v. [cap. xxi. p. 486. Lutet. Par. 1664. "Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit."]

n Chrysost. in Ep. i. ad Tim. Homil. x. [t. xii. 463. B. Μελλῶν κατιέναι εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐπίσκοπῆς λόγον, δέκνυσσι καθάπαξ ὅποιον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἐν τάξει τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον αὐτὸ παραινέσεως ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς πᾶσι διαλεγόμενος, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πάντας ῥυθμίζων.]

Ambros. in Tim. i. cap. vi. [t. v. 410. "Magna vigilantia atque providentia præcepta dat rectori ecclesiæ. In hujus enim persona totius populi salus consistit. Non sollicitus de cura Timothei

tam circumspectus est, sed propter successores ejus, ut exemplo Timothei ecclesiæ ordinationem custodirent: ipsi quoque futuris formam tradentes, a semetipsis inciperent."]

Ecumenii in Ep. i. ad Tim. [cap. iii. Epist. v. 1. cap. vi. Comment. t. ii. 224. Πρὸς Τιμόθεον γράφων, δέκνυσσι καθολικῶς ὅποιον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.]

o Thus L.: "Unde mihi meridiana luce clarius videtur,"

p Origenis Homilia xiii. in Lucam. [t. iii. Par. 1740. p. 946. "Si audacter expedit loqui scripturarum sensum sequenti: per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi. Alius visibilis; alius invisibilis."]

repent.' This cannot be spoken of the heavenly angels, who always retain their love, whence they that fell are the devil and his angels. Therefore by the divine voice, under the name of an angel, the ruler (or overseer) of the church is praised<sup>q</sup>." And again: "The angels of the churches (in the Apocalypse) ought not to be understood to be any but the bishops or rulers of the churches<sup>r</sup>." If John in his time saw those seven churches governed by seven pastors or bishops, then was the common and equal government of presbyters before that time changed. If Christ called them stars and angels of the churches, they were no human invention after the apostles were dead and buried.

You see Jerome saith, the regiment of bishops came not into the church by the truth of the Lord's disposition.] You do not allege Jerome, because you admit or regard what he saith; you only snatch at some words in him, which seem to serve your humours; otherwise, you receive no part of his report. In the place which you bring against bishops, Jerome saith; that at the first when presbyters governed, "the (charge or) care of the church was equally divided amongst many<sup>s</sup>." You say no; there was never any such time, it were lack of wisdom so to think. Your words be, "(Jerome) when he said the churches were at the first governed by the common advice of the presbyters, may not be thought to have been *so foolish*, as to dream that none of the presbyters was chief of that assembly<sup>t</sup>." Jerome saith the care of the church

<sup>q</sup> August. Epist. clxii. [t. ii. col. 735. "Quod si de angelo superiorum cœlorum, et non de præpositis ecclesiæ vellet intelligi, non consequenter diceret, 'Sed habeo adversum te, quia charitatem tuam primam reliquisti: memor esto itaque unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac'. . . . . Hoc superioribus angelis dici non potest, qui perpetuam retinent charitatem, unde qui defecerunt et lapsi sunt, diabolus est, et angeli ejus. . . . . Postremo quod paulo ante commemoravi, divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ, quod cum odisset malos, eos tamen tentatos et inventos pro nomine domini toleravit."]

<sup>r</sup> Ejusd. in Apocalypsim Joannis Homil. ii. [t. ix. col. 660. "Ubicun-

que ponit in Apocalypsi angelum hominis, ipsum hominem significat; sicut et ecclesiæ et angeli earum idem debent intelligi, id est aut episcopi aut præpositi ecclesiarum."]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. in Ep. ad Tit. Comment. cap. i. [t. ix. 245. C. "Si quis vult recipere eam epistolam, quæ sub nomine Pauli ad Hebræos scripta est; et ibi, æqualiter inter plures ecclesiæ cura dividitur."]

<sup>t</sup> Ad tractationem de Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii in cap. 23. "Neque enim ille quum diceret ecclesias initio fuisse communi presbyterorum consilio gubernatas, ita desipuisse existimandus est, ut somniaret neminem ex presbyteris illi cœtui præfuisse."

was equally divided amongst them; you say it were a dream and a folly so to suppose. And thus is Jerome rewarded for bearing witness to your presbyteral regiment.

Again, Jerome saith that upon the primary dissensions of presbyters, it was decreed in the whole world, "that the whole care (or charge) of the church should pertain to one<sup>u</sup>." This you cannot digest; for if this be true, your lay elders had nothing to do with church matters since bishops began. Jerome's whole tale therefore, yourselves reject as untrue; only you hold fast the latter end, which you understand not, and thence you would prove, that the governing of the church by bishops, was man's invention contrary to God's institution. In all reason when you impugn the two parts of your own witness's deposition, we might refuse the third; but we will not, presuming that Jerome would not so grossly contradict himself, as to say the superiority of bishops above presbyters was and was not an apostolic ordinance.

Jerome's words then, that the bishop's majority above presbyters came "rather by the custom of the church, than by the truth of the Lord's disposition<sup>x</sup>," may be two ways construed. First, that by "the truth of the Lord's disposition," he meaneth a precept from Christ's mouth; and by "the custom of the church," he understandeth a continuation of that regiment even from the apostles. For *veritas*<sup>y</sup> is often taken with the ancient fathers for a truth written in the scriptures, and

<sup>u</sup> Hieron. in Ep. ad Tit. Comment. cap. i. [t. ix. 245. B. "Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."]

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. [C. "Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subiectos; ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret."]

<sup>y</sup> Tertull. de Corona. [cap. iv. p. 103. "Consuetudo autem in civilibus

rebus pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex: nec differt, scriptura an ratione consistat, quando et legem ratio commendet."]

Cypriani ad Pompeium contra Epist. Stephani. lxxiv. [p. 215. Oxon. 1682. "Nec consuetudo quæ apud quosdam obrepserat, impedire debet quo minus veritas prævaleat et vincat. Nam consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est."]

Concil. Carthag. iii. de hæreticis baptizandis. [t. i. 780. in sententiis episcoporum. sent. x. "Mommillus a Girpa dixit: Ecclesiæ catholicæ matris nostræ *Veritas* semper apud nos, fratres, et mansit, manet, et vel maxime in baptismatis Trinitate, Domino nostro dicente; 'Ite et baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.' Et alibi.]

*consuetudo* <sup>7</sup> for a thing delivered by hand from the apostles, which otherwise they call a tradition. And so though there be no precept from Christ in writing for that kind of government; yet the perpetual custom of the church proveth it to be an apostolic ordinance.

Another sense of Jerome's words may be this: At the first for a time the presbyters with common advice and equal care guided the church under the apostles; "but (after bishops were appointed) the whole care (thereof) was by little and little derived unto one <sup>a</sup>;" and so at length by custom, presbyters were utterly excluded from all advice and counsel (whereof Ambrose complaineth), and bishops only inter-meddled with the regiment of the church. This manner of subjection in presbyters, and prelation in bishops, grew only in continuance of time, and not by any ordinance of Christ or his apostles. At first, the presbyters were left, as in part of the charge, so in part of the dignity. This seemeth to be the right intent of Jerome's speech, by the words that follow; for to revoke the sovereignty of bishops over presbyters to the truth of the divine ordinance, he saith; "Let the bishops know, that (according to the truth of the Lord's disposition, howsoever the custom of the church now be to the contrary) they should rule the church in common (with the presbyters) after the example of Moses, who when it lay in his power to be ruler alone over the people of Israel, he chose seventy to help him judge the people <sup>b</sup>." What they ought to do, that was the truth of the Lord's disposition: now they ought to do as Moses did. What, to have all governors equal? No; but when they might rule alone, to join with them others in the fellowship of their power and honour, as Moses did. Moses did not abrogate his superiority above others; but took seventy elders into part of his charge. This saith Jerome was the truth of the Lord's ordinance, although by the custom

<sup>7</sup> August. contra Donatist. lib. iv. cap. 24. ["Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper re-tentum est, non nisi auctoritate apo-stolica traditum rectissime creditur."]

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Ep. ad Titum, cap. i. [t. ix. p. 245. "Hæc propterea, ut os-tenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatin

vero ut dissensionum plantaria evelle-rentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam."]

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ("Noverint) in communi de-bere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Mosem, qui cum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret.")



of the church, as it then was, (which grew *paulatim*, not when bishops were first ordained, but by degrees in decurse of time,) they had the whole charge of the church without advising or conferring with the presbyters. For "the presbyters might neither baptize without the bishop's leave, nor preach in the bishop's presence<sup>c</sup>:" which subjection, Jerome saith, was not after the truth of the Lord's ordinance, howsoever the custom of the church had then strengthened it.

This to be Jerome's true meaning in this place his own words elsewhere do fully prove, which are these: "To make us understand that the apostolic traditions were taken out of the Old Testament; what Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, that let the bishops, and presbyters, and deacons challenge to themselves in the church<sup>d</sup>." The high priest I hope was superior to his sons, not only as a father, but as having the chiefest place and office about the ark, and after in the temple. And as it was there, so the apostles ordained, saith Jerome, that bishops and presbyters should differ in the church of Christ. Scan this place a little, I pray you, and tell me whether Jerome avouch, that bishops should be superior to presbyters by the tradition and ordinance of the apostles or no; if that point be clear, add these words of Master Beza (which are very sound<sup>e</sup>) to St. Jerome's, to make up the syllogism: "If this (change to the regiment of bishops) proceeded from the apostles, I would not doubt thoroughly to ascribe it to divine disposition, as I do other ordinances of the apostles<sup>f</sup>;" but Jerome expressly confesseth it was an apostolic ordinance; *ergo*, without any staggering or doubting, it must be acknowledged by you, that it was God's disposition. Thus much for Jerome. Now for Ambrose (before we go to further proof): because some strange fancies

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. adv. Luciferianos Dialog. [t. ii. p. 139. B. "Inde venit, ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi."] Ejusd. ad Nepotianum de vita clericorum. [t. i. p. 14. D. "Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros, et presentibus episcopis non loqui, quasi aut invidiant, aut non dignentur audire."]

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. 329. B. "Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas

sumptas de Veteri Testamento; quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi vendicent in ecclesia."]

<sup>e</sup> Thus L.: "addamus quæ Beza vere et ingenue in hac parte scribit."

<sup>f</sup> Ad tractationem de Gradibus Ministrorum in cap. 23. "Certe, si ab ipsis apostolis esset profecta (hæc mutatio) non vereretur illam, ut cæteras apostolicas ordinationes, divinæ in solidum dispositioni tribueret."



of this fresh discipline are fastened on him ; let us likewise examine what he saith for either side.

There is one thing in Ambrose barely surmised, but no way proved, and that is eagerly caught up by the disciplinarians, and made a shipman's hose for their new devices. There are four other points in the same places that have surer ground and more agreement with the rest of the fathers ; and those are positively repelled as frivolous and false by the principles of this pretended discipline. Ambrose imagineth, (for no proof can be made thereof, either by scripture or story,) that the first bishops were for a while made by order as they sat in the church, so as the place falling void by the death or departure of the first, the next succeeded in his room. This course was afterward changed into elections ; but when, or by whom, he neither doth nor can tell. From this supposal these three conclusions are drawn, but all three far from Ambrose's speech or meaning. First, that this priority of place went round the presbytery ; every man taking it in order for a season, when his course came. Next, that the prior or president for the time, which they call a bishop or supervisor for his week, differed not in degree from the rest, but only in this honour, to have the chief place. Thirdly, that his office was to call the rest together, and to guide their meetings that they should be orderly ; and to propound matters for the whole presbytery to consult and conclude with the consent of the greater number ; himself having but a voice as one of the rest, neither negative nor affirmative in any thing, but as the most part did resolve. This is the bishop which they have framed us out of St. Ambrose's words ; and this bishop they are content shall be perpetual in the church of Christ, and an essential part of God's ordinance. This is the right description of the mayor and aldermen of a city, or bailiff and burgesses of a lesser town with us in England ; but this is no description of a bishop in the church of Christ. For how long will it be before ye be able to prove, I say not all, but any one of these assertions<sup>a</sup> ? what scripture ever mentioned, what father ever imagined any such bishop<sup>b</sup> ?

<sup>a</sup> Added L.: "Amovete vero hæc non theologorum judicia, sed languentium et ægrorum somnia, quæ nulla nituntur, non dicam veritate, sed ne probabilitate

quidem."

<sup>b</sup> Thus L. "Quæ enim scripturæ, vel quis patrum volubilem et gregarium hunc episcopatum nobis describit?"

The fathers, you will say, were all infected with human inventions; and God's institution hath ever since the apostles' time been neglected in all the churches, and of all the persons in the world, till of late. I hear what you say; and did I not read it with mine eyes, I should think they were deeply asleep, that dream so well of themselves; but since it is printed I would gladly see how it can be proved.

Ambrose, you say, leadeth you so to think; for he affirmeth, that every presbyter was a bishop when it came to his course, and their courses went round by order. Ambrose contradicteth it as plainly as he can speak; and saith, that "not every presbyter was a bishop," but he only was a bishop which was "the first (or chiefest) amongst the presbyters<sup>i</sup>."

Nay, first in order; in whose place, when he departed, the next succeeded.] They were capable of the bishopric, as they stood in order. Now that order must go either as they were eldest in standing, or worthiest in gifts. Which of these two orders did the presbyters keep, can you tell? [Not I;] nor Ambrose neither. He supposeth that to sit in the church, and in other their assemblies, they had an order, and so no doubt they had; but whether they were placed by the apostles according to their merits, or kept their places by seniority, as they were ordained, or cast lots amongst themselves for avoiding of ambition and contention, neither Ambrose, neither any man living could or can tell.

But the first always was the bishop; and consequently they differed not in degree, but in order.] How now, masters, will you cross St. Paul's words so flatly, who saith, that God hath ordained, "first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers?"<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 28. Are these divers degrees or no? [What else.] And were not all these, when they taught in any place, of the presbytery? [They were.] Then did the presbyters differ not in order only, but in degree also.

We speak not of apostles, evangelists and prophets, when we say the presbyters differed one from another only in order, and not in degree; but of pastors that had their charge in that

<sup>i</sup> Ambros. in i. ad Tim. cap. iii. [t. v. 402. "Sed episcopus primus est, ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non omnis presbyter episcopus. Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est."] 28.

place where they lived.] The question is not of whom you speak, but of whom Ambrose spake; we examine his words, not yours; and he clearly accounteth them all to be presbyters. For example: Timothy, that you say was an evangelist, Ambrose reckoneth him for a presbyter, and saith he was a bishop, though he were a presbyter, because there was none other before him. And had not Ambrose specially named him, I hope you will exclude neither apostles, nor prophets, nor evangelists from the number of presbyters <sup>k</sup>, wheresoever they were present. Now choose you whether you will say, all these were no presbyters, St. Peter expressly saying the contrary; or else admit, that in the order of presbyters there were divers degrees of ecclesiastical functions, and so your distinction of *ordo* and *gradus* to be nothing near St. Ambrose's meaning; for he by *ordo* understandeth the *order* of their *desert* or *seniority*; and either of those orders doth evidently admit many diverse degrees of ecclesiastical callings.

1 Pet. v.  
1. 5.

If Ambrose do not affirm it, we do.] I can soon admit you to affirm what you list; for when you have done, except you prove it, I will not believe it; but I see no cause why you should ground that distinction on Ambrose's words. In place convenient you shall have leave to say what you can to maintain your distinction; in the mean time I would have you mark, that you take Ambrose's mere guesses, which cannot be justified, for your greatest grounds. For, tell me, whenever or wherever were bishops chosen by order as they were eldest? Again, was Timothy chosen bishop by his standing at Ephesus? or did Paul leave him there for the great affiance he had in his sincere and upright dealing? When the apostle first wrote to Timothy how to behave himself in the house of God, and on whom to impose hands, did Paul will him to take them as they stood in order. or to choose men answerable to those conditions which he prescribed? The first rules that

<sup>k</sup> Ambros. in Ep. ad Eph. cap. iv. [t. v. 355. "Nam et Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur; ut recedente uno, sequens ei succederet. Denique apud Aegyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non

sit episcopus."]

Ejusdem Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402. "Denique Timotheum presbyterum ordinatum significat: sed quia ante se alterum non habebat, episcopus erat."]

were given in the scriptures for the creation of bishops and presbyters were by choice, not by order; before those how can Ambrose or any man else prove that bishops were ordained in order as they stood, without choice? Now if you could shew any such thing, which I am assured you cannot, yet this change from order to choice is the manifest commandment of God's Spirit, witnessed by Paul both to Titus and Timothy; and therefore your kind of going in order to make bishops was and is repugnant to the apostles' general and canonical rule of choosing the fittest men to be bishops, which ever since hath dured in the church of Christ as a special and express part of God's ordinance confirmed by the scriptures.

But do you yourselves admit this imagination of Ambrose, which you fortify against bishops? are not you the first men that check your own witness, and thereby shew, that though you allege Ambrose, you do not believe Ambrose in this very point which you bring him for? A great learned man of your side saith, and in my judgment saith truly<sup>1</sup>, "The commandment of election, which must be kept unchanged not only in deacons but in all sacred functions, is one thing; the manner of electing is another thing." Then is there a commandment, no doubt, of Christ by his apostle, (it could not otherwise be inviolable,) that to all sacred functions men should be taken by election, and not by order of standing. If Ambrose spake of the time before this commandment, when that was, no man knoweth. And therefore I have reason to say, it was never prescribed in the scriptures, nor used in any church or age that we read, but only surmised by Ambrose, because he did not find who where bishops in every church, before Paul wrote to Timothy and Titus, to make choice of meet men to be bishops and presbyters.

Lest you mislike that I say Ambrose roveth at some things which cannot be proved, and need not be credited, tell me yourselves what you say to these reports of Ambrose in the same place. "At the first, all men did teach, and all men

<sup>1</sup> Responsio Bezae ad tractationem de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus. "Aliud est electionis mandatum, quod innotum non tantum in diaconis, sed

etiam in sacris functionibus omnibus servatum oportet; aliud electionis modus."

did baptize; at the beginning, every man was suffered to preach, baptize, and expound the scriptures in the church: now, neither deacons preach to the people, neither do (inferior) clerks or laymen baptize<sup>m</sup>." Believe you that all men, or laymen did preach and baptize at the first spreading of the gospel. I know you do not; your positions are most direct against it. Yet Ambrose avoucheth it; and the proof he bringeth for it is as slender as the report<sup>n</sup>. Because Peter commanded Cornelius and those that were with him to be baptized; and there came with Peter none from Joppa but  
 Acts x. 23. certain brethren; he concludeth that those were laymen, because they are called brethren, and did baptize Cornelius and the rest, Peter looking on and willing them to do it. How weak this collection is, I doubt not but you quickly find; and the words which you bring are the next to these, and proceed from the very same persuasion that this did; which was, that all things at the first erecting of the church were permixed and confused, the paucity of the persons and necessity of the times so requiring, and then it skilled not who were presbyters and who were bishops. Yet if you press Ambrose, I will not reject him; for he saith no more but that the next presbyter was to succeed after the place was void: but that either they went round by course, or did govern by weeks or months, or that a bishop should not differ from a presbyter by power to ordain others, which are the things that you affirm to be God's ordinance; in any of these, if you prove that Ambrose maketh with you, we will give you the whole.

Besides this, Ambrose hath four special points in these very places (which you allege against bishops) so contrary to your new discipline as high noon is to midnight<sup>o</sup>. The first is, where he shutteth your lay presbyters out of doors, in saying, "A presbyter and a bishop have all one ordination, for either is a priest<sup>p</sup>," and so neither is lay. The next, that he saith,

<sup>m</sup> Ambros. in Ep. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. 355. "Primum omnes docebant, omnes baptizabant. Inter initia omnibus concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. Nunc neque diaconi prædicant in populo, neque clerici, vel laici baptizant."]

<sup>n</sup> "And the proof—report," omitted L.

<sup>o</sup> Thus L., "ac tenebræ sunt luci aut media nox soli meridiano."

<sup>p</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402. "Post episcopum tamen diaconi ordinationem subiecit. Quare? nisi quia episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? uterque enim sacerdos est."]



¶ Paul made Timothy the evangelist both a presbyter and a bishop, neither of which your discipline can abide, that either evangelists should be bishops, or that Paul should at any time consecrate bishops. The third, "It is neither right nor lawful," saith he, "for (a presbyter which is) an inferior to ordain (a bishop which is) a superior<sup>r</sup>;" and consequently your presbyters may not impose hands on a bishop, as Chrysostom also telleth you. The last is, that where you say the people must have the election of their bishop or pastor by God's law, Ambrose saith it must be done by the judgment of many priests<sup>s</sup>, and not by the verdict of the people or lay presbyters.

Thus see you that the ancient fathers, Jerome and Ambrose, which are alleged so constantly not only for the lay presbyters, but for the equality and identity of bishops and presbyters in the apostles' time, come nothing near your new discipline. The names were common, but their callings different; the words were not then severed as now they be; but even then presbyters might not impose hands to ordain ministers: that was reserved to some special and chief men trusted with the government of others, as well teachers as hearers, and appointed to succeed in the apostles' places, as shall appear in the chapter next ensuing with more evidence.

### CHAP. XIII.

*That some chief pastors, in and ever since the apostles' times, have been distinguished from the rest of the presbyters by the power of ordination and right of succession, and placed in every city to preserve the external unity and perpetuity of the church, whom the ancient fathers did, and we after them do call by the name of Bishops.*

**B**EFORE I demonstrate the vocation and function of bishops to be apostolic, the ambiguity of the name of bishop, and community of many things incident and appertinent both to bishops and presbyters, urge me to lay down and deliver certain peculiar marks and parts of the bishop's

<sup>¶</sup> Ambros. in Ephes. iv. [t. v. 355. "Nam et Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur."]

<sup>r</sup> Idem in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402. "Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem."]

<sup>s</sup> Idem in Ep. ad Ephes. iv. [t. v. 355.

"Sed quia coeperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente concilio ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum."]

power and office, whereby they are always distinguished from presbyters, and never confounded with them either in scriptures, councils, or fathers. Prerogatives there were many appropriate unto them by the authority of the canons and custom of the church: as, reconciling of penitents, confirmation of infants and others that were baptized by laying on their hands, dedication of churches, and such like; but these tended, as Jerome saith, “to the honour of their priesthood rather than to the necessity of any law<sup>t</sup>.” The things proper to bishops, which might not be common to presbyters, were singularity in succeeding and superiority in ordaining. These two, the scriptures and fathers reserve only to bishops; they never communicate them unto presbyters. In every church and city there might be many presbyters; there could be but one chief to govern the rest: the presbyters for need might impose hands on penitents and infants; but by no means might they ordain bishops or ministers of the word and sacraments.

Neither are these trifling differences, or devised by me. The external unity and perpetuity of the church depend wholly on these. As to avoid schisms bishops were first appointed; so to maintain the churches in unity, the singularity of one pastor over each flock is commended in the scriptures. And as bishops preserve the unity of each church, in that there may be but one in a place, so they continue the same unto perennity, by ordaining such as shall both help them living and succeed them dying.

Cyprian<sup>u</sup> hath written an whole book to prove that the unity of each church resteth on the singularity of the pastor, whither I remit him that is desirous to read more at large; as also to his first book and third epistle, intreating of the same matter, and written to Cornelius. The effect of all is contained in these words: “Who is so wicked and perfidious, who so mad with the fury of discord, that believeth the unity of God, the Lord’s vesture, the church of Christ, may be torn

<sup>t</sup> Hieron. adversus Luciferianos Dialogus. [t. ii. 139. B. “Et multis in locis idem facilitatum reperimus, ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legis necessitatem.”]

<sup>u</sup> Cypriani de Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, (*vulgo* de Simplicitate Prælatorum,) Liber. [t. ii. tractat. 7. p. 104. Oxon. 1682.]

in pieces, or dare tear it? Himself in his gospel warneth and teacheth (us), saying, 'There shall be one flock and one shepherd.' And doth any man think there may be in one place either many shepherds or many flocks x?" In the fore-said epistle, speaking of himself, not of the bishop of Rome, as fondly and falsely the papists conceive, he saith, "Heresies have sprung and schisms risen from none other fountain than this, that God's priest is not obeyed, nor *one priest* in the church acknowledged for the time to be judge in Christ's stead; to whom, if all the brethren would be subject according to the divine directions, no man would after the divine judgments, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of other bishops, make himself judge now, not of the bishop, but of God y." Jerome saith as much: "The dumb beasts and wild herds do follow their leaders; the bees have their kings; the cranes fly after one like an alphabet of letters. One emperor; one judge of each province. Rome, as soon as it was built, could not have two brethren to be kings. Jacob and Esau fought in one womb. Every church hath but one bishop, one chief presbyter, one chief deacon, and each ecclesiastical order resteth on their rulers. In a ship is but one that directeth the helve; in an house but one master; in an army never so great, the sign of one general is expected z." "Yca, the very safety of the church dependeth on the dignity of the chief priest," (or bishop;) "to whom, if there be not given a peer-

x Ibid. [p. 110. "Quis ergo est sic sceleratus et perfidus, quis sic discordiæ furore vesanus, ut aut credat scindi posse, aut audeat scindere unitatem Dei? vestem Domini? ecclesiam Christi? Monet ipse in evangelio suo, et docet, dicens; 'Et erit unus grex, et unus pastor.' Et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimat aut multos pastores, aut plures greges?"]

y Cyprian. ad Cornelium Papam de pace lapsorum. [epist. lib. i. 59. p. 129. ed. Oxon. (ep. iii. vet. ed.) "Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam move-

ret: nemo post divinum iudicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, iudicem se non jam non episcopi, sed Dei faceret."]

z Hieron. ad Rusticum monachum, de vivendi forma. [t. i. 46. D. "Etiam muta animalia et ferarum greges, ductores sequuntur suos. In apibus principes sunt. Gruæ unam sequuntur ordine literato. Imperator unus. Iudex unus provinciæ. Roma ut condita est, duos fratres simul habere reges non potuit, et parricidio dedicatur. In Rebecca utero, Esau et Jacob bella gesserunt. Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur. In navi unus gubernator: in domo unus dominus: in quamvis grandi exercitu, unius signum expectatur."]

less power and eminent above all others, there will be as many schisms in the church as there be priests. Thence is it, that except the bishop give leave, neither presbyter nor deacon have right to baptize<sup>a</sup>."

The singularity of one pastor in every place preserveth the peace and unity of the churches, and stoppeth schisms and dissensions, for which cause they were first ordained by the apostles. And therefore is the conclusion general, both with councils and fathers, that there could be but one bishop in one city, where the presbyters were many.

Cornelius, bishop and martyr, long before the council of Nice, reporting to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, the original of Novatus' schism, saith: "This jolly inquisitor of the gospel understandeth not that there ought to be but one bishop in (that) catholic church in which he knoweth there are forty-six presbyters<sup>b</sup>." The great Nicene council took special care, "that there should not be two bishops in one city<sup>c</sup>." Chrysostom, when Paul writeth to the bishops and deacons of Philippi, asketh this question: "What meaneth this? were there many bishops of one city<sup>d</sup>?" and answereth, "By no means; but by this title he designeth the presbyters. For then the name was common, insomuch that a bishop was called a deacon or minister. Afterward, each had his proper name, and one was called a presbyter the other a bishop." Theodoret: "In no case many bishops could be pastors of one city. Wherefore they were presbyters, whom he called by the name of bishops<sup>e</sup>." Œcumenius: Bishops St. Paul nameth,

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. adversus Luciferianos Dialogus. [t. ii. 139. B. "Ecclesie salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes. Inde venit, ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter neque episcopus jus habeant baptizandi."]

<sup>b</sup> Eusebii Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 198. D. Par. 1678. 'Ο ἐκδικητὴς οὖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὐκ ἡπίστατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἡγροῖε πῶς γὰρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἐξ.]

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccles. Ruffini [Basil. 1535. p. 222. Statutum x. Exempl. Fidei Ni-

cænæ. "Et ne in una civitate duo sint episcopi."]

<sup>d</sup> Chrysost. in Epist. ad Philipp. Hom. i. [t. xii. p. 7. Τί τοῦτο; μὴς πόλῳς πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε. τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινῶνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο . . . . . λοιπὸν δὲ τὸ ἰδιάζον ἐκάστῳ ἀπονενέμεται ὄνομα, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος.]

<sup>e</sup> Theodreti in Epist. ad Philipp. cap. i. [Halæ 1771. t. iii. p. 445. "Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ οἷόν τε ἦν πολλοὺς ἐπισκόπους μίαν πόλιν ποιμαίνειν. ὥς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους ἐπισκόπους ὠνόμασε.]



“not that there were many bishops in one city, but the presbyters he calleth bishops; for as yet the words were common to both <sup>f</sup>.” The Latin fathers give the like testimony. Optatus: “He is a schismatic and a sinner, that against one (episcopal) chair erecteth another <sup>g</sup>.” Hierom: “Bishops here we understand to be presbyters; for in one city there could not be many bishops <sup>h</sup>.” Ambrose referreth those words of St. Paul to the bishops that were with him and Timothy, and not at Philippi: “With the bishops which were,” saith he, “with Paul and Timothy, who themselves were bishops: for had he written to bishops, he would have named them; and he must have written to the bishop of the place, as he did to Titus and Timothy, and not to two or three <sup>i</sup>.” For as he saith elsewhere: “The presbyters must be some in number, that there may be two in each church, and but one bishop in a city <sup>k</sup>.”

This is a certain rule to distinguish bishops from presbyters; the presbyters were many in every church, of whom the presbytery consisted. Bishops were always singular; that is, one in a city and no more, except another intruded, (which the church of Christ counted a schism, and would never communicate with any such;) or else an helper were given in respect of extreme and feeble age; in which case, the power of the latter ceased in the presence of the former. And this singularity of one pastor in each place descended from the apo-

<sup>f</sup> Ecumenius in Epist. ad Philipp. Comment. cap. i. [t. ii. 65. Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἐν μιᾷ πόλει πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι, ἀλλ' ἐπισκόπους τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ. τότε γὰρ ἔτι ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, διάκονοι, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ τὸ ἐμπαλιν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοποι.]

<sup>g</sup> Optati de Schismate Donatist. advers. Parmenian. lib. ii. [p. 35. Paris. 1679. “Igitur negare non potes, scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam: in qua sedet omnium apostolorum caput Petrus: unde et Cephias appellatus est; in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent; ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram, alteram collocaret.”]

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Philipp. cap. i. [t. ix. 362. “Hic episcopus presbyteros intelligimus: non enim in una urbe plures episcopi esse potuissent.”]

<sup>i</sup> Ambros. in Ep. ad Philipp. cap. i. [t. v. 364. “Hoc est cum Paulo et Timotheo, qui utique episcopi erant, simul et significavit et diaconos qui ministrabant ei. Ad plebem enim scribit. Nam si episcopis scriberet et diaconibus, ad personas eorum scriberet, et loci ipsius episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus, sicut et ad Titum et Timotheum.”]

<sup>k</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 403. “Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus.”]



stles and their scholars in all the famous churches of the world by a perpetual chair of succession, and doth to this day continue, but where abomination or desolation, I mean heresy or violence, interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect record in all the stories and fathers of the church, that I much muse with what face men that have any taste of learning can deny the vocation of bishops came from the apostles. For if their succession be apostolic, their function cannot choose but be likewise apostolic; and that they succeeded the apostles and evangelists in their churches and chairs, may inevitably be proved, if any Christian persons or churches deserve to be credited.

The second assured sign of episcopal power, is imposition of hands to ordain presbyters and bishops; for as pastors were to have some to assist them in their charge, which were presbyters, so were they to have others to succeed them in their places which were bishops. And this right by imposing hands to ordain presbyters and bishops in the church of Christ, was at first derived from the apostles unto bishops, and not unto presbyters; and hath for these fifteen hundred years without example or instance to the contrary, till this our age, remained in bishops and not in presbyters. Philip "preached and baptized" at Samaria; but he could not give the graces of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands to make fit pastors and teachers for the work of the ministry; the apostles were forced to come from Jerusalem to furnish the church of Samaria with meet men to labour in the word and doctrine. The like we find by Paul and Barnabas in the Acts; who visited the churches where they had preached, and supplied them "with presbyters" in every place that wanted. Paul left Titus to do the like in Crete; and Timothy was sent to Ephesus to impose hands, notwithstanding the church there had presbyters long before. Jerome, where he retcheth the presbyter's office to the uttermost, of purpose to shew that he may do by the word of God as much as the bishop, he excepteth this one point as unlawful for presbyters by the scriptures: "What doth a bishop save ordination, which a presbyter may not do<sup>1</sup>?" He saith not, What doth a bishop,

Acts viii.  
12.

Acts xiv.  
23.  
Titus i. 5.  
1 Tim. v.  
22.

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. 329. "Quid facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?"]

which a presbyter doth not? for by the custom and canons of the church, very many things were forbidden presbyters, which by God's word they might do; but he appealeth to God's ordinance, which in his commentaries upon Titus he calleth the 'divine institution;' and by that he confesseth it was not lawful for presbyters to ordain any. And why? That power was reserved to the apostles, and such as succeeded them, not generally in the church, but specially in the chair.

Thence doth Chrysostom infer very precisely against your new discipline, that in Paul's words to Timothy, "Neglect <sup>1 Tim. iv.</sup> not the gift that was given thee, with imposition of hands of <sup>14</sup> the presbytery," by the word *presbytery* in that place of scripture must be understood bishops, not presbyters, and giveth this reason: "For presbyters (in the apostles' time) did not impose hands on a bishop<sup>m</sup>." Yea, saith he, "Presbyters (then) could not impose hands on a bishop<sup>n</sup>." Chrysostom doth not reason from his own age unto the apostles, and conclude, because they might not do it in that world wherein he lived by a custom of the church, *ergo*, they could not do it in Paul's time; that were a very senseless and unsavoury collection; but he urgeth that in Paul's time presbyters might not ordain a bishop; and therefore those words must be understood of bishops, which by the apostolic rules might impose hands, whereas presbyters might not. The very same point he repeateth and presseth when he giveth a reason why Paul in his epistle to Timothy went from describing bishops straight to deacons, omitting clean the order of presbyters: "The difference betwixt (bishops and presbyters) is not great, for they also were admitted to teach and rule the church; and what Paul said of bishops, that agreeth unto presbyters. (Only) in laying on of hands (bishops) go beyond them, and have that (only) thing more than presbyters<sup>o</sup>." Theodoret: "The presbytery (Paul) calleth here such as had received

<sup>m</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. iv. Homil. xiii. [t. xii. 486. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τὴν ἐπίσκοπον χειροτόνουν.]

<sup>n</sup> Chrysost. in Ep. ad Philipp. Homil. i. [t. xii. 7. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον χειροτόνησαν.]

<sup>o</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. iii. Homil. xi. [t. xii. 470. Ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν

καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἂ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει. τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τούτῳ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.]

apostolical (or episcopal) grace P:” for by Theodoret’s opinion bishops were then called “apostles,” and presbyters called by the name of bishops<sup>q</sup>. Œcumenius: “Lay hands hastily on no man. Paul treateth of imposing hands, for he wrote to a bishop<sup>r</sup>.”

Ambrose rendereth the same reason why Paul, mentioning bishops and deacons, did clean overskip presbyters; and noteth the same difference betwixt presbyters and bishops that Chrysostom doth: “Timothy, because he had none other before him, was a bishop. Wherefore Paul sheweth him how he shall ordain a bishop. For it was neither lawful nor permitted that the inferior should ordain the greater. No man giveth that which he hath not received<sup>s</sup>.” That Timothy was a bishop, is confessed by the rest of the fathers, I alleged them before<sup>t</sup>; Paul calleth him *συνεργόν*, his “copartner in the gospel,” and joineth Timothy with himself in writing to the Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; thereby to shew that he had received Timothy, not only into the fellowship of his ministry, but given him part of his authority, and made choice of him to abide at Ephesus to establish and confirm the church when he thus wrote unto him. Wherefore Timothy had not this prerogative by order or seniority; he was no presbyter of Ephesus, but there left with episcopal authority, which he had by the laying on of Paul’s hands before he stayed at Ephesus. But howsoever he came by it, by Paul’s choice or otherwise, Ambrose acknowledgeth he was a bishop, and therefore superior to presbyters; because he was invested with power to ordain bishops, which presbyters had not. His words be full: “It was neither lawful,” nor agreeable to religion, (for *fas* is that which is consonant to the service of God, as *jus* expresseth that which is right amongst men,) “for the inferior to ordain the superior<sup>u</sup> ;” to wit, that a presbyter should ordain a bishop.

<sup>p</sup> Theodoreti in Epist. i. ad Tim. cap. 5. [Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 662.

Πρεσβυτέριον δὲ ἐνταῦθα, τοὺς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς χάριτος ἡξιωμένους.]

<sup>q</sup> Idem in 1 cap. ad Philippenses. [Vide p. 318. not. e.]

<sup>r</sup> Œcumenius in 1 Tim. v. [Lutet. Par. 1631. t. ii. cap. xiii. p. 242. Καὶ περὶ χειροτονιῶν διαλαμβάνει ἐπισκόπων

γὰρ ἔγραφε.]

<sup>s</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402.

“Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem. Nemo enim tribuit quod non accepit.”]

<sup>t</sup> Page 302.

<sup>u</sup> Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 402.

“Neque fas erat, neque licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem.”]

Rom. xvi.

21 ;

1 Thess.

iii. 2.

2 Cor. i. 19 ;

Philip. i. 1 ;

Coloss. i. 1 ;

1 Thess. i.

1 ; 2 Thess.

i. 1.

We greatly care not who should ordain bishops; for, as we think, there need none in the church of Christ: but touching presbyters, that is, ministers of the word and sacraments, the fourth council of Carthage is very clear, they may be ordained by presbyters. Their words are these<sup>x</sup>: "When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop blessing him, and holding his hand on the party's head, let all the presbyters that are present hold their hands near the bishop's hand on his head (that is ordered)." Presbyters are sufficient to create presbyters, and they may discharge all ecclesiastical duties in the church. For bishops, let them care that like them.] The council of Carthage doth not tell you, that presbyters might ordain presbyters without a bishop; look better to the words: such presbyters as were present must hold their hands on the party's head, near the bishop's hand; but without the bishop they had no power of themselves to impose hands. Now to what end they imposed hands; whether to ordain and consecrate as well as the bishop; or because the action was sacred and public, to consent and bless together, with the bishop, this is all the doubt. If they had power to ordain as well as the bishop, and without the bishop, all the fathers which I before cited, were utterly deceived. For they say no. Yea, Jerome, that neither could forget nor would suppress (being one himself) any part of their power, knew not so much. For he confesseth that bishops might ordain by imposing hands, presbyters might not. And therefore though they held their hands near the bishop's hand, yet did they not ordain, as the bishop did.

How know you to what end they joined with the bishop in imposing hands? the action was common to both, and no difference is expressed in that council between their intents.] Unless you be disposed to set councils and fathers together by the ears, you must make their imposition of hands to be a consent, rather than a consecration; and so may the authorities of all sides stand upright; otherwise, by an action that admitteth divers ends and purposes, you overthrow the main

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Carthag. iv. can. 3. [t. ii. col. 1199. "Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum illius teneant."]  
presbyteri qui præsentibus sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant."]  
super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes



resolution, not only of other councils and fathers, but of the same synod which you allege: for that giveth presbyters no power to ordain without the bishop, but to conjoin their hands with his.

Many things were interdicted presbyters by the canons, which were not by the scriptures; but you must shew us that presbyters and bishops differ by the word of God, afore we can yield them to be diverse degrees.] If presbyters by the word of God may ordain with imposing hands as well as bishops, howsoever by the custom of the church they be restrained or subjected under bishops, they be all one in degree with bishops, though not in dignity; for all other things, as Jerome avoucheth, are common unto them: but if that power be granted by God's law to bishops, and denied to presbyters, then struggle whiles you will, you shall find them in the end to be distinct and diverse degrees. That bishops may ordain, the apostle's words to Timothy and Titus exactly prove. "Lay hands hastily on no man"—"For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain presbyters in every city." You must now prove by the sacred scriptures that presbyters may ordain as well as bishops: if not, they be distinct degrees, that have by God's law distinct powers and actions.

1 Tim. v.  
22.  
Tit. i. 5.

1 Tim. iv.  
14.

Our proofs are clear. "Neglect not the gift, which was given thee with imposition of hands of the presbytery;" and this right for presbyters to impose hands jointly with the bishop, dured a long time in the church, as we shew by the fourth council of Carthage.] I have often told you that place of St. Paul concludeth nothing for you, it hath so many answers. Jerome giveth you one, Chrysostom another, and St. Paul himself a third. If you like not with Jerome, Ambrose and Primasius, to take the presbytery for the function which Timothy received, which Calvin well alloweth; nor with Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the rest of the Grecians, to apply it to bishops, forsomuch as presbyters by their judgments could not impose hands on a bishop; yet remember St. Paul was present and did the deed; and therefore without some succeeding and supplying the apostle's room,



as Timothy and Titus did, your presbyteries have no warrant to impose hands. And so much is evident by that very council which you bring; for the bishop must first bless the party and impose hands on him; and then the presbyters there present must lay their hands near the bishop's in sign of consent. But without the bishop no presbyters did bless or impose hands to ordain any that ever we read either in scriptures or stories. And because you shall not say, I speak without book, as I see many do in our days, mark well these examples, and tell me what you think of them.

The council of Hispalis, understanding that a bishop in ordaining presbyters and deacons, because he was pained with sore eyes, only laid his hands on them, and suffered a presbyter standing by to read the words of their consecration, and to bless them, rejected the whole action as unlawful, with these words: "The presbyter that did it, if he were living, might for so bold a presumption have been condemned in this present judgment; but because he is prevented with death, lest the same usurpation should enterprise to do the like, we decree that they which received of him no title of consecration, but a monument of reproach, shall be removed and abjected by a righteous judgment from the degree of sacerdotal and Levitical order, which they have perversely gotten; for such are worthily adjudged to be cast off, because they are found to be wrongfully made<sup>z</sup>." The bishop being present and imposing hands, and not able to read for the impediment of his sore eyes, a presbyter blessed them, that is, pronounced the words of their consecration: this the council calleth *bold presumption*, and *usurpation* against the ecclesiastical rule; and removed the men as perversely and unlawfully made. What think you would they have said, if they heard of presbyters that had taken upon them, as men do in our days, to impose

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Hispalens. ii. can. v. [t. v. col. 1665. "Qui licet, propter tantam præsumptionis audaciam, poterat accusatus judicio præsentis damnari, si adhuc in corpore positus, non fuisset mortis vocatione præventus; sed quia jam ille examini divino relictus, humano judicio accusari non potest, hi qui supersunt, et ab eo non consecrationis titulum

sed ignominia potius eulogium perceperunt; ne sibi licentiam talis ultra usurpatio faciat, decrevimus ut a gradu sacerdotalis, vel Levitici ordinis, quem perverse adepti sunt, depositi, æquo judicio abutantur. Tales enim merito judicati sunt removendi quia prave inventi sunt constituti."]

hands, and bless, and give sacred orders, not only in the absence, but in defiance of all bishops<sup>a</sup>?

Colluthus was a presbyter<sup>b</sup> in one of the churches of Alexandria, and falling away from the bishop there for some mislikes, ordained certain presbyters, himself being but a presbyter. For this Colluthus was convented “in the general council before Hosius and the rest of the bishops,” and “commanded to carry himself for a presbyter as he was before; and all those that were ordained by him to return to their former state<sup>c</sup>.” It after fell out that one Ischyras pretending himself to be a presbyter of Colluthus’ making, accused Macarius of sacrilegious violence offered unto him, then ministering at the Lord’s table, as he said, and having the mystical cup in his hand: an hundred bishops assembled at a council in Egypt, or near that number, to convince Ischyras of a lie, prove that Ischyras was no presbyter, and so could not be assaulted whiles he was handling the divine mysteries. Their words be these: “How then is Ischyras a presbyter? or by whom was he made? What, by Colluthus? that is all which can be said. But Colluthus himself died in the degree of a presbyter, and all his imposition of hands was reversed, and such as were made by him were cast back into the order of laymen, and admitted to the communion as laymen, which is so clear that no man ever doubted of it<sup>d</sup>.” They conclude that Ischyras, if he were made by Colluthus, could be no presbyter, forsomuch as Colluthus was a presbyter and no bishop; and all his imposition of hands frustrated, and all the persons ordained by him, neither accounted nor admitted into the

<sup>a</sup> Thus L.: “Impia temeritate sibi vendicantes audissent et vidissent.”

<sup>b</sup> Epiphan. advers. Hæres. lib. ii. Hæres. lxi. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 728. Εἰσὶ τοίνυν πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, (sc. ἐκκλησίαι) σὺν τῇ νῦν κτισθείσῃ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ καλουμένων . . . . . Ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τούτων Κόλλουθός τις ὑπῆρχεν . . . . . Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόλλουθός τινα παρατετραμμένα ἐδίδαξεν.]

<sup>c</sup> Athanas. ad Imperat. Constant. Apolog. [t. i. p. 792. in literis Ma-reoticorum Presbyter. ad Curiosum et Philagrium. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοιαύτην ἑαυτῷ προσηγορίαν ἐπιφημίσας, ἐπὶ

τῆς Συνόδου τῆς συγκροτηθείσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ὁσίου, καθιέρηθη, καὶ λαϊκὸς συνήχθη, καὶ οὕτως ἔμεινε τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον. ἐκπεσῶν καὶ τῆς ψευδοῦς ὑπονοίας τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου.]

<sup>d</sup> Athanas. ad Imperat. Constant. Apolog. ii. [t. i. p. 732. Par. 1627. Πόθεν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Ἰσχυράς; τίνας καταστήσαντος; ἄρα Κολούθου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν. ἀλλ’ ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πάντα χεῖρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντες ἐν τῷ σχίσματι, λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασιν, καὶ οὕτως συνάγονται ὄφρα, καὶ οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίβολον.]

church but under the name of laymen. And this reversing of Colluthus' orders, and agnising none that he ordained but for laymen, was so clear a case, and uncontrolled with all men, that no man ever made any scruple of it. You shall do well considerably to read the place; it importeth the universal consent of the primitive church to have been this, that no presbyter could ordain a presbyter; but those that received imposition of hands from any such, were throughout the church of Christ esteemed and reputed mere laymen, and not otherwise accepted to the Lord's table.

Maximus that was very familiar and inward with Gregory Nazianzen, whiles he lived at Constantinople, and obtained at his hands to be taken into the clergy<sup>e</sup>, and placed with the presbyters of that city, finding that Miletius bishop of Antioch and others had translated Gregory from Nazianzum to Constantinople without a full synod, somewhat contrary to the canons, procured Peter bishop of Alexandria to send some bishops of Egypt that did consecrate him bishop of Constantinople. When this came to be debated in the second general council, the whole synod not only rejected Maximus as no bishop, but all that took any imposition of hands from him in what degree of the clergy soever they were; by reason they found him a presbyter and no bishop; and so without all power to impose hands. "Concerning Maximus and his disorder at Constantinople (we resolve) that Maximus neither presently is, nor hereafter shall be made a bishop; neither any that received imposition of hands from him, shall remain in any degree of the clergy, all that was done either to him, or by him, being wholly frustrate<sup>f</sup> (or disallowed)." If presbyters might impose hands, Maximus was lawfully called to that degree by Gregory Nazianzen, and then had the council no cause to mislike such as were ordained by him: but they

<sup>e</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Vita a Gregor. Presbyt. conscripta. [Op. Lut. Par. 1609. p. 20. D. Ὡς δὲ πείραν τῷ χρόνῳ διδούς, ἕξιος ἐνομίσθη τοῦ βήματος, τῇν-καῦτα τῷ κλήρῳ ἐγκαταλέγεται.]

<sup>f</sup> Concil. Constantin. i. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 959. "De Maximo Cynico philosopho, et propter totius indisciplina-

tionis ejus doctrinam quæ Constanti-nopoli orta est, statutum est, ut neque Maximus fuisse aut esse etiam putetur episcopus, neque hi qui ab eo sunt ordi-nati, qualemcumque gradum clericatus obtineant, omnibus scilicet quæ circa eum vel ab ea gesta sunt, in irritum re-vocatis."]

lay this for their ground, that he was never a lawful bishop ; and therefore all that he did in imposing hands, was utterly void. By this I trust you see it pertained only to bishops to ordain by imposition of hands, and not to presbyters ; you have the clear decision of the primitive church, that presbyters might not ordain presbyters, much less might they lay hands on bishops.

Their meaning is, that presbyters without a bishop could not impose hands ; but with the bishop they might, and did, as the council of Carthage which we brought you confirmeth. And as they might not do it without a bishop, so the bishop might not do it without them.] It is well yet we have obtained thus much, that without a bishop there can be no imposition of hands to make presbyters ; how think you then ? must there be bishops in the church of Christ or no ? and are they all one with presbyters, or a several degree from them ?

They both concur in ordaining ; and neither may impose hands without the other.] You must forsake this fort, as well as you did the former : for in that council of Carthage, which you cite, neither is there any number of presbyters prefixed, nor their presence required ; only this is prescribed, if any be present, they shall approve the bishop's doings with laying their hands next his. The bishop imposeth not hands, either in their names, or at their perils, if any thing be done against the canons ; but as he alone blesseth and consecrateth the person that is ordered to the service of God, so if aught be otherwise than well, he alone is in danger for it. The council of Hispalis saith ; " The bishop alone may give priests and deacons their honour, but he cannot alone take it from them<sup>g</sup>." Neither had bishops always such store of presbyters either present or pertaining to them as you imagine. In greater churches they had greater numbers ; in smaller they had often two, somewhere one, and sometimes none ; and yet for all this defect of presbyters, the bishops there did not refrain to impose hands without them.

The number of presbyters in many places were two in a

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Hispalens. ii. can. vi. [t. v. col. 1665. "Episcopus enim sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, auferre solus non potest."]

church, as Ambrose writeth<sup>h</sup>, sometimes but one. In the third council of Carthage, when it was agreed that the primate of that city might take the presbyters of every diocese, and ordain them bishops for such places as desired them, though the bishop, under whom the presbyter before lived, were unwilling to spare him; Posthumianus a bishop demanded: "What if a bishop have but one only presbyter, must that one be taken from him? Aurelius (the bishop of Carthage) answered: One bishop may ordain many presbyters, but a presbyter fit for a bishopric is hardly found. Wherefore if a man have but one only presbyter, and fit for the room of a bishop, he ought to yield that one to be ordained. Posthumianus replied: Then if another bishop have a number of clerks, another's store should relieve me. Aurelius concluded: Surely as you helped another church, so he that hath many clerks shall be driven to spare you one of them to be ordained by you<sup>i</sup>." Three things are evident by the purport of this speech: first, that some bishops had oftentimes but one presbyter; and he might be taken from them. Next, that a bishop having no presbyter left, might make many when he would, if he had fit men of his own for the place. Thirdly, that if he wanted meet men, another church should allow him, according to his loss, some to be ordained by him. A bishop then having no presbyter left to join with him, might alone ordain both such of his own church as were meet, and such as were sent him from other places.

Again, when any thing was done in ordering of ministers against the laws or canons, not the presbyters, but only the bishop was punished for imposing his hands, and transgressing the discipline of the church. Now had the presbyters been

<sup>h</sup> In 1 Tim. iii. [t. v. 403. "Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias."]

<sup>i</sup> Concil. Carthagin. iii. can. xlv. [t. ii. col. 1176. "Postumianus episcopus dixit: Deinde, qui unum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri? Aurelius episcopus dixit: Sed episcopus unus esse potest, per quem, dignatione divina, presbyteri multi constitui possunt: unus autem episcopus

difficile invenitur constituendus. Quapropter si necessarium episcopatu quis habet presbyterum, et unum (ut dixisti frater) habuerit, etiam ipsum ad promotionem dare debet. Postumianus episcopus dixit: Ergo si habet alius abundantes clericos, debet mihi alia plebs subvenire. Aurelius episcopus dixit: Sane, quomodo ecclesiæ alterius tu subveneris, persuadebitur illi qui plures habet clericos, ut unum tibi ordinandum largiatur."]



agents in ordaining, as well as the bishop, no reason to let them go free that were parties to the contempt as well as the bishop: but for that his hands did ordain and authorize, theirs did nothing but allow his fact, which by dissenting they could not hinder; therefore the laws and canons, as they did charge the bishop and not the presbyters to see those rules observed, that were required for the making of ministers; so they did challenge the bishop and no man else for violating the same with imposition of his hands, if aught were otherwise than well. And for that cause both laws and canons speak singularly to one, not plurally to many, when they repress disorders in creating presbyters and deacons; to shew there was one chief and principal actor amongst them in those cases, whose fact it was; the rest only following and witnessing his doings.

For the clergy of the Paulianists, when they returned to the church, if they were without fault, and blameless, the council of Nice thus decreed: "Let them receive imposition of hands from the bishop of the catholic church<sup>k</sup>." The council of Antioch: "Every bishop shall have power in his diocese to ordain presbyters and deacons<sup>l</sup>." "If any bishop," saith the council of Chalcedon, "shall for money ordain, either bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other reckoned amongst the clergy, he shall, being convicted thereof, endanger his own degree<sup>m</sup>." And again: "None, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor generally any within the ecclesiastical order, must be ordained ἀπολελυμένως," that is, "affixed to no certain place. If any be so made, the sacred council hath decreed their ordination shall be void; but it shall not return

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Nicæni can. xix. [t. ii. 37. *Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτίθεται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος. Εἰ δέ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰμὲν ἔμμεπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανείν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου.*]

<sup>l</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. ix. [t. ii. col. 565. *Ἐκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ*

*χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν.*]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Chalcedonens. can. ii. [t. iv. col. 755. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ χρήμασι χειροτονίαν ποιήσαιο, καὶ εἰς πᾶσιν καταγάγῃ τὴν ἄκρατον χάριν, καὶ χειροτονήσῃ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ χωρεπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καταριθμουμένων, ἢ προβάλλοιτο ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ οἰκονόμον, ἢ ἐκδικον, ἢ προσμονάριον, ἢ ὅλως τινὰ τοῦ κανόνος, δι' αἰσχροκερδείαν οἰκείαν ὁ τοῦτο ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐλεγχθεὶς, περὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κινδυνευέτω βαθμόν.*]

to the reproach (or detriment) of him that imposed hands<sup>n</sup>.” “If thou speak of Paulinianus,” saith Jerome against the errors of John of Jerusalem, “thou seest him subject to his own bishop living in Cyprus, and coming now and then to visit us, not as any of your, but of another (bishop’s) clergy; even his, of whom he was ordained<sup>o</sup>.” “We permit not any clergyman of what degree soever,” saith the emperor, “to give any reward to him of whom he is ordained<sup>p</sup>.” And so generally for the breach and neglect of any of the imperial laws prescribed for the ordering of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the presbyters were not punished which joined with the bishop, but the bishop “that ordained them<sup>q</sup>” was punished; because it lay in him alone by withholding or imposing his hands to frustrate or finish the whole action.

Wherefore I see no cause why some writers in our days should discredit the report and reason, which Epiphanius maketh against Acrius, that a presbyter could not be equal with a bishop; forsomuch as the order of bishops “engendereth fathers unto the church<sup>r</sup>,” and the order of presbyters, “not able to beget fathers, by the regeneration of baptism begetteth children unto the church, but not fathers or teachers, and so no possibility to make a presbyter that hath not received power to impose hands” equal with a bishop. For what doth Epiphanius avouch in these words, which Athana-

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. can. vi. [col. 758. Μηδένα δὲ ἀπολειμμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιο. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἔκρινον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, καὶ μηδέμου δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν ἐφ’ ὕβρει τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος.]

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. ad Pammachium advers. Errores Joannis Hierosolymitani. [t. ii. 180. D. “Sin autem de Pauliniano tibi sermo est, vides eum episcopo suo esse subjectum, versari Cypri, ad visitationem nostram interdu venire, non ut tuum, sed ut alienum, ejus videlicet a quo ordinatus est.”]

<sup>p</sup> Justiniani Novell. Constitution. cxxiii. cap. xvi. [Gotting. 1797. in ca-

pitate cui titulus “Ut ordinationes gratias fiant,” p. 499. Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ κληρικὸν οἰοῦντῃποτε βαθμοῦ διδόναι τι ἐκείνῳ ὑφ’ οὗ χειροτονεῖται, ἢ ἄλλῳ οἰφθῇποτε προσώπῳ, συγχωροῦμεν.]

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. tit. vi. [p. 37. “Ο τε ἀδοκιμαστον ἐπιθεῖς τὴν χειροτονίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὁμοίως ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἱερατείας, καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται Θεῷ, τῷ μάλιστα πάντων ζητοῦντι τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἱερῶν καθαρότητα.]

<sup>r</sup> Epiphanius advers. Hæreses, lib. iii. Hæres. lxxv. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 908. Ἡ μὲν γάρ ἐστι πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις. πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας, ἢ διδασκάλους. Καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθιστᾶν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν.]

sus, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Ambrose do not likewise avouch? or what saith he more than the primitive church in her general and provincial councils decreed against Colluthus, Maximus, and others; and observed without alteration ever since the apostles died? If we reject this assertion of Epiphanius, that only bishops should impose hands to ordain, and not presbyters, we reject the whole church of Christ, which interpreted the scriptures in this behalf as Epiphanius did; and confirmed the very same resolution with the continual practice of all ages and countries where the gospel hath been preached and believed: for by power to ordain, the Christian world hath always distinguished bishops from presbyters, as it is easy to be seen by all the monuments of antiquity that are extant to this day, either of councils, stories, or fathers.

And as by imposing of hands, so by succeeding in the chair, have bishops ever since the apostles' times been severed from presbyters in the church of Christ: which to all that do not eagerly seek to captivate the truth to their own desires, is an argument unrefellable, that the first placing of bishops above presbyters was apostolic. Tertullian saith: "It is certain that came from the apostles, which is sacredly observed in the churches of the apostles<sup>s</sup>." And Austin: "That which the whole church keepeth, and was not appointed by councils, but always retained, that is most rightly believed to have descended from the apostles<sup>t</sup>." Now that in the churches planted by the apostles and their coadjutors one hath been severed from the rest of the presbyters, and placed above the rest in the honour of the episcopal chair, before there were any general councils to decree that manner of government, and so continued even from the apostles' persons and hands to this present age; the perpetual succession of bishops in those principal churches where the apostles and their helpers preached and governed, and likewise in all

<sup>s</sup> Tertull. advers. Marcionem, lib. iv. [cap. v. p. 415. D. "In summa, si constat id verius quod prius; id prius quod et ab initio; id ab initio quod ab apostolis; pariter utique constabit, id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum."]

<sup>t</sup> August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. lib. iv. cap. xxiv. [t. vii. col. 433. "Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi autoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur."]

other churches of the world following their steps, will strongly and fully confirm. If the apostles placed bishops with their own hands; if departing or dying they left bishops to succeed them; if their disciples and scholars embraced and used that course to set bishops above presbyters for saving the church from schisms, and left it to their aftercomers; I trust there are few men so deeply drowned in their own conceits, or wholly addicted to their fancies, but they will acknowledge the first distinction and institution of bishops from and above presbyters was, if not commanded and imposed by the apostles' precepts on the church, yet at least ordained and delivered unto the faithful by their example, as the best way to maintain the peace and unity of the church; and consequently the custom of the church (which Austin speaketh of), that the bishop's office should be greater than the presbyter's; and the decree of the whole world (which Jerome mentioneth), were derived from the apostles, and confirmed by them, and may not be reversed and repealed after 1500 years, unless we challenge to be wiser and better able to order and govern the church of Christ than the apostles were.

Eusebius, the first and best collector of ancient and ecclesiastical monuments (Egesippus and Clemens being lost), deriveth the successions of bishops in the four principal churches of the world, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, from the apostles' age unto his own time: by which, as by a line, we may be directed to see what manner of episcopal successions the rest of the churches had; and from whom the first original of bishops descended. I will set them down as it were in a table even from the apostles and their followers, unto the time they met in the great council of Nice, about 320 years after Christ; and then examine more exactly whence they took their first beginning.

*In the church of*

<i>Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Antioch.</i>	<i>Rome.</i>	<i>Alexandria.</i>
James the apostle	Peter the apostle	Peter and Paul	Mark the evangelist
Simeon	Euodius	Linus	Anianus
Justus	Ignatius	Anacletus	Abilius
Zacheus	Heros	Clemens	Cerdo
Tobias	Cornelius	Euaristus	Primus
Benjamin	Eros	Alexander	Justus

Johannes

*In the church of*

<i>Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Antioch.</i>	<i>Rome.</i>	<i>Alexandria.</i>
Johannes	Theophilus	Sixtus	Eumenes
Mathias	Maximinus	Thelesphorus	Marcus
Philippus	Serapion	Higinus	Celadion
Sennecas	Asclepiades	Pius	Agrippas
Justus	Philetos	Anicetus	Julianus
Levi	Zebinus	Soter	Demetrius
Ephrem	Babilas	Eleutherius	Heracles
Joseph	Fabius	Victor	Dionysius
Judas	Demetrius	Zepherinus	Maximus
Marcus	Paulus Samosatenus	Calixtus	Theonas
Cassianus	Domnus	Urbanus	Petrus
Publius	Timeus	Pontianus	Achilles
Maximus	Cyrillus	Anterus	<i>Alexander</i>
Julianus	Tyrannus	Fabianus	Athanasius
Caius	Vitalius	Cornelius	Petrus
Symmachus	Philagonius	Lucius	Timothius
Caius	<i>Eustathius</i>	Stephanus	Theophilus
Julianus	Paulinus and Miletius	Xistus Dionysius	Cyrillus.
Capito	Flavianus	Felix	
Maximus	Porphyrius	Eutichianus	
Antoninus	Alexander	Caius	
Valens	Johannes.	Marcellinus	
Dolichianus		Marcelinus	
Narcissus		Eusebius	
Dius		Meltiades	
Germanion		<i>Sylvester</i>	
Gordius		Marcus	
Narcissus iterum		<i>Julius</i>	
Alexander		Liberius	
Mazabanes		Damasus	
Hymeneus		Siricius	
Zambdas		Anastasius.	
Hermon			
<i>Macarius</i>			
Maximus			
Cyrillus			
Johannes			
Juvenalis.			

These catalogues of the bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, Eusebius pursueth unto the beginning of his own time; leaving off at Hermon<sup>t</sup> bishop of Jerusalem, Tyrannus<sup>u</sup> bishop of Antioch, Marcellinus<sup>v</sup> bishop of Rome, and Peter<sup>w</sup> bishop of Alexandria; the rest are sup-

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. xxxii. [p. 236. Par. 1678. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτου κεκοιμημένου, Ἑρμων ὑστατος τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ, τὸν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐκέῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποσταλικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.]

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. [p. 232. Μετὰ δὲ Κύριλλον Τύραννος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολιορκία.]

<sup>v</sup> Ibid. [Καὶ τοῦτου δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη προστάντος, Μαρκελλίνος κατέστη διάδοχος· ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ διωγμὸς κατέληψε.]

<sup>w</sup> Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 13. [p. 252. Τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας καθ' ὅλης τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαίδος διαπρεπῶς τελειωθέντων, πρῶτος Πέτρος αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος.]



plied out of others, as in the see of Alexandria, Achilles<sup>x</sup>, Alexander<sup>x</sup>, Athanasius<sup>y</sup> and Peter<sup>z</sup> out of Socrates; Vitalius<sup>a</sup>, Philagonius<sup>a</sup>, and Eustathius<sup>b</sup> out of Theodoret; as also Macarius<sup>c</sup> for Jerusalem. In the see of Rome Marcellus and those that follow out of Optatus<sup>c</sup> and Augustine<sup>d</sup>. The four bishops of these churches that met and sat in the council of Nice were Sylvester for Rome by Vitus and Vincentius his presbyters, (Sozomen saith it was Julius,) Alexander for Alexandria, Macarius for Jerusalem, and Eustathius for Antioch, as appeareth by their subscriptions unto the said council. Now when these successions began, and who were the first authors and ordainers of them, let us see what proof can be brought.

That James the apostle was the first bishop of Jerusalem, Clemens, Eggesippus, Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Augustine confirm. Clemens, in his first book Hypotyposeon, writeth thus: "Peter, James, and John, after the assumption of our Saviour, though they were preferred by the Lord before the rest, yet did they not challenge that glory to themselves, but made James the Just bishop of Jerusalem<sup>e</sup>." Eusebius: "The seat of James the apostle which was the first that received the bishopric of the church of Jerusalem, from our Saviour himself and the apostles,

<sup>x</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 5. [p. 9. Μετὰ Πέτρον τὸν γενόμενον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὸν καὶ ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ μαρτυρήσαντα, διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἀχιλλᾶς· μετὰ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶν, Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς μνημονευθείσης εἰρήνης· καὶ ἀδεέστερον διάγων, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνεκρέτει.]

<sup>y</sup> Eusd. lib. i. cap. 15. [p. 44. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐθέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος, προίσταται τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀθανάσιος.]

<sup>z</sup> Eusd. lib. iv. cap. 20. [p. 230. Καταλιπὼν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον Πέτρον, ἄνδρα εὐλαβῆ καὶ λόγιμον.]

<sup>a</sup> Theodoret Hist. lib. i. cap. 2. [Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 727. Ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ μετὰ Τύραννον, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρχαμένης εἰρήνης, Βιτάλιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ καταλυθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ψυχοδόμησεν ἐκκλησίαν. Φιλογόνιος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν προεδρίαν λαβὼν, τὰ τε λειπόμενα τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ προστέθεικε,

καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐν τοῖς Λικυνίου καιροῖς ἐπεδείξατο (ἦλον).]

Ibid. [p. 748. Συνψδὰ τούτοις ἐπέστειλε καὶ Φιλογόνιῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας προέδρῳ, καὶ Εὐσταθίῳ τῷ τηνικαῦτα τὴν Βέρροϊαν ἰθύνειν πεπιστευμένῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων ἦσαν συνήγοροι.]

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. cap. vii. [p. 758. Εὐστάθιος μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐπίσκοπος, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη, ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἔγραψε, etc.]

<sup>c</sup> Optatus cont. Parmen. lib. ii. [p. 36. Par. 1679.]

<sup>d</sup> August. Epist. clxv. [t. ii. col. 751.]

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 1. [p. 30. Πέτρον γὰρ φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμμένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἰερουσολύμων ἐλέεσθαι.]

whom also the divine scriptures call the Lord's brother, is kept to this day, and evidently shewed to all men by the brethren which have followed him in ordinary succession<sup>f</sup>." Jerome: "James the Lord's brother, surnamed Just, straight after the Lord's passion ordained bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles, wrote one only epistle, which is (one) of the seven catholic (epistles)<sup>g</sup>." "Egesippus, that lived near to the apostles' times, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, speaking of James, saith: 'James the Lord's brother, surnamed Just, received the church of Jerusalem (in charge) after the apostles<sup>h</sup>.'" Chrysostom, writing upon these words of the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, "After they held their peace, James answered," saith: "This James was bishop of the church of Jerusalem<sup>i</sup>." Epiphanius: "James, called the Lord's brother, was the first bishop in Jerusalem<sup>k</sup>." Ambrose: "Paul saw James (the Lord's brother) at Jerusalem, because he was made bishop of that place by the apostles<sup>l</sup>." Augustine: "The church of Jerusalem, James the apostle was the first that governed by his episcopal office<sup>m</sup>." From James to Macarius, that sat in the council of Nice, were forty bishops of Jerusa-

<sup>f</sup> Ejusdem lib. vii. cap. 19. [p. 216. Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένων· ὃν καὶ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρηματίσαι οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι περιέχουσιν· εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῇδε κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοί, σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται οἳ τε περὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἔνεκεν, οἳ τε πάλαι καὶ οἱ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔσωζόν τε καὶ ἀποσώζουσι σέβας.]

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. [t. i. p. 262. "Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore; ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis matris Domini, cujus Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius; post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem."]

<sup>h</sup> Egesippus apud Hieron. ibidem. [p. 263. "Hegesippus vicinus apostolicorum temporum, in quinto commenta-

riorum libro de Jacobo narrans, ait, Suscepit ecclesiam Hierosolymæ post apostolos frater Domini Jacobus, cognomento Justus."]

<sup>i</sup> Chrysost. in Acta Apost. cap. xv. Hom. 33. [t. ix. 293. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγήσαι αὐτοὺς, ἀπεκρίθη Ἰακώβος λέγων· ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ἀκούσατε μου· ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας οὗτος.]

<sup>k</sup> Epiphan. advers. Hæres. lib. ii. t. ii. Hæres. lxvi. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 636. In Manichæi Hæres. Καὶ παρήλθεν Ἰακώβος ὁ πρῶτος ἐπισκοπεύσας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐπικληθεὶς τοῦ Κυρίου.]

<sup>l</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i. [t. v. 330. "Jacobum vidit Hierosolymæ, quia illic erat constitutus ab apostolis episcopus, qui et ipse prius fuerat incredulus, sicut dicit evangelista, Quia nec fratres ejus, inquit, adhuc credebant in eum."]

<sup>m</sup> August. contra Crescon. lib. ii. cap. 37. [t. vii. col. 244. "Hierosolymitanam (sc. ecclesiam) quam primus apostolorum Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit."]

lem, succeeding each other in a perpetual descent, and sitting each for his time in that chair in which James the apostle sat when he taught and governed the church of Jerusalem. Their order and succession from James is collected by Eusebius<sup>n</sup> and Epiphanius<sup>o</sup>, out of elder and former writers which now are perished by the injury of time.

The succession of bishops at Antioch and Alexandria began in the apostles' time, as we find testified by ancient and incorrupt witnesses. Euodius was the first that succeeded at Antioch after Peter's departure, of whom Ignatius, that was next to him, writeth in this wise to the church there: "Remember Euodius your blessed pastor, which first received from the apostles the chief oversight (or regiment) of us<sup>p</sup>." So saith Eusebius: "Of those (that were bishops) at Antioch, Euodius was the first that was appointed, Ignatius the next<sup>q</sup>," who not only "conversed with the apostles<sup>r</sup>," but also saw Christ in the flesh after his resurrection when he appeared to Peter and the rest of the disciples. His own words, as Jerome allegeth them, are: "I saw (Christ) in the flesh after his resurrection, when he came to Peter and those that were with Peter, and said to them, 'Handle me, and see. A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me have<sup>s</sup>.'" Of him Origen saith: "I mean Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch after Peter<sup>t</sup>." Jerome maketh "Ignatius to be the third bishop of

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 5. et lib. v. cap. 12. [p. 94. et 143. Par. 1678.]

<sup>o</sup> Epiphanius advers. Hæres. lib. ii. t. ii. Hæres. lxxvi. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 636. Ὡν τοὺς χρόνους καθέξης καὶ καθ' εἰρμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπισκόπους ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον βασιλέα ὑπέταξα. Tunc sequitur "Elenchus episcoporum Hierosolymitanorum." Ed.]

<sup>p</sup> Ignatii ad Antiochenos Epist. [ed. Is. Vossius, Lond. 1610. p. 86. Μνημονεύσατε Εὐδοίου τοῦ ἀξιωμακαρίστου ποιμένος ὧμων, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν.]

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 22. [p. 73. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδοίου πρῶτον καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο.]

BILSON.

<sup>r</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 8. [p. 313. Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὅπασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα ὑμνοῦντων.]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccl. in Ignatio. [t. i. 273. "Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi, et credo quia sit. Et quando venit ad Petrum, et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis, 'Ecce, palpate me, et videte quia non sum demonium corporale.'"]

Ignatii ad Smyrnæos Epist. [ed. Is. Vossius, Lond. 1680. p. 3. Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα, καὶ πιστεύω ὧντα. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε, φηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.]

<sup>t</sup> Origenis in Lucam Homil. vi. [t. iii.

the church of Antioch from Peter the apostle<sup>x</sup>," reckoning Peter for the first; after whom succeeded Ignatius in the second place; as Eusebius writeth: "Ignatius, so much spoken by most men to this present day, was the second that enjoyed the bishopric in the succession of Peter at Antioch<sup>y</sup>." Touching the sees of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, Gregory saith: "Peter advanced the seat (of Rome) where he thought good to rest, and end this present life: he also adorned the seat (of Alexandria) to which he sent his disciple, (Mark) the evangelist: he fastened the seat (of Antioch) in which he rested seven years, though with purpose to depart. It is one seat, and of one apostle, in which three bishops now sit by divine authority<sup>z</sup>."

For the first bishop of Alexandria, Jerome and Eusebius concur with Gregory; "Mark, the interpreter of Peter the apostle, and the first bishop of the church of Alexandria<sup>a</sup>," who dying six years before Peter, left his church and place unto Anianus, as Eusebius writeth: "Nero being in the eighth year of his reign, Anianus, a very godly man, and every way admirable, first undertook the public administration of the church of Alexandria, after Mark the apostle and evangelist<sup>b</sup>." And as the succession at Antioch began in Euodius that was ordained by the apostles; so at Alexandria they continued the same course from Mark downward, by Jerome's

Paris. 1740. p. 938. "Unde eleganter in cujusdam martyris epistola scriptum reperi, Ignatium dico episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum, qui in persecutione Romæ pugnavit ad bestias."

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. Catal. Script. Hist. in Ignatio. [t. i. 273. "Ignatius Antiochenæ ecclesiæ tertius post Petrum apostolum episcopus, commovente persecutionem Trajano, damnatus ad bestias, Romam vincitus mittitur."]

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 36. ["Ο, τε παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς, δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος."]

<sup>z</sup> S. Gregor. Registri Epistolarum lib. vi. epist. xxxvii. [juxta ordinem vulgatum: sed juxta ordinem novum, Epist. xl. ad Eulogium Episc. lib. vii. Indict. xv. tom. ii. Paris. 1705.

col. 888. "(Petrus) sublimavit sedem in qua etiam quiescere et præsentem vitam finire dignatus est: ipse decoravit sedem in qua evangelistam discipulum misit: ipse firmavit sedem in qua septem annis quamvis discensurus sedit. Cum ergo unius atque una sit sedes, cui ex auctoritate divina tres nunc episcopi præsent, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, hoc mihi imputo."]

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Comment. super Matthæum præcæm. [t. ix. 11. "Secundus Marcus, interpret apostoli Petri, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus."]

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 24. [Νέρωνος δὲ ὑγδοον ἔγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας, Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διεδέχεται· ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς ὢν καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος.]



own confession. "At Alexandria from Mark the evangelist unto Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters did always choose one of themselves, whom being placed in an higher degree they called (their) bishop<sup>c</sup>."

Of the succession at Rome Irenæus saith: "The blessed apostles (Peter and Paul) founding and ordering the church (of Rome), delivered the (oversight or) charge of governing the church to Linus. Anacletus succeeded him; and in the third place after the apostles, Clemens, which saw the apostles themselves and conferred with them, undertook the bishop's office. Next to this Clement succeeded Euaristus, after Euaristus Alexander, and then in the sixth place from the apostles was appointed Sixtus; then Telesphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, after whom was Anicetus. Next to Anicetus succeeded Soter, and now," (when Irenæus wrote,) "in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherius hath the bishopric<sup>d</sup>." And likewise Optatus: "Thou canst not deny," saith he to Parmenian, "but thou knowest that in the city of Rome the episcopal chair was conferred first to Peter, &c. In that chair, which was but one, sat first Peter, whom Linus succeeded, and after Linus Clemens, after Clemens Anacletus, after Anacletus Euaristus, then Sixtus, Telesphorus, Higinus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius<sup>e</sup>;" and so naming twenty more in order unto Sylvester, in whose time the great council of Nice was kept, and after him five others unto Siricius;

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. 329. "Alexandriæ a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant."]

<sup>d</sup> Irenæi advers. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 232. Lutet. Par. 1639. "Fundantes igitur et instruantes beati apostoli ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus; post eum tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et vidit ipsos apostolos, et contulit cum eis, cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem apostolorum, et traditionem ante oculos haberet. . . . Huic autem Clementi succedit Euari-

stus, et Euaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, et ab hoc Telesphorus, qui etiam gloriosissime martyrium fecit, ac deinceps Hyginus, post Pius, post quem Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco episcopatum ab apostolis habet Eleutherius."]

<sup>e</sup> Optati, lib. ii. cont. Parmenian. [p. 35. Par. 1679. "Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam; in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus: . . . . . Ergo cathedra unica, quæ est prima de dotibus, sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, &c. . . . . Miltiadi Sylvester, . . . . Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius."]



"which at this day is our fellow (bishop)." And so St. Austin: "If the row of bishops succeeding one another be to be considered, how much more certainly, and indeed soundly, do we reckon from Peter himself. For next to Peter succeeded Linus, after Linus Clemens, after Clemens Anacletus, then Euaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Higinus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor<sup>g</sup>," and so twenty-five more unto Anastasius, next after Siricius.

Neither had these four sees only their successions from the apostles: the rest of the churches dispersed throughout the world had the like derivation and continuation of bishops from the apostles, or apostolic men, that these had. Irenæus taketh the example of the church of Rome, "because it would be overlong in such a volume to repeat the successions of all churches<sup>h</sup>." Otherwise he plainly saith: "The true knowledge is the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient state of the church in the whole world, by the successions of bishops, to whom (the apostles) delivered the church which is in every place<sup>i</sup>." Tertullian saith as much; and choketh all the heretics of his time with that challenge<sup>j</sup>. "Let them shew the originals of their churches; let them number the order of their bishops so derived by succession from the beginning that their first bishop had one of the apostles or apostolic men for his author and antecessor. After this manner (by succession of bishops running up to the apostles or their

<sup>g</sup> August epist. clxv. [t. ii. col. 751. "Si enim ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, cui totius ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, 'Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincent eam.' Petro enim successit Linus, Lino Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, Anacleto Euaristus, Euaristo Alexander, Alexandro Sixtus, Sixto Thelesphorus, Thelesphoro Iginus, Iginio Anicetus, Aniceto Pius, Pio Soter, Soteri Eleutherius, Eleutherio Victor, &c. . . . Siricio Anastasius."]

<sup>h</sup> Irenæi advers. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 232. "Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ et omnibus

cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet, colligunt."]

<sup>i</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 63. [p. 400. "Agnitio vera est apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus ecclesiæ status in universo mundo secundum successiones episcoporum, quibus illi eam, quæ in unoquoque loco est, ecclesiam tradiderunt."]

<sup>j</sup> Thus L.: "Atque eo etiam, velut gladio quodam, sui temporis hæreticos jugulat."

scholars) do the apostolic churches bring in their accounts; as the churches of Smyrna having Polycarp placed there by St. John; as the church of Rome sheweth Clement ordained by Peter; as the rest of the churches exhibit what branches they have of the apostolic seed, even those that were (first) placed in the bishop's office by the apostles<sup>k</sup>." Austin likewise: "The root of Christian society is increased and extended throughout the world by the seats of the apostles, and successions of bishops<sup>l</sup>."

The particulars are infinite, if we should reckon all the churches that received bishops from the apostles and their followers; and the names of the men after so many hundred years are somewhat buried in oblivion, and razed with the general rage of ignorance and barbarism, that hath seized on the best places, and perished the best writers before our times. "It is not possible," saith Eusebius in his time, "by name to rehearse them all that were pastors and evangelists at the first succeeding after the apostles in the churches dispersed throughout the world<sup>m</sup>:" yet those which are extant, make proof sufficient for the matter in question; to wit, that bishops were placed by the apostles to govern as well the presbyters as the people of each place, and succeeded the apostles in imposing hands, which presbyters did not.

Of Timothy, Titus, Linus, Clemens, and Dionysius, named in the scriptures, Eusebius writeth thus: "Timotheus is recorded in the stories to be the first that had the bishopric of Ephesus, as also Titus of the churches in Crete. Linus,

<sup>k</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. [cap. xxxii. p. 213. "Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis aut apostolicis viris habuerit authorem et antecessorem. Hoc modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt; sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit; proinde utique et ceteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant."]

<sup>l</sup> August. Ep. xlii. [t. ii. col. 150. "Videtur certe multos præcisos a radice

Christianæ societatis, quæ per sedes apostolorum, et successiones episcoporum, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur, de sola figura originis, sub Christiano nomine, quasi arescentia sarmen-  
ta gloriari, quas hæreses et schismata nominamus: prævisa, prædicta, scripta sunt omnia."]

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 37. [Ἀδυνάτου ὃ ὄντος ἡμῖν ἅπαντας ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσοι ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις γεγόνασι ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταί, τούτων εἰκότως ἐξ ὀνόματος γραφῇ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατελεῖσθαι, ὧν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπομνημάτων, τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἢ παράδοσις φέρεται.]

whom Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy mentioneth as present with him at Rome, was the first that had the bishopric of the church of Rome after Peter. And Clemens, that was appointed the third bishop of the church of Rome, is witnessed by Paul himself to have been his fellow labourer and helper. Dionysius also, the Areopagite, who, as St. Luke in the Acts noteth, was first converted by Paul's sermon at Athens, was likewise the first bishop of the church of Athens, as another Dionysius, a very ancient pastor of the church of Corinth, writeth<sup>n</sup>."

Of Caius, Archippus, Onesimus, Polycarpus, and others, the like testimonies are extant in ancient writers. Origen saith: "Our elders have delivered us by tradition, that this Caius" (of whom Paul speaketh in the sixteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans) "was bishop of the church of Thessalonica<sup>o</sup>." Upon Paul's words to the Colossians: "Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it:" Ambrose writeth: "He warneth their overseer by themselves to be careful of their salvation. And because the epistle is written only for the people's sake, therefore he directeth it to the church and not to their ruler. For after Epaphras had instructed them, Archippus undertook the government of their church<sup>p</sup>." "Ignatius," saith Eusebius, "being at Smyrna where Polycarp was, wrote an epistle to the church of Ephesus, mentioning Onesimus their pastor<sup>q</sup>." And of Polycarp he saith: "There

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4. [Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, ὥς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν. . . Δίνος δὲ οὗ μὲννηται συνόντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἥδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἐπίσκοπος καταστάς, Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναβλητὴς γεγενῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται. Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν Ἀρειοπαγίτην ἐκείνον, Διονύσιον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὃν ἐν Πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀρειοπάγῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Παύλου δημηγορίαν, τῷ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον, ἀρ-

χαίον τὸς ἑτέρος Διονύσιος τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας ποιμὴν ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι.]

<sup>o</sup> Origenis Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. x. cap. xvi. [t. iv. Paris. 1759. p. 687. "Fertur sane traditione majorum, quod hic Gains primus episcopus fuerit Thessalonicensis ecclesiae."]

<sup>p</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iv. [t. v. 385. "Præpositum illorum per eos ipsos commonet, ut sit sollicitus de salute eorum. Et quia plebis solius causa scribitur epistola, ideo non ad rectorem ipsorum destinata est, sed ad ecclesiam. Post eum enim Epaphras [Epaphran?] qui illos imbuat, hic accipit regendam eorum ecclesiam."]

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 36. [p. 86. Οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν

remained yet in Asia Polycarpus that lived with the apostles, and received the bishopric of the church of Smyrna from those that themselves saw the Lord, and ministered unto him<sup>r</sup>." Irenæus affirmeth as much: "Polycarpus not only instructed by the apostles, and conversant with many of them which saw the Lord, but also by the apostles made bishop of the church of Smyrna, WHOM WE SAW WHEN WE WERE YOUNG, he always taught that which he learned of the apostles, and delivered it unto the church<sup>s</sup>."

If Christian churches and writers may deserve credit with us, we have the sincerest and eldest clearly witnessing and confirming unto us, that the apostles when they saw their time, placed of their scholars and followers one in every church (which they planted) to be bishop and pastor of the place; and that the successions of bishops so placed by the apostles, dured in all the apostolic churches even to the times that they wrote and testified thus much. Neither speak they of these things by hearsay; they lived with the apostles' scholars, and received from their mouths the things which they witness to posterity; and their successors in most churches they saw with their eyes, and conferred with them. Irenæus, that in his youth was Polycarp's scholar, saith: "We can reckon those which were ordained bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors even to our age. If the apostles had known any hid mysteries, which they taught to the perfect secretly and apart from the rest, they would most of all have delivered those things to such as they committed the churches unto. For they greatly desired to have them perfect and unprovable in all things, whom they left to be their successors, delivering unto them their own place of teaching<sup>t</sup>." Egesippus lived at the same time somewhat

τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ποιμένος αὐτῆς μνημονεύων Ὀνησίμου.]

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. [p. 85. Διέπρεπέ γε μὴν κατὰ τοὺτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων διμλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.]

<sup>s</sup> Irenæi adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 233. "Et Polycarpus non solum ab apostolis edoctus, et conversatus cum

multis ex eis, qui Dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus; quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate, hic docuit semper, quæ ab apostolis didicerat, quæ et ecclesiæ tradidit."]

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. [p. 232. "Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos. Si recondita mysteria scissent



elder than Irenæus, and travelling to Rome under Anicetus, he conferred with Primus, bishop of Corinth, and divers other bishops as he went, and “found them all agreeing in one and the same doctrine. In every succession, and in every city,” (saith he,) “as I travelled they kept that truth which the law and the prophets, and the Lord himself preached. And the church of Corinth persisted in the right way unto the time of Primus, bishop of Corinth<sup>u</sup>.” And shewing how the church of Jerusalem came first to be troubled with heresies, he saith: “After that James the Just” (who was both an apostle and the first bishop of Jerusalem) “was martyred by the same kind of death that the Lord was; Simeon, the son of Cleophas, uncle (to James), was made bishop, whom all preferred for this respect, because he was another of Christ’s cousins (as the former was). That church men called a virgin, for as yet she was not infected with false doctrine; but Thebulis, because he was not made bishop, was the first that corrupted her<sup>x</sup>.” Dionysius, equal in age with Egesippus and bishop of Corinth straight after Primus, in his epistle written to the Athenians, putteth them in mind that “Dionysius the Areopagite, converted to the faith by St. Paul, was their first bishop; and Publius, another of their bishops, martyred by the persecutors of those times; and their church restored by Quadratus (another of the apostles’ disciples) that next succeeded Publius in the bishopric<sup>y</sup>.” Clemens Alex-

apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos esse volebant, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes.”]

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 22. [Περὶ ἨγΗΣΙΠΠΟΥ.] Ἐν οἷς δημοῖ, ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειεν, ἀποδήμιαν στειλόμενος μέχρι Ῥώμης· καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρέιληφε διδασκαλίαν. . . . Καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ . . . ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος.]

<sup>x</sup> Ibidem. [Καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι

Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὅντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὕτω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. ἄρχεται δ’ ὁ Θεβουθὺς διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποφθεῖρυν.]

<sup>y</sup> Ejusdem lib. iv. cap. 23. [Περὶ Διονυσίου.] p. 116. Ἐξ οὐπερ τὸν προεστώτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διαγμούς. Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρῆσαντα Πούπλιον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται, ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων, καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναζωπύρωσιν εἰληχόντων· δηλοῖ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπείας ἐπὶ



andrinus, who lived in the next age to St. John the apostle, reporteth out of former stories, that St. John, "returning from his banishment to Ephesus, went to the churches round about, being thereto requested, and in some places made bishops, in other places chose such into the clergy as the Holy Ghost signified unto him<sup>a</sup>;" and that even then the bishop was ἐπὶ πάντων καθεστὼς, "set over and above all," both clergy and people. Methodius saith, that the apostle Peter directed Eucharius, one of the seventy disciples, with Valerius and Maternus, to preach the gospel in Germany and France<sup>a</sup>;" and Eucharius planting a church at Trevers, "held the bishopric of that city twenty-three years," and then dying, "relinquished the chief dignity of the church of Trevers to Valerius, who after fifteen years, left the pastoral charge to Maternus<sup>b</sup>. After Maternus had held the regiment of preaching (the word) forty years, one Auspicius sat (in his place)<sup>c</sup>." "And so along by lawful successions, many singular and excellent men for holiness and grace;" namely, "Srenus, Felix, Mansuetus, Clemens, Moses, Martinus, Anastasius, Andreas, Rusticus, Fabricius, Fortunatus, Cassianus, Marcus," and many others<sup>d</sup>.

τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι δεδηλωμένα, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθηναίων παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχέριστο.]

<sup>a</sup> Eiusd. lib. iii. cap. 23. [p. 73. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν. ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὕλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.]

<sup>a</sup> Methodius apud Marian. Scotum in annis Christi LXXII. LXXIV. LXXXVI. et c. [Francofurti, 1583. Compilatio Chronolog. p. 710. "Petrus iussit Maternum, et Valerium et Eucharium predicare verbum Dei citra montes nationibus."]

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. [p. 371. "Methodius sic: In cuius scilicet Vespasianii exordio Eucharius Trevericæ ecclesiæ culmen, ipse superni culminis dignitatem adeptus, anno Dominicæ incarnationis 75, Valerio dereliquit."]

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. [p. 377. "Methodius sic: Cycclus octavus deconnovalis incipit indictione prima. Anno sexto Sixti sacer-

dotii, imperii autem Ælii Adriani Cæsaris octavo anno, sanctus Maternus Trevericæ sedis archiepiscopus, quadraginta annis post Valerium sui pontificatus dignanter expletis, ad celestia transivit, anno Dominicæ incarnationis centesimo vicesimo octavo."]

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. [p. 375. "Sed et alii plurimi per idem tempus apostolorum discipuli superstites erant, qui ecclesiæ sanctæ ædificia construantes, regnum cælorum per omnem terram verbo Dei consecrabant, augentes perfectionis salutare præceptum, ut expeditis in prædicatione evangelii electis, ad alias gentes, aliasque urbes properarent; et vel principes, vel evangelistæ, vel pastores ipsorum apostolorum suppres, post primas successiones in ecclesiis quæ per orbem terræ sunt, fungebantur officio. De quibus post Maternum, qui quadraginta annis Treveri prædicationis regimen tenuit, quidam Auspicius resedit. Deinde insignes per legitimis successiones et sanctitate et gratia pollentes extiterunt, sanctissimus quisque nomine vel meritis celsus, animo sublimis, sed et genere clarus, non segnis, patriæ sem-

About Irenæus' time, who succeeded Pothinus, bishop of Lyons in France, that was martyred when he was ninety years of age<sup>e</sup>, we find Thræseas bishop of Smyrna after Polycarp<sup>f</sup>, Apollinarius<sup>g</sup> bishop of Hierapolis after Papias<sup>h</sup>, another of St. John's scholars; Banchillus<sup>i</sup> bishop of Corinth after Primus and Dionysius<sup>k</sup>, Polycrates bishop of Ephesus succeeding some of his kinsmen in the same seat<sup>l</sup>, Theophilus bishop of Cesarea<sup>m</sup>, to have been renowned, and the most of them writers in the church of Christ. Of his time, Tertullian saith: "Survey the apostolic churches, where the very chairs of the apostles are to this day succeeded (or continued). Is Achaia near to thee? there thou hast Corinth. If thou be not far from Macedonia; thou hast Philippos and Thessalonica. If thou travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. If thou lie near to Italy, thou hast Rome<sup>n</sup>." In Cyprian's time, who was bishop of Carthage, the bishop of Cesarea was Theoctistus<sup>o</sup>, and after him Domnus<sup>p</sup>, then Theotecnus<sup>p</sup> and Agapius<sup>q</sup>;

per ubique vicens, affectu pio, honore, actuque, Serenus, Felix, Mansuetus, Clemens, Moses, Martinus, Anastasius, Andreas, Rusticus, et author Fabricius, et Fortunatus, atque Cassianus, necnon et Marcus, cæterique quamplurimi, qui suis diversis temporibus, non solum propria provincia, sed et in extremis et ultimis industrii et illustres, non solum confessione, quin et martyrio existentes, regna etiam tyrannorum vicerunt."

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 5. [p. 138. Ποθεινὸς δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς ἔτεσιν ἐνεήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρήσασιν τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἥς ὁ Ποθεινὸς, ἡγεῖτο παροικίας, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται.]

<sup>f</sup> Ejusdem lib. v. cap. 24. [p. 155. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Θρασέας καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενίας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοίμηται.]

<sup>g</sup> Ejusdem lib. iv. cap. 21. [p. 115. Φίλιππος τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Μελίτων.]

<sup>h</sup> Ejusd. lib. iii. c. 36. [p. 85. Καθ' ὃν [sc. χρόνον] ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας τῆς ἐν Ἱερὰπολιν παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογιώτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων.]

<sup>i</sup> Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 22. [p. 154. Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλλος,

καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῃ παροικίας Πολυκράτης.]

<sup>k</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 21. [p. 115. Καὶ Διονύσιος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος.]

<sup>l</sup> Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 24. [p. 155. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησά τισιν αὐτῶν. ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος.]

<sup>m</sup> Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 22. [p. 154. Καισαρεῖας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνῃ καθηγείτο Θεόφιλος.]

<sup>n</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. [cap. xxxvi. p. 215. "Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurrere ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est."]

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 5. [p. 205. Καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν ὁμόφρονες οἱ πανταχοῦ προσεστώτες, χαίροντες καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνῃ γενομένῃ· Δημητριάδος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ· Θεόκτιστος ἐν Καισαρείᾳ.]

<sup>p</sup> Ibidem, cap. 14. [p. 214. Τῆς δ'

the bishop of Laodicea was Heliodorus, that succeeded Thelimidres<sup>r</sup>, and after Heliodorus followed Socrates, Eusebius, Anatolius, Stephanus, and Theodotus<sup>s</sup>. The bishop of Tyrus was Marinus<sup>t</sup>, before whom were Alexander<sup>t</sup> and Cassius<sup>x</sup>, and after whom came Tirammion<sup>y</sup> and Paulinus<sup>z</sup>; yea, the successions of bishops in these and other churches dured from the apostles, not only to the council of Nice, but a thousand years after Christ; and in many places to this present day. For where St. John the evangelist wrote to the pastors of the seven churches in Asia; to wit, of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea, their successors sat in the council of Nice, retaining the same place and office of bishops which their predecessors had in the apostles' time, and there subscribed with the rest, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus; Eutychius, bishop of Smyrna; Serras, bishop of Thyatira; Artemidorus, bishop of Sardis; Cyrion, bishop of Philadelphia; and Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea; together with the bishops of Athens, Thessalonica, Hierapolis, and many other places that had their first bishops from the apostles' hands<sup>a</sup>. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth general council, which was kept 676 years after Christ, the bishops that

Rev. ii. 1.  
8. 12. 18;  
iii. 1. 7. 14.

ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης Καισαρείας Θεοκτίστου μεταλλάξαντος διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Δόμνος. Βραχεὶ δὲ χρόνῳ τούτου διαγενομένου, Θεότεκνος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς, διάδοχος καθίσταται.]

q Ibidem, cap. 32. [p. 235. Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης σπουδαιότατα Θεότεκνον τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διελθόντα, Ἀγάπιος διαδέχεται.]

r Ejusdem lib. vii. cap. 5. [p. 205. Ἠλιδώρος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀναπανασαμένου Θηλυμίδρου.]

s Ibid. cap. 32. [p. 232. Τῆς δ' ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ παροικίας ἡγήσατο μετὰ Σωκράτην Εὐσέβιος, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ὀρμηθῆς πόλεως.]

Ibid. [p. 235. Καὶ τοῦ Ἀνατολίου δὲ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, τῆς ἐκείσε παροικίας ὑστάτος τῶν πρὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καθίσταται Στέφανος. . . . Ἀνορθοῦται δ' αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων σωτήρος, αὐτίκα τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδελχεῖται Θεόδωτος.]

t Ejusd. lib. vii. cap. 5. [p. 205. Μαζαβάνης ἐν Αἰλίδι· Μαρῖνος ἐν Τύρῳ κοιμηθέντος Ἀλεξάνδρου.]

x Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 25. [p. 157. Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Κάσσιος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος.]

y Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 13. [p. 251. Τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Φοινίκης μαρτύρων γένοιοντ' ἂν ἐπισημότατοι τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεῖς τῶν λογικῶν Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, Τυραννίων ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας.]

z Ejusd. lib. x. cap. 1. [p. 301. Σὺλ τοῦτον [τόμον] ἐπιγράψομεν ἱεράτατέ μοι Παυλῖν.]

a Concil. Nicæn. Subscriptiones. [t. ii. col. 50. "Subscripterunt trecenti decem et octo episcopi, qui in eodem concilio convenerunt. Provinciæ Asiæ; Menophantus Ephesus; Eutychius Smyrnensis. Provinciæ Lydiæ; Soron (Serras) Thyatirensis; Artemidorus Sardensis. Provinciæ Arabiæ; Cyrion Philadelphię. Provinciæ Syriæ Cœles; Theodorus (Theodotus) Laodiceæ. Provinciæ Achaïæ; Pistus Atheniensis. Provinciæ Macedonia; Alexander Thessalonicensis. Provinciæ Phrygiæ; Flaccus Hieropolitanus."]

succeeded in the same seats, did likewise subscribe, and so hath the succession of bishops in many places of Christendom, continued from the apostles' times to this present age. In some countries where Christianity is decayed, their succession of bishops is interrupted; otherwise, throughout the Christian world, no example before our age can be shewed that ever the church of Christ in any place or time, since the apostles died, had any other form of government, than by bishops succeeding and ruling as well the presbyters as the people that were under them.

Our answer is easy and ready to all that you have brought; first, the bishops of the primitive church which succeeded one another in every place, were all one with presbyters, as Jerome telleth you; and then we grant without exception all that you have alleged out of these ancient fathers and writers. Next, when they make any difference betwixt bishops and presbyters, as sometimes they do, by bishops they understand all pastors and ministers of the word and sacraments, and by presbyters they mean the lay elders, which we seek to restore. Thirdly, if you could prove, that bishops were above other ministers of the word and sacraments; yet that superiority was nothing else, but a power to call the rest together, to propose matters in doubt unto them, and to ask their voices and consents, by which the bishops of those times were directed, and from which they might by no means divert to their own wills and pleasures.]

I know how easy and ready a thing it is with you to say what you list, if you may be trusted without any further trial; but if it please you substantially to prove these things which you affirm, or but any one of them, you shall find it is a matter of greater difficulty and longer study than you take it for. Did you plead before the poorest jury that is, for earthly trifles, they would not credit your word without some witness: and in matters of religion that touch the peace and safety of the whole church of Christ, do you look your voluntary should be received without all authority or testimony to warrant it? if your folly be such as to expect so much at other men's hands, their simplicity is not such as to yield it. Indeed to my conceiving, the sum of your answer is very like the form of



your discipline, for neither of them hath any proof, possibility, nor coherency.

To prove the bishop's calling to be different from the presbyter's, that yet helped in the word and sacraments, I shew that bishops ordained ministers, which presbyters by the judgment and assertion of the primitive church might not do; and that in every church there were or might be many presbyters according to the necessity of the place; but no more than one bishop in every church did or might succeed the apostles in their chairs. Hence I conclude that bishops ever since the apostles' times, were distinguished from those presbyters that assisted the pastor of each place in the word and sacraments. You answer that either bishops were all one with presbyters, or if there were any difference betwixt them, presbyters then were lay elders. In which words you close not only a monstrous falsity, but a manifest contrariety. For in effect you say, presbyters were bishops, and no bishops; presbyters were no laymen, and yet laymen. If presbyters were bishops, they were no lay elders; if they were lay elders, they were no bishops. You must therefore choose the one, and refuse the other as false and repugnant to the former. Take which you will, the choice must be yours, what you will answer.

The bishops which succeeded the apostles were the pastors and ministers of every parish; the presbyters were the lay elders, that together with the bishop governed the church in common.] Could you make any proof for lay elders, either in scriptures or fathers, you had some show to mistake presbyters for lay elders; but I have already perused the weakness of your guesses<sup>b</sup>; and withal made just and full proof for the contrary; that the primitive church of Christ had no presbyters<sup>c</sup>, but ministers of the word and sacraments. If you be loath to turn back to the place, hear what the great African council saith, wherein sat, besides St. Augustine, two hundred and sixteen bishops. "In the former council," saith Aurelius, "we thought meet that these three degrees, tied to a kind of continency by reason of their consecration, I mean

<sup>b</sup> Thus L.: "Verum excussis opinionum vestrarum fundamentis jam antea demonstravi,"

<sup>c</sup> Thus L.: "Nullos in prima purissimaque ecclesia presbyteros,"



bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as becometh bishops and priests of God, and Levites and servitors about the divine sacraments, should be continent in all things. All the bishops answered, We like well that all which stand or serve at the altar should be continent<sup>d</sup>." Then presbyters were consecrated, and priests to God, and approached to the altar, and ministered the divine sacraments. The imperial laws say as much: "Touching the most reverend presbyters and deacons, if they be found to give false evidence in a pecuniary cause, it shall suffice for them instead of whipping, to be three years separated from the sacred ministry; but if in criminal causes they bear false witness, we command them to be degraded of their clergy, and subjected to the penalties of the law<sup>e</sup>." Then presbyters in the primitive church were both of the clergy and sacred ministry, as the very laws of the Roman empire do testify. Jerome, on whose words you so much depend, saith: "All these places prove, that in ancient times, presbyters and bishops were all one<sup>f</sup>." And again: "The bishops, presbyters and deacons, ought greatly to provide that they excel all the people which are under them, in conversation and doctrine; because it vehemently destroyeth the church of Christ to have the laymen better than the clergymen<sup>g</sup>." And Augustine: "Whosoever, either bishop, presbyter or

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Afric. can. iii. [t. ii. col. 1051. Αὐρήλιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· Ἐν τῇ προλαβοῦσῃ συνόδῳ ὡς περὶ ῥυθμοῦ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀγνείας ἐζητεῖτο, ἤρρεσεν ὥστε τοὺς τρεῖς βαθμοὺς τούτους, τοὺς συνδέσμῳ τινὶ τῆς ἀγνείας διὰ τῆς καθιερωσύνης συμπεπλεγμένους (φημὶ δὴ ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους) ὡς πρέπει ὁσίοις ἐπισκόποις καὶ ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ καὶ Λευίταις καὶ ὑπουργοῦσι θείοις καθιερώμασιν, ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι ἐν πᾶσιν, ὅπως δυνηθῶσιν ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπλῶς αἰτοῦσιν, ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἵνα καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδοθὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχαϊότητος κρατηθὲν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοίως φυλάξωμεν.]

<sup>e</sup> Justinian. Novell. Const. cxxiii. cap. 20. [Gotting. 1797. tit. vi. p. 501. Τοῖς δὲ εὐλαβεστάτοις πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις εἰ εὐρεθίεν ὑπὲρ χρηματικῆς αἰτίας ψευδομαρτυρήσαντες, ἀρκέσει ἀντὶ βασάνων ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς χωρίζεσθαι τῆς θέας ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ μοναστηρίοις

παραδίδοσθαι. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν αἰτιῶν εἰ ψευδομαρτυρίαν εἴποιεν, τῆς ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἀξίας γυμνουμένους, ταῖς νομίμοις ὑποβάλλεσθαι ποιναῖς προστάττομεν.]

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. in cap. i. ad Titum. [t. ix. 245. "Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam."]

<sup>g</sup> Idem in cap. ii. ad Titum. [t. ix. 254. "Qualis enim ædificatio erit discipuli, si se intelligat magistro esse majorem? Unde non solum episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi debent magnopere providere, ut cunctum populum cui præsentant conversatione et sermone prædant, verum et inferior gradus, exorcistæ, lectores, æditui, et omnes omnino qui domui Dei serviunt. Quia vehementer ecclesiam Christi destruit, meliores laicos esse quam clericos."]

layman, doth declare how eternal life may be gotten, he is worthily called the messenger of God<sup>h</sup>." Then if bishops were no laymen, no more were presbyters. You must therefore send your lay elders to the newfound land; the Christian world never heard of any such ecclesiastical governors, before some men in our age began to set that fancy on foot.

As for presbyters that were clergymen and ministers of the word, we shew you both by the scriptures and stories, they were many in one church, and yet was there in every church and city, but one of them that succeeded the apostles, as pastor of the place, with power to impose hands for the ordaining of presbyters and deacons<sup>i</sup>. Those successors to the apostles, the church of Christ even from the apostles' age, hath distinguished from other presbyters by the two proper marks of episcopal power and function; I mean succession and ordination; and called them bishops. Thus much is mainly proved unto you<sup>k</sup> by all those apostolic churches that had many presbyters as helpers in the word, and never but one bishop that succeeded in the apostolic chair. At Alexandria this succession began from Mark the evangelist, and first bishop of that church, after whose death (Peter and Paul yet living) Anianus was elected by the presbyters there, and placed in an higher degree over the presbyters, and called a bishop. They be Jerome's own words that I press you with: "At Alexandria from Mark the evangelist, the presbyters always electing one of themselves, and placing him in an higher degree, called him a bishop<sup>l</sup>." The like he saith was done in the whole world. "After every man began to take those, whom he baptized, to be his own and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one of the presbyters should be chosen and set above the rest, to whom the whole (or chief) care of the church should pertain<sup>m</sup>." There were

<sup>h</sup> August. in Apoc. Homil. ii. [t. ix. col. 660. "Nam quia etiam angelus nuncius interpretatur, quicumque aut episcopus aut presbyter aut etiam laicus frequenter de Deo loquitur, et quomodo ad vitam æternam perveniatur, annunciat, merito angelus Dei dicitur."]

<sup>i</sup> "for the ordaining of presbyters and deacons," omitted L.

<sup>k</sup> Thus L.: "Quod quidem exemplis

non aliunde derivatis,"

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. Evagrio. [t. ii. 329. "Nam et Alexandria a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant."]

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. in cap. i. Epist. ad Titum. [t. ix. 245. "Postquam unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos esse putabat,

many presbyters in every church, and out of them one was chosen, and set above the rest (of the presbyters) to repress schisms. He doth not say, that every place had one presbyter and no more, which was called a bishop, but one chosen out of the presbyters (which were many) was placed in every church throughout the world, not over the flock only, but over the rest of the presbyters also, which preached and baptized as well as he, and consequently were ministers of the word and sacraments, and no lay elders as you dream.

Wherefore to tell us, that the bishops which succeeded the apostles in their chairs, were the presbyters and ministers of every parish, is a very jest. Not only St. Jerome's words, but all the apostolic churches and ancient stories most plainly convince the contrary. At Antioch, even as at Alexandria, there were from the apostles' times a number of presbyters and labourers in the word; yet the succession continued always in one and no more. Ignatius, the next bishop of Antioch after Euodius, who received the first charge of that church from the apostles' hands, when he was carried prisoner to Rome, writeth unto the church of Antioch, willing the "laity to obey the presbyters and deacons:" and adding, "You presbyters feed the flock that is with you, till God shew who shall be your ruler" or pastor after my death. The like he doth to the churches of Trallis, Magnesia, Tarsus, Philippos, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Ephesus, in every of his epistles to them, remembering the bishops, presbyters and deacons, that guided them, and naming Polycarpus, Onesimus, Demas, Vitalis and Polybius as bishops of Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philippos and Trallis, apart from the presbyters of the very same churches: yea, what church of account was there in Christendom, that had not at one and the same time, both a bishop and presbyters. Irenæus was presbyter under Pothinus, bishop of Lyons: at Antioch was Geminus under

non Christi; in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret."]

<sup>a</sup> Ignat. ad Antioch. Epist. [ed. Is. Vossius, Lond. 1680. p. 86. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον ἕως

ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν αὐτῶν.]

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. [t. i. 279. "Irenæus Pothini episcopi qui Lugdunensem in Gallia regebat ecclesiam presbyter, a martyribus ejusdem loci ob quasdam ecclesiæ quæstiones le-

Zebeus, and Malchion under Paulus Samosatenus, and Diodorus<sup>oo</sup>, Heliodorus, Theodorus, Isaac, Mochinus, and infinite others under the bishops of that see<sup>p</sup>. So at Alexandria were Pantænus, Clemens and Origen, presbyters under Serapion, Asclepiades, and Demetrius, bishops: and so Dionysius, under Heraclas; and Pierius, under Theonas<sup>q</sup>. And under the foresaid Dionysius, when he was bishop of Alexandria, were Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, Lucius, Faustinus and Aquila, presbyters<sup>r</sup>; Tertullian, Cyprian, and Cecilius were presbyters in the church of Carthage<sup>s</sup>. St. Augustine was a pres-

gatus Romam missus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherium episcopum perfert literas."]

<sup>oo</sup> Ibid. [p. 289. "Geminus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter pauca ingenii sui monumenta composuit, florens sub Alexandro principe, et episcopo urbis suæ Zebennō, eo vel maxime tempore, quo Heraclas Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ pontifex ordinatus est."

Ibid. p. 291. "Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, quippe qui in eadem urbe rhetoricam florentissime docuerat, adversum Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurarat, excipientibus notariis disputavit, qui dialogus hodie extat."

Ibid. p. 301. "Diodorus Tarsensis episcopus, dum Antiochiæ esset presbyter, magis claruit."]

<sup>p</sup> Gennadii illustrium Virorum Catalog. in Op. Hieron. [t. i. p. 314. Basil. 1537. "Heliodorus presbyter scripsit librum unum de naturis rerum exordialium;" &c.

Ibid. p. 315. "Theodorus presbyter scripsit ad alia monasteria scripturarum sanctarum epistolas sermone digestas. . . . Theodorus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, vir scientia cautus, et lingua disertus, scripsit adversum Apollinaristas, et Anomæos de incarnatione Domini, libros ad quindecim millia versuum continentes."

Ibid. p. 318. "Isaac scripsit de sancta Trinitate, et de incarnatione Domini librum obscurissimæ disputationis et involuti sermonis;" &c.

Ibid. p. 323. "Mochimus Mesopotamenus apud Antiochiam presbyter, scripsit adversus Eutychem egregium librum;" &c.

Vide et alios pæne infinitos in eodem catalogo. Ed.]

BILSON.

<sup>q</sup> Hieron. Catalogus Scriptor. Eccles. [t. i. p. 280. "Pantænus Stoicæ sectæ philosophus, juxta quandam veterem in Alexandria consuetudinem, ubi a Marco evangelista semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores, tantæ prudentiæ et eruditionis, tam in scripturis divinis, quam in seculari literatura fuit, ut in Indiam quoque rogatus ab illius gentis legatis, a Demetrio Alexandriæ episcopo mitteretur."

Ibid. p. 281. "Extat Alexandri Hierosolymitarum episcopi, qui cum Narcisso postea rexit ecclesiam, epistola super ordinationem Asclepiadis confessoris ad Antiochenes, congratulantis eis, in qua ponit in fine, 'Hæc vobis, domini ac fratres scripta transmissi per Clementem beatum presbyterum, virum illustrem et probatum,' &c. . . . Constat Origenem hujus fuisse discipulum."

Ibid. p. 285. "Hic [Origenes] Alexandriæ dispersa ecclesia, decimo octavo ætatis suæ anno κατηχήσεων opus aggressus: postea a Demetrio, ejus urbis episcopo, in locum Clementis presbyteri confirmatus, per multos annos floruit."

Ibid. p. 290. "Dionysius Alexandrinæ urbis episcopus sub Heracla scholam κατηχήσεων presbyter tenuit, et Origenis valde insignis auditor fuit."

Ibid. p. 293. "Pierius Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter, sub Caro et Diocletiano principibus, eo tempore quo eandem ecclesiam Theonas episcopus regebat, florentissime docuit populos."]

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 11. [p. 213. 'Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει καταδεύκασιν ἀφανῶς ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς· πρεσβύτεροι μὲν, Μάξιμος, Διόσκορος, Δημήτριος, καὶ Λούκιος· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ προφανέστεροι φανούτινος καὶ Ἀκύλας, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλανῶνται.]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Catal. Eccles. Scriptor. [t. i. p. 284. "Tertullianus presbyter, nunc



byter under Valerius, bishop of Hippo<sup>t</sup>; and under Augustine was Eradius, that succeeded him<sup>u</sup>, and other more. Chrysostom was first presbyter under Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, and after made bishop of Constantinople. Of Vigilantius, a presbyter in Spain, Jerome saith: "I marvel the bishop in whose charge (or diocese) he is reported to be a presbyter, doth not break that unprofitable vessel with the apostolic rod, even with an iron rod<sup>x</sup>." Of Jerome St. Austin saith: "Although by the names of honour which now have prevailed in the use of the church, a bishop's place be greater than a presbyter's, yet in many points Augustine is less than Jerome<sup>y</sup>." The presbyteries of Cæsarea<sup>z</sup>, Edissa<sup>a</sup>, Massilia<sup>b</sup>, Vienna<sup>c</sup>, Milan, and of infinite other churches<sup>d</sup>, might be likewise proved<sup>e</sup>,

demum primus post Victorem et Apollonium Latinorum ponitur, provinciae Africæ, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre centurione proconsulari."

Ibid. p. 290. "Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit: exinde suadente presbytero Cecilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, Christianus factus, omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit, ac post non multum temporis electus in presbyterum, etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est."

<sup>t</sup> August. Epist. cxlviii. [t. ii. col. 686. In præfatione: "Augustinus Valerio episcopo suo, cui erat collega, præsertim in dispensando verbo Dei demonstrat quam difficile sit sacerdotem pium agere." In ipsa epistola. "Jubes ergo, ut peream, pater Valeri?"]

<sup>u</sup> Ejusd. epist. cx. [t. ii. col. 514. "Gloriosissimo Theodosio duodecies et Valentiniano Augusto iterum consule, sexto calendas Octobris, cum Augustinus episcopus una cum Religiano et Martiniano coepiscopis suis consedisset in ecclesia pacis Hipponensium regionum, præsentibus Saturnino, Leporio, Barnaba, Fortunatiano, Rustico, Lazaro, et Eradio presbyteris, astante clero et frequenti populo, Augustinus episcopus dixit, &c. . . . . Presbyterum Eradium mihi successorem volo."]

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. adv. Vigilantium ad Riparium Epistola. [t. ii. 119. "Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochia esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, et non virga apostolica, virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile, et tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus

fiat: nec meminerit illius dicti, Si videbas furem currebas cum eo, et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas."]

<sup>y</sup> August. Epist. Lib. [t. ii. col. 84. "Quonquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, licet etiam a minore quolibet non sit refugienda vel dedignanda correctio."]

<sup>z</sup> S. Basilii Cæsar. Cappadoc. Arch. Epist. cxcviii. [t. iii. Bened. Paris. 1730. col. 289. in Epistola Basil. ad Eusebium Episc. Samosat. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ πολυάνθρωπόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀμελετήτως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὰς ὁδοιπορίας, διὰ τὸ μὴτε ἐμπορεῦσθαι, μὴτε τὴν ἕξω διατριβὴν αἰρεῖσθαι, &c.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Gregorii Registri Epistolarum [lib. ii. Indiction. x. epist. xxxii. col. 593. "Quod ego credidi, moxque eum in gratiam familiariter recepi, coram populo et clero eum perduxi, presbyterium ei auxi," &c.]

<sup>b</sup> Gennadii illust. Viror. Cat. in Op. Hieronym. [t. i. p. 321. Basil. 1537. "Cassianus natione Scythæ. Constantinopoli a Joanne magno, episcopo, diaconus ordinatus, apud Masiliam presbyter," &c.]

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 322. "Salvianus Massiliensis presbyter. . . . . scripsit ad Claudianum episcopum Viennensem, librum unum."

<sup>d</sup> Vide et multos alios in eodem catalogo. Ed.]

<sup>e</sup> Thus L.: "Si in exemplis ambicius esse velim,"



but why should I stand so long in a case as clear as sunshine to those that have any taste of learning or use of reading? They can light on no ancient council nor story of the church, but they shall find the clergy of each city distinct from the bishop, and subject unto the bishop. Yea, no presbyter might depart from the church where he was ordained, without the consent of his bishop, nor be received in another church by the bishop there, without the liking and license of the bishop whose presbyter he was first, as appeareth by the councils of Nice, can. 15. and 16; of Antioch, can. 3; of Chalcedon, can. 8; of Africa, can. 55. Neither might any man be made a bishop by the canons, except he were first a presbyter, and so did "rise by every degree unto the height of the bishop's calling f." All which, and a thousand other rules and canons do exquisitely prove, that every city had besides their bishop and under their bishop, as well presbyters as other clergymen; and so without all contradiction, presbyters were distinct from bishops, and a degree beneath bishops, wheresoever they be reckoned in order together as deacons, presbyters and bishops.

"But anciently," as Jerome saith, "presbyters and bishops were all one." Those names did not differ at first by reason the episcopal power and honour was in the apostles and evangelists; but when those succeeded that were neither apostles nor evangelists, then began they to be called bishops. "At the first," saith Theodoret, "they called the same men both bishops and presbyters; and those that are now called bishops, they named apostles. In process of time, they left the name of apostle to those that were indeed apostles, and they called them bishops whom before they termed apostles g." And so Ambrose: "The apostles are (now) the bishops. After the

f Concil. Sardicens. can. x. [t. ii. col. 636. "Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω, ἵνα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἐξετάζοιτο, ὥστε ἂν τις πλούσιος, ἢ σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀξιοῖτο ἐπίσκοπος γίνεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον καθίστασθαι, ἂν μὴ καὶ ἀναγνώστου, καὶ διακόνου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελέσῃ. ἵνα καθ' ἑκάστων βαθμῶν, ἂν περ ἄξιος νομισθείη, εἰς τὴν ἁψίδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς

κατὰ προκοπὴν διαβῇ· ἀνὰ δύναμιν.]

g Theodoret. in Epist. i. ad Tim. cap. iii. [Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 652. 'Ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἔφη, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουσαν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους· τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὄνομα τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἀποστόλοις κατέλιπον· τὴν δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν.]

bishop, he is greatest that is said to prophesy; which now may be the order of presbyters<sup>f</sup>.” Jerome, commenting upon these words of David: “Thy children shall be instead of thy fathers,” saith: “The apostles, O church, were thy fathers, because they begat thee; and now for that they be departed this world, thou hast in their stead children, (which are) the bishops created by thyself; for they are (now) thy fathers because thou art governed by them<sup>g</sup>.” St. Augustine, upon the same words, saith in like manner: “The apostles begat thee, they are (thy) fathers. Is the church forsaken by their departure? God forbid. Instead of thy fathers, are children born unto thee. The apostles were fathers; instead of the apostles, bishops are appointed. Those the church calleth fathers, yet those she begat, and those she placeth in the seats of (her) fathers<sup>h</sup>.”

If we should grant you that a difference was observed in the primitive church betwixt the presbyters and bishops, as well for ordination as succession, yet that difference grew only “by the custom and use” of the church, and not by any divine precept or ordinance. And so much is affirmed both by St. Austin and St. Jerome in those very places which you allege; for the church as they say, and not Christ or his apostles, placed bishops in the seats and rooms of the apostles.] When St. Austin and St. Jerome do say that the church “createth” and “placeth bishops in the apostles’ seats;”

<sup>f</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. [t. v. 354. “Apostoli episcopi sunt. . . . . Inter istos [sc. prophetas, evangelistas, pastores, &c.] post episcopum plus esse intelligitur, qui propter reseratum occultum scripturarum sensum prophetare dicitur, præsertim quia futuræ spei verba depromit: qui ordo nunc potest esse presbyterii.”]

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. in Psalm. xlv. [t. viii. 68. “Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii.” Fuerunt, O ecclesia, apostoli patres tui, quia ipsi te genuerunt. Nunc autem quia illi recesserunt a mundo, habes pro his episcopos filios, qui a te creati sunt. Sunt enim et hi patres tui, quia ab ipsis regeris.”]

<sup>h</sup> August. in Psalm. xlv. [t. viii. col. 416. “Genuerunt te apostoli: ipsi missi sunt, ipsi prædicaverunt, ipsi pa-

tres. Sed numquid nobiscum corporaliter semper esse potuerunt? Et si unus ipsorum dixit, ‘Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo, multo magis optimum est, manere in carne necessarium propter vos.’ Dixit hoc quidem, sed quamdiu hic manere potuit? Numquid usque ad hoc tempus? Numquid usque in posterum? Ergo illorum abscessu deserta est ecclesia? Absit. ‘Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii.’ Quid est ‘pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii?’ Patres missi sunt apostoli; pro apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt episcopi. Hodie enim episcopi qui sunt per totum mundum, unde nati sunt? Ipsa ecclesia patres illos appellat, ipsa illos genuit, et ipsa illos constituit in sedibus patrum.”]

they do not mean as you misconstrue their words, that the church hath altered the form of the apostolic government which she received, and of herself devised another kind of regiment by bishops; that were to charge the church of Christ with a voluntary defection from the apostles' discipline, and an arrogant preferring of her own invention before God's ordinance. With which though some in our times can be content to challenge the whole church of Christ, and even the apostles' coadjutors and scholars; yet Augustine and Jerome were far from that humour. Their meaning is, that albeit the apostles be departed this life, who were worthily accounted fathers, because they were called immediately by Christ himself to convert and congregate his church<sup>i</sup>; yet the church is not destitute, forso much as she hath power from Christ to create and appoint other of her children in their places, which are bishops. "Think not thyself forsaken," saith Austin to the church, "because thou seest not Peter and Paul by whom thou wast begotten; of thine own offspring a fatherhood is grown unto thee. Instead of the fathers, children are born unto thee; thou shalt make them rulers over the whole earth<sup>k</sup>." He saith not, the bishops are strangers or intruders on the apostles' possession; but, they are lawful children, and rightly placed in their fathers' rooms, whose heirs and successors they are, though their vocation be not immediate from God, as the apostles' was. And if St. Austin's judgment in this case may prevail, he applieth the next words of the Holy Ghost to warrant the placing of bishops as governors over the whole earth. And so doth Jerome: "'Thou shalt make them rulers over all the earth:' Christ hath appointed his saints over all people; for in the name of God is the gospel spread into all the quarters of the earth, in which the rulers of the church, that is, bishops, are placed<sup>l</sup>."

<sup>i</sup> Thus L.: "Qui ecclesiam quodam modo verbi semine procrearent,"

<sup>k</sup> August. in Psalm. xlv. [t. viii. col. 417. "Non ergo te putas desertam, quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides illos per quos nata es: de prole tua tibi crevit paternitas. Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii. Constitues eos principes super

omnem terram."]

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. in Psalm. xlv. [t. viii. 68. "'Constitues eos principes super omnem terram.' Constituit Christus sanctos suos super omnes populos. In nomine enim Dei dilatatum est evangelium in omnibus finibus mundi, in quibus principes ecclesiæ, id est, episcopi constituti sunt."]

And because you shroud your opinion under the shadow of St. Jerome and St. Austin, hear what account they make of this position, That by God's law there should be no difference betwixt presbyters and bishops. Jerome, rehearsing these words out of John of Jerusalem's letters, "There is no (such great) difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter, their dignity is all one;" maketh this answer: "This is ignorantly enough spoken; a shipwreck in the haven, as the proverb goeth<sup>m</sup>;" that is, an error in the first entrance. Elsewhere instructing Marcella against the fantastical novelties of the Montanists, and shewing wherein Montanus dissented from the catholic church, Jerome saith: "With us the bishops have the place of the apostles; with them a bishop is the third degree, and so the bishops are tumbled in the third, that is, almost the lowest place<sup>n</sup>." And giving his censure of this, and the rest of Montanus' conceits, he saith: "These things need no refutation, to express their perfidiousness is enough to overthrow it." St. Augustine maketh this report of Aërius: "The Aërians have their name from one Aërius, who being a presbyter, is said to have taken displeasure that he could not be made a bishop, and falling into the Arian heresy, added certain opinions of his own," to wit, amongst others, "that a presbyter should not be distinguished from a bishop by any kind of difference<sup>o</sup>." Jerome saith it is a shipwreck, Austin saith it is Aërianism, to say that there should be no difference betwixt presbyters and bishops.

Austin therein followed the report of Epiphanius, and inquired no further into the reason of Aërius' speech.] For

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. ad Pammachium advers. errores Joannis Hierosolymitani. [t. ii. 162. "Nihil interest inter presbyterum et episcopum, &c. . . . Hoc satis imperite: in portu ut dicitur naufragium."]

<sup>n</sup> Idem ad Marcellam advers. Montanum. [t. ii. 128. "Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent: apud eos episcopus tertius est. Habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas: Secundos, quos appellant Canones: atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur, quasi exinde ambitiosior religio fiat si quod apud nos primum est, apud illos novissimum sit. . . . Hæc sunt quæ coargu-

tione non indigent: perfidiam eorum exposuisse, superasse est."]

<sup>o</sup> August. de Hæres. ad Quodvult-deum. [t. vi. lib. i. Hæres. 53. "Aëriani ab Aërio quodam sunt nominati, qui cum esset presbyter, doluisse fertur quod episcopus non potuit ordinari, et in Arianorum hæresim lapsus, propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens, orare vel offerre pro mortuis oblationem non oportere, nec statuta solenniter celebranda esse jejunia, sed cum quisque voluerit jejunandum, ne videatur esse sub lege. Dicebat etiam presbyterum ab episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni."]



matters of fact what particular opinions heretics held, Austin haply might trust Epiphanius or Philastrius, that wrote before him of the same argument ; but whether their opinions were repugnant to the doctrine of the church or no, St. Austin had learning and judgment enough to discern that matter. He is inexcusable if contrary to his own knowledge and conscience he pronounce a truth to be an error upon another man's credit. And therefore never make St. Austin a pupil under age ; and to be miscarried with Epiphanius' false information. He concurred in judgment with Epiphanius and Philastrius, and repelled that assertion of Aërius as repugnant to the doctrine and use of the whole church. And that confirmeth Epiphanius' opinion touching Aërius' positions, which were not Christian and catholic, as some men in our days begin to maintain, but rather arrogant and erroneous. Indeed Epiphanius is somewhat vehement, and rejecteth Aërius' assertion in this very point, as "full of folly, nugacity, error, and a foul fall of one subverted by the devil<sup>p</sup>." St. Austin putteth him and his followers in the rank of false teachers, for that besides the Arian heresy, into which he fell, he added certain positions of his own against "fasting upon set days, keeping of Easter, rehearsing the names of the dead" at the Lord's table, and "distinguishing of bishops from presbyters ;" which things the whole church of Christ observed, and no man ever impeached but Aërius and his disciples.

Think you, that Aërius was worthily condemned by Epiphanius for denying prayer for the dead, and not rather that Epiphanius himself erred in that point? I distinguish the public actions of the whole primitive church from the private constructions of this or that father. The church had her set days of fasting, celebrated the memorial of Christ's resurrection, gave thanks to God in her open prayers at the Lord's table for her martyrs and others that died either constantly for the Christian faith, or comfortably in it ; she likewise put a difference betwixt her bishops and presbyters. Which of

p Epiphan. advers. Hæres. lib. iii. t. i. Hæres. lxxv. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 908. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐμπλεων τοῖς σύνεσιν κεκτημένοις, τοῦτο δῆλον.....] Ἡπάτησε δὲ τὸν ποσει-

ρημένον Ἀέριον ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐρεσχελία, καὶ ὁ ζῆλος.

Ibid. p. 910. Καὶ ὁρᾷς ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Διαβόλου παρασालενομένου ἢ πτώσις, οὐ μικρά τις ἐστίν ;]



these things can you challenge as unchristian and unlawful? or what warrant had Aërius to reprove the whole church of God for so doing? Just as much as you have now to defend him, which is none at all.

He reproved praying, and not thanksgiving for the dead.] He reproved the naming of the dead, and would needs know<sup>q</sup> to what end they rehearsed “the names of the dead<sup>r</sup>.” To whom Epiphanius answereth: “As for the repeating of the names of the dead, what can be better, or more opportune, than that they which are yet behind in this world, believe the deceased live, and are not extinguished, but are and live with God,” and as the divine doctrine hath taught, “that they which pray have hope of their brethren absent, as in a long voyage from them? We also make mention of the just, as of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, and of all sorts, to separate the Lord Jesus from the order of men, and to give him his due honour and worship<sup>s</sup>.” Thus far Epiphanius speaketh soundly, and giveth good reasons why the church named her dead, even her hope of their welfare, and faith of their life with God; and separation of all men from the Lord Jesus the Redeemer and Saviour of the world. Chrysostom’s liturgy sheweth what commemoration of the dead was used in the Greek church: “We offer this reasonable service (that is, the eucharist of praise and thanksgiving) unto thee, (O Lord,) for all that are at rest in the faith (of Christ), even for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, bishops, martyrs, confessors, and every soul initiated in the faith; but chiefly for the most holy, undefiled, and most blessed virgin Mary<sup>t</sup>.” He that thinketh

<sup>q</sup> Thus L.: “Et superbo satis supercilio novus hic censor scire voluit.”

<sup>r</sup> [Vide notam proxime sequentem. Ep.]

<sup>s</sup> Epiphanius. advers. Hæres. lib. iii. t. i. Hæres. lxxv. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 911. “Ἐπειτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος λέγειν τῶν τελευτήσαντων, τί ἂν εἴη τούτου προουργία; τί τούτου καιριώτερον, καὶ θαυμασιώτερον, πιστεύειν μὲν τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι οἱ ἀπελθόντες ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν ἀνυπαρξίᾳ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα διηγῇσιν, ὡς ἐλπίς ἐστίν

ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν εὐχομένοις, ὡς ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τυγχανόντων. . . . Καὶ γὰρ δικαίως ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην. . . . ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων καὶ Πατέρων καὶ Πατριάρχων, Προφητῶν, καὶ Ἀποστόλων, καὶ Εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ Μαρτύρων, καὶ Ὁμολογητῶν, Ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ Ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ πάντων τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀφορίσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως, διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμῆς, καὶ σέβας αὐτῷ ἀποδῶμεν.]

<sup>t</sup> Chrysost. Sancta Missa (sive Liturgia.) [t. iv. 539. “Ἐτι προσφερόμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν αὐτὴν λατρείαν ὑπὲρ

all the patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, apostles, and the virgin Mary were in purgatory, had need of purgation himself to be eased of his melancholy; yet for these, and specially for the blessed virgin, the church offered her prayers and sacrifice to God. It is therefore most evident, the church meant the sacrifice of thanksgiving, howsoever Epiphanius, Austin, and some others, to extend the prayers of the church to all Christians departed, doubtfully suppose their damnation might be mitigated, though their state could not be altered. But these private speculations<sup>u</sup> were neither comprised in the prayers of the church, nor confirmed by them; and for that cause, Aërius is justly traduced as frantically impugning the religious and wholesome customs of the primitive and catholic church; of which St. Austin saith: "If the whole church throughout the world at this day observe any thing, to reason for the reversing of it, is most insolent madness<sup>v</sup>."

If you think St. Austin's censure too sharp for the matter in question betwixt us, hear the judgment of the general council of Chalcedon, where were assembled 630 bishops, and mark what they determine of your assertion. Photius, bishop of Tyrus, had ordained certain bishops within his province, whom Eustathius, his successor, for some secret displeasure, removed from that degree, and willed them to remain presbyters. This case coming before the council of Chalcedon, the resolution of Paschasinus and Lucentius was this: "To bring back a bishop to the degree of a presbyter, is sacrilege." Whereto the whole council answered, "We all say the same, the judgment of the fathers is upright<sup>w</sup>."

You may do well to make more account of the martyrs and fathers that were in the primitive church, lest if you

τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων, προπατόρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, κηρῶν, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατευτῶν, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀεὶ παρθένου Μαρίας.]

<sup>u</sup> Added L.: ("An semina superstitionis appellem, nescio.")

<sup>v</sup> August. Epist. cxlviii. [t. ii. col. 558. "Similiter etiam si quid horum tota per orbem frequentat ecclesia. Nam

hoc quin ita faciendum sit disputare, insolentissimæ insanix."]

<sup>w</sup> Concil. Chalced. Actio. de Photio Episc. Tyri et Eustathio Episc. Beryti. [t. iv. col. 550. Πασχασίνος καὶ Λουκηνσίος οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ Βονιφάτιος πρεσβύτερος, τοποτηρηταὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας Ῥώμης, εἶπον· ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου κατάγειν βαθμόν, ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν. . . . Πάντες οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν· δικαία ἡ κρίσις τῶν πατέρων. πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν.]

condemn all men besides yourselves, posterity condemn you as void of all sincerity and sobriety: for my part, what I find generally received in the first church of Christ, I will see it strongly refuted before I will forsake it. God forbid I should think there was never church nor faith on the face of the earth since the apostles' times before this miserable age, wherein though I acknowledge the great blessing of God restoring us to the truth of his gospel far above our deserts, yet I cannot but lament the dangerous factions, eager dissensions, and heady contempts, whereby the church of God is almost rent in sunder, whiles every man will have his device take place, and when they want proofs they fall to reproaches.

We make that account of the primitive church, that Calvin and other learned men before us have done.] You do not. No learned men of any age have shewed themselves like to the spiteful and disdainful humours of our times\*. And of all others you do Calvin wrong; who though in some things he dissented from the fathers of the primitive church in expounding some places that are alleged for this new discipline, yet gravely and wisely he giveth them that honour and witness which is due unto them. His words, treating of this very point, are these: "It shall be profitable for us, in these matters (of discipline), to review the form of the ancient (or primitive) church, the which will set before our eyes the image of the divine ordinance: for though the bishops of those times made many canons, in which they seem to decree more than is expressed in the sacred scriptures: yet with such wariness did they proportion their whole regiment to that only rule of God's word, that you may easily see they had almost nothing in their discipline different from the word of God<sup>y</sup>." I could wish that such as seem to reverence so much his name, would in this behalf follow his steps. He declared himself to bear a right

\* Thus L.: "quanta hodie apud nos reformatores isti (ut se perhibent) ad unum omnes inflammati sunt."

y Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. iv. §. 1. [Amstel. 1667. p. 285. "Nunc quo ista omnia clarius ac familiarius patefiant ac melius etiam in animis nostris figantur, utile erit in iis rebus, veteris ecclesiæ formam recognoscere, quæ nobis divinæ institutionis imagi-

nem quandam oculis representabit. Tametsi enim multos canones ediderunt illorum temporum episcopi, quibus plus viderentur exprimere quam sacris literis expressum esset: ea tamen cautione totam suam œconomiam composuerunt ad unicam illam verbi Dei normam, ut facile videas nihil fere hac parte habuisse a verbo Dei alienum."]

Christian regard to the church of Christ before him; and therefore is worthy with all posterity to be had in like reverend account, though he were deceived in some things, even as Augustine and other fathers before him were<sup>z</sup>. The wisdom of God will have no man come near the perfection of the apostles, and therefore no blemish to him that wrote so much as he did, to be somewhat overseen in lay elders, and other points of discipline; being so busied as he was with weighty matters of doctrine, and interpreting the whole scriptures.

But such as have had better leisure to examine this matter since his death, persist still in the same opinion that he did.] But not in the same moderation; they would else not charge the primitive church of Christ<sup>a</sup> with inventing and upholding an human bishop, (this is) devised by man, and not allowed by God: whereas Calvin granteth the ancient regiment of bishops was agreeable to the word of God, and rule of the sacred scriptures: "If we look into the thing itself (he meaneth the government of the primitive church) we shall find the ancient bishops never intended to frame any other form of governing the church, than that which God in his word prescribed<sup>b</sup>." Now what kind of government that was, you shall hear his own confession in the same place; and thereby perceive that many of the points, which I have before proved, are so sound and sure, that no man learned can with any truth resist them: "Every city had a college of presbyters, which were pastors and teachers: for they all had the function of teaching, exhorting, and reproving in the congregation, which Paul enjoineth unto bishops. To whom the office of teaching was allotted, they were all called presbyters. These in every city chose one of their own number, to whom they gave the special title of a bishop, lest by an equality, as is usually found, divisions should arise. To every city was

<sup>z</sup> Thus L.: "quod Augustino aliisque clarissimis ecclesiæ luminibus accidisse non negamus."

<sup>a</sup> Thus L.: "alioquin primæ purissimæque ecclesiæ nunquam hanc labem aspergerent,"

<sup>b</sup> Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. iv.

§. 4. [Amst. 1667. p. 286. "Verum si rem, omisso vocabulo, intuemur, reperiemus veteres episcopos non aliam regendæ ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere ab ea quam Deus verbo suo præscripsit."]

appointed a certain region, which took their presbyters from the city, and was counted part of the body of that church<sup>c</sup>." First then presbyteries consisted of pastors and teachers, and were not had but in cities. Next, lest equality should breed confusion, over these presbyters in each city, as well as over the flock, was a bishop, who in dignity and authority was above them. Thirdly, every bishop had his region or diocese besides his city; and the presbyters that were designed for such country parishes as were within his circuit, were fet from the city, and reputed to be of the body of the episcopal church. And all these things not only were in the primitive church, as I have already proved, but they were also agreeable to the word of God, as Calvin himself confesseth.

You should take all. He telleth you that a "bishop should have no dominion over his brethren," but, "as a consul in the senate, should propose matters, ask voices, go before others in advising, warning, exhorting, and moderate the whole action with his authority, and execute that which is decreed by common consent." And this kind of regiment he saith the fathers acknowledge "first entered by the consent of men according to the necessity of the times," though it were very ancient, as "at Alexandria ever since Mark the evangelist<sup>d</sup>."] I honour Calvin for his wonderful gifts and pains in the church of God, and could easily be induced to embrace his judgment, were it not, that in this case a manifest truth, confirmed by the scriptures, fathers, and by himself,

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. §. 2. ["Habebant ergo singulæ civitates presbyterorum collegium, qui pastores erant ac doctores. Nam et apud populum munus docendi, exhortandi, et corrigendi, quod Paulus episcopis injungit, omnes obibant. Quibus docendi munus injunctum erat, eos omnes nominabant presbyteros. Illi ex suo numero in singulis civitatibus unum eligebant, cui specialiter dabant titulum episcopi, ne ex æqualitate, ut fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur: unicuique civitati attributa erat regio, quæ presbyteros inde sumeret, et velut corpori ecclesiæ illius accenseretur."]

<sup>d</sup> Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 4. §. 2. [Amst. 1667. p. 286. "Neque tamen sic honore et dignitate superior erat

episcopus, ut dominium in collegas haberet: sed, quas partes habet consul in senatu, ut referat de negotiis, sententias roget, consulendo, monendo, hortando, aliis præeat, auctoritate sua totam actionem rogat, et quod decretum communi consilio fuerit, exequatur; id muneris sustinebat episcopus in presbyterorum cœtu. Atque id ipsum pro temporum necessitate fuisse humano consensu inductum fatentur ipsi veteres. . . . Dicit enim (Hieronymus) Alexandriæ, a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium, presbyteros semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocasse, quem episcopum nominabant."]



enforceth me to the contrary<sup>e</sup>. Jerome's words I have examined before; they do not import that bishops first began by human device and policy. Ignatius, Irenæus, Egesippus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Dionysius of Corinth, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius, Methodius, and Jerome himself, affirm the first bishops were made in the apostles' times, and by the apostles' hands. St. John in his Revelation writeth to the seven pastors or chief moderators of the seven churches in Asia. Whiles St. John lived, as Eusebius recordeth, there succeeded at Antioch, Ignatius after Euodius; at Alexandria, Abilius after Amianus; at Rome, Clemens after Anacletus and Linus; at Jerusalem, Simeon after James<sup>f</sup>. Yea, St. John with his own hands made Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, as Irenæus<sup>g</sup>, Tertullian<sup>h</sup>, Eusebius, and Jerome affirm<sup>i</sup>; and that next after Eucharis, as Socrates noteth<sup>k</sup>: he did the like in many other places<sup>l</sup>, as Clemens Alexandrinus writeth. I can

<sup>e</sup> Thus L.: "nisi me manifesta veritas—velut injecta manu revocaret."

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. Chron. Hieron. interp. [Burdigalæ, 1604. p. 157. "Primus Antiochiæ episcopus ordinatur Euodius."—p. 162. "Antiochiæ secundus episcopus ordinatur Ignatius."—p. 160. "Post Marcum evangelistam primus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ordinatur episcopus Annianus, qui præfuit annis xxii."—p. 164. "Secundus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ constituitur episcopus Abilius, qui præfuit annis xiii."—p. 161. "Post Petrum primus Romanam ecclesiam tenuit Linus annis ii."—p. 163. "Romanæ ecclesiæ ii, constituitur episcopus Cletus annis xii."—p. 164. "Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus iii. præfuit Clemens annis ix."—p. 156. "Ecclesiæ Hierosolymorum primus episcopus ab apostolis ordinatur Jacobus frater Domini."—p. 160. "Jacobus frater Domini, quem omnes Justum appellabant, a Judæis, lapidibus opprimitur, in cujus thronum Simeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur."]

<sup>g</sup> Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. [p. 233. Lutet. Par. 1639. "Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus et conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab apostolis in Asia; in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate: multum enim perseveraverat, et

valde senex gloriosissime et nobilissime martyrium faciens exivit de hac vita."]

<sup>h</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. [cap. xxxii. p. 213. "Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyræorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert."]

<sup>i</sup> Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles. [Basil. 1537. t. i. p. 273. "Cumque navigans Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus auditor Joannis episcopus erat, scripsit unam epistolam ad Ephesios, alteram ad Magnesianos," etc.]

<sup>k</sup> Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 22. [p. 284. Καὶ ὅτι Πολύκαρπος ὁ τῆς Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος ὃς ὕστερον ἐπὶ Γορδιανοῦ μαρτυρήσας, Ἀνικητῶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκινῶναι, μηδὲν διακρινόμενος περὶ ἐορτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν, καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεγχαρίου τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ συνθηίας, τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τῷ πάσχῃ ἐπιτελῶν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσέβιος λέγει.]

<sup>l</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 23. [p. 73. Ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοῦ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνόμενος καὶ ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαϊοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ φίλον ἀκούειν προστίθουσιν, ἐν ᾧ τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλοῦσιος ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι. λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγνωθι ὡδὲ πως ἔχουσιν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφὴν. ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὅντα λόγον, περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον, καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. Ἐπειδὴ γάρ

by no means forsake so many ancient and assured witnesses, whereof some lived with Polycarp, and were his scholars, to follow the mistaking of a few words in Jerome by whomsoever. Yea, Calvin himself saith: "It is not man's device, but the very ordinance of God, that we assign to every man his church. Paul himself mentioneth Archippus bishop of Colossus<sup>m</sup>."

That is, pastor of Colossus; and so we grant each church ought by God's law to have a pastor.] We must ask further, whether by God's law each church must have one or many? if one, we have our desire; if many, there must yet be one chief to avoid confusion. Equality, as Calvin noteth, breedeth factions<sup>n</sup>. Jerome saith, "To suppress the seeds of dissension, one was set above the rest<sup>o</sup>;" otherwise there would be "as many schisms as there be priests<sup>p</sup>." Beza maketh it an essential and perpetual part of God's ordinance, to have one chief in each presbytery. His words are; "This was essential in the matter we have in hand, that by God's ordinance, which must always endure, it hath been, is, and shall be needful, that in the presbytery, one chief in place and dignity should moderate and rule every action with that right which is allowed him by God's law<sup>q</sup>." And in this he saith right; for a multitude ungoverned must needs be confused, which should be far from the church of God; and government there can be

τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινόμενων.]

<sup>m</sup> Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 3. §. 7. [Amst. 1667. p. 283. "Etsi dum singulis assignamus suas ecclesias, interim non negamus quin alias ecclesias juvare is possit, qui uni est alligatus," &c.—"Nec humanum est inventum, sed Dei ipsius institutum. Legimus enim, Paulum et Barnabam creasse per singulas Lystrensiū, Antiochenorum, Iconium ecclesias, presbyteros; et Paulus ipse Tito præcipit ut oppidatim presbyteros constituat. Sic alibi Philippensium episcopos, et alibi Archippum Colossensium episcopum commemorat."]

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. [§. 2. p. 286. "Ne ex æqualitate, ut fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur."]

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. Evagrio. [t. ii. 329. "Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est; ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet."]

<sup>p</sup> Idem adv. Lucifer. [t. ii. 139. "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficiuntur schismata, quot sacerdotes."]

<sup>q</sup> In Respons. ad Tractat. de Minist. Evang. Gradibus, cap. xxiii. fol. 153. ["Essentiale fuit in eo de quo hic agimus, quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua necesse fuit, est, et erit, ut in presbyterio quispiam et loco et dignitate primus, actioni gubernandæ præsit, cum eo quod ipsi divinitus attributum est jure."]

none, where all are equal. When the shepherds lead into diverse pastures, whom shall the sheep follow? when sundry lords make sundry laws, which shall the subject obey? Sure, if no man can serve two masters, no church can endure two pastors. Whiles they consent they have but one mind though many men; when they dissent, which in all persons is casual, and in all places usual, then will there be as many sides as there be leaders. You were as good set two heads on one body, as two chief rulers over one company. If you confess there must by God's law be one chief pastor in one church; then the chief pastor of each city is the bishop which we seek for; and he by your own positions is authorized as pastor of the place by God's ordinance.

This you shall never avoid, do what you can. Each church in the apostles' times had many presbyters that laboured in the word. The scriptures do plainly witness it; in the church of Jerusalem, Acts xv. 6. and 23; of Antioch, Acts xiii. 1; of Ephesus, Acts xx. 17. and 28; of Rome, Rom. xvi; of Corinth, 1 Cor. xiv. 29; of Philippi, Philip. i. 1; of Thessalonica, 1 Thess. v. 12: of other churches the like is affirmed, Heb. xiii. 17; James v. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1. Now by God's essential and perpetual ordinance, as yourselves confess, there must be one chief and pastor of each church and presbytery, to guide as well the presbyters that are teachers, as the flock that are hearers, with that power which God's law alloweth unto pastors. Tell me now, I pray you, what difference betwixt chief pastors established in every city by God's law, as you are forced to grant, and bishops succeeding the apostles in their churches and chairs, as the fathers affirm. If you mislike the word *bishop*, it is catholic and apostolic; if you mislike the office, it is God's ordinance by your own assertion.

We grant the name of a bishop and regiment of a pastor are confirmed by the Holy Ghost; but you yield more to your chief pastors and bishops than the word of God alloweth them: as namely, you suffer them to continue for life, where they should govern but for a month or a week; you allot them dioceses, which should be but parishes; you give them not only a distinction from presbyters, but a jurisdiction over presbyters, who should be all one with presbyters, and sub-

ject to the most voices of the presbyters: all which things we say are against the scriptures.] You frame churches to your fancies, and then you straightway think the scriptures do answer your devices. If we give bishops any thing which the ancient and catholic church of Christ did not first give them, in God's name spare us not, let the world know it; but if we prefer the universal judgment of the primitive church in expounding the scriptures touching the power and function of bishops, before your particular and late dreams, you must not blame us. They were nearer the apostles' times, and likelier to understand the apostles' meanings than you, that come after fifteen hundred years with a new plot of church government, never heard of before. All the churches of Christ throughout the world could not at one time join in one and the selfsame kind of government, had it not been delivered and settled by the apostles and their scholars that converted the world. So many thousand martyrs and saints that lived with the apostles would never consent to alter the apostles' discipline, which was once received in the church, without the apostles' warrant. Wherefore we construe the apostles' writings by their doings; you measure the scriptures after your own humours. Whether of us twain is most likely to hit the truth?

As for your repining at the things which we give to bishops, we greatly regard it not, so long as the scriptures do not contradict them; we smile rather at your devices, which say that a bishop should govern for a week, and then change, and give place to the next presbyter for another week; and so round by course to all the presbyters. What scripture confirmeth that circular and weekly regiment of yours? By what authority do you give it the name of a divine institution, when it is a mere imagination of yours, without proof or truth? Shew one example or authority for it in the New Testament, and take the cause<sup>r</sup>.

Succession by course was ordained by God after the example of the priests of Aaron<sup>s</sup>.] Did the sons of Aaron lose their priesthood when their courses were ended?

<sup>r</sup> Thus L.: "per me quidem non vincatis modo, sed triumphetis."

<sup>s</sup> De Minist. Evang. Gradibus, cap. xxiii. fol. 156.



No, but they served in the temple by course; and so were bishops appointed by God's ordinance to guide the presbytery.] Is this all the ground you have, upon this slender and single similitude to make God's ordinance what please you? If such reasons may serve, we can sooner conclude the perpetual function of bishops, than you can the weekly; for not only the high priest kept his honour during his life, but likewise every priest that was chief of his order. Indeed, their courses being ended, they departed home, but they lost not their dignity. But what roving is this in matters of weight? Will any wise men be moved with such guesses? Make us good proof out of the scriptures; or leave tying God's ordinance to your appetites.

Ambrose is the man that affirmeth it.] If you come once to fathers, I hope we have ten to one that affirm otherwise. If Ambrose did say so, we could not believe him against all the rest of the fathers, yea, and against the scriptures themselves, election of bishops being prescribed by Paul to Timothy and Titus, and not succession in order: but I deny that Ambrose saith any such thing.

He saith, the next in order succeeded.] He nameth neither change nor course. It is your own device, it is no part of Ambrose's meaning. Anianus, the next after Mark, that was bishop of Alexandria six years before Peter and Paul were put to death, was he made by order or by election? Jerome saith expressly, they of Alexandria, "ever since Mark the evangelist, did always choose" their bishop, he never succeeded in order. Neither did Anianus govern for a week or a year, he sat bishop there two and twenty years, as Eusebius writeth<sup>u</sup>; and Abilius, the next that was chosen after his death, sat thirteen years more before he died<sup>v</sup>, and then

<sup>t</sup> Hieron. Evag. [t. ii. 329. "Nam et Alexandria a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi eligant de se, quem indurium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent."]

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 14. [p. 70. Τετάρτῃ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιαν-

νοῦ, τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς, δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀποπλήσας ἔτη τελευτᾷ διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος.]

Euseb. Cæsar. Chron. D. Hieron. interp. [Burdig. 1604. p. 160. "Post Marcum evangelistam, primus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ordinatur episcopus Anianus qui præfuit annis 22."]

<sup>v</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 21. [p. 72. Μικρῇ δὲ πλέον ἑνιαυτοῦ βασι-



succeeded Cerdo; and the rest in their times all chosen, and all sitting in the pastoral chair so long as they lived. The like you may see in the first bishops of Rome, who kept the episcopal chair during life, and not by course: Linus sat twelve years<sup>x</sup>; Anacletus twelve<sup>y</sup>; Clemens nine<sup>z</sup>; St. John the apostle living and ordering the whole church, whiles the three first bishops of Rome and of Alexandria succeeded by election, and governed without changing for the term of their lives. Wherefore it is evident this upstart fancy is far from God's ordinance<sup>a</sup>.

If you trust not me, mark how your own friends, I will not say yourselves, do cross and confute your own inventions. You say it is God's "disposition," that the *προεστὼς* or chief of your presbytery should "go by course;" and that order you call "divine:" they say it is accidental, and no part of God's ordinance. "It was (accidental) that the presbyters did in this chiefdom (at the first beginning succeed one another by course<sup>b</sup>)." You tell us, the electing one to continue chief of the presbytery was an human order; but they assure us that election in all sacred functions is the commandment of God, and may not be altered. "The command-

λεὺσαντος Νεροῦα διαδέχεται Τραϊανός. Οὐ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας Ἀβίλιον δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἡγήσάμενον διαδέχεται Κέρδων.]

Euseb. Cæsar. Chron. [p. 164. "Secundus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ constituitur episcopus Abilius, qui præfuit annis 13."]

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 13. [p. 70. Ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἔτεσι βασιλεύσαντα αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται, οὐ κατὰ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας, Ἀῖνος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐνιαυτοῖς κατασχὼν Ἀνεγκλήτω ταύτην παραδίδωσι. Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἔτεσι καὶ μηνὶ τοῖς ἴσοις βασιλεύσαντα.]

Euseb. Cæsar. Chron. [p. 161. "Post Petrum primus Romanam ecclesiam tenuit Linus annis xi."]

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 15. [p. 70. Δωδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἀνεγκλήτον ἔτεσιν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα δε-

καδύο διαδέχεται Κλήμης. Ὃν συνεργὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστῆλλον ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει λέγων, Μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.]

Euseb. Cæsar. Chron. [p. 163. "Romanæ ecclesiæ secundus constituitur episcopus Cletus annis xii."]

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 34. [p. 85. Τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπων ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως ἀρχῆς, Κλήμης Εὐαρέστῳ παραδούς τὴν λειτουργίαν, ἀναλβεί τὸν βίον, τὰ πάντα προστάς ἐτη ἐννέα τῆς τοῦ θείου λόγου διδασκαλίας.]

Euseb. Cæsar. Chron. [p. 164. "Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus tertius præfuit Clemens annis ix."]

<sup>a</sup> Thus L.: "Ex quo liquet novitum hoc commentum divinæ institutioni tam esse contrarium, quam atrum albo, aut tenebras luci."

<sup>b</sup> De Minist. Evang. Gradibus, p. 153. ["Accidentale fuit quod presbyteri in hac προστασίᾳ alii aliis per vices initio succedebant."]

ment of election is one thing, which must be observed, not only in deacons, but in all sacred functions; the manner of election is another thing<sup>c</sup>. The precept cannot be immutable, unless it be divine and apostolic; others have no such power to command. Now for my learning I would fain know, this "ruling by course," if it be "divine," how is it "accidental?" if it be "accidental," how is it "divine?" And the electing of a president or bishop, if it be "human," how is it "commanded?" if it be "commanded," how is it "human?" This is the way to call sweet sour, and sour sweet; to make light darkness, and darkness to be light. I must see better coherence than I do before I call this a divine discipline.

You mistake us: we say it is God's ordinance for a pastor to govern the college of lay elders; but, for one chief to govern the college of pastors, we hold is man's invention.] Would God you did not mistake yourselves. Your presbyteries must consist either of laymen alone, or of clergymen only, or of both indifferently. If of lay elders only, who shall succeed the pastor in the ruling thereof when his course is ended; for example, as you say, when his week is out? His presidentship must be perpetual, which by your rules is against God's ordinance, unless you will have the lay elders in course to do pastoral duties, and rule pastor and all, which is more absurd, and more against God's law, than the former. Will you mix your presbyteries of both? then yet by God's law, as yourselves enforce it, one pastor must be chief of the rest of the pastors, and if by the scriptures his superiority must be perpetual, as after his election it must be, what differeth this chief pastor for his life from a bishop? you would limit his government to a week or a month; but where doth Paul so? shew us that rule in scripture or father, and set up your lay presbyteries. If not, you walk in the wildernesses of your own fancies; and you would prescribe us rules of your own making in place of God's ordinance; which is

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 154. ["Aliud est electionis mandatum quam immotam non tantum in diaconis, sed etiam in sacris

functionibus omnibus servatam oportuit, aliud electionis modus."]

dangerous to yourselves, and injurious to others, if it be not presumptuous against God.

Will you have none chief? Then breed you confusion, and lay the church open to be torn in pieces with every dissension: besides, yourselves avouch it is an essential and perpetual point of God's ordinance to have one chief over the presbytery. These be the brambles and briers of your discipline, which force you to say and unsay with a breath; but we take your assertion as good against yourselves, and thence we frame you this argument: It is an essential and perpetual part of God's ordinance, that one should be chief over the presbytery: but the presbyters of each church and city (where the apostles preached) consisted of clergymen and preachers: I hope then it is God's ordinance to have one chief over the preachers and labourers in each church. And if election be God's commandment, as you also confess, and consequently the elect once lawfully placed must not be removed without just and apparent defects; I trust the chief governor of the preachers and presbyters of each church must continue whiles he liveth, and ruleth well; for as he was chosen for his worthiness, so may he not be deprived till he prove unworthy. Now a chief ruler or pastor over the people and presbyters of each city, elected by God's commandment to continue that charge so long as he doeth his duty, cometh as near to the bishop's calling which we maintain, as your head to that which is above your shoulders.

If you thwart us with lay elders, we have this fair super-sedeas for them. First prove them; then place them where you will. If you talk of going round by course; it is the order of good fellows at a feast; it was never the order of governing in the church of Christ. The priests of the old law were after a time eased of their pains, but never changed their prerogatives. If you say they differ not in degree, but in honour and dignity from the rest, I have already proved that singularity in succeeding the apostles, and necessity in ordaining, distinguish them from presbyters. If you quarrel with their jurisdiction and dioceses, the place now serveth to discuss those things, forsomuch as we find their function was

delivered them by the apostles, and is testified in the scriptures.

The sheet anchor is, if all this were so, that the power of bishops by God's law should be nothing else but a right to call the presbyters of each place together, and to ask their voices, and perform what the most part decree; and this to extend no further than their own churches and cities.] This I think be your meaning; if you cannot tie them to your fancies, to bind them fast to their chairs that they shall not wag; and if they must needs be highest in the session, yet to make them lowest in the action, and to do only what shall please others to determine. But your pleasures, unless you were more indifferent, are little regarded: the church of Christ more than fourteen hundred years before you were born hath considered of their power and charge; the councils both provincial and general are extant to decide the doubt. But if you will try their right by the scriptures, I am well content, so you take to your presbyteries no more than you can justify to be theirs; and leave unto bishops that interest which we prove by the word to belong to their calling.

## CHAP. XIV.

*The fatherly power and pastoral care of bishops over presbyters and others in their churches and dioceses.*

**I** TAKE it to be a matter out of question, confirmed by the scriptures, and confessed by the old and new writers, that the Son of God willed St. John the apostle in his Revelation to write to the seven chief pastors of the seven churches of Asia, calling them by the name of angels. "By the divine voice," saith Austin, "the ruler of the church (of Ephesus) is praised under the name of an angel<sup>d</sup>." "Angels he calleth bishops," saith Ambrose, "as we learn in the Revelation of John<sup>e</sup>." "Angels he calleth those that be rulers of the

<sup>d</sup> Augustin. Epist. clxii. [t. ii. col. 736. "Postremo quod paulo ante commemoravi, divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ, quod

cum odisset malos, eos tamen tentatos et inventos pro nomine Domini toleravit."]

<sup>e</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap.

churches," saith Jerome, "even as Malachi the prophet doth witness the priest to be an angel<sup>f</sup>." And Gregory: "The preachers in the scriptures are sometimes called angels, as Mal. ii. 7. the prophet saith, 'The lips of the priest should keep knowledge, and they should ask the law at his mouth; for he is the angel (or messenger) of the Lord of hosts<sup>g</sup>.'" The new writers with one consent acknowledge the same. "The angels," saith Bullinger, "are the ambassadors of God, even the pastors of the churches<sup>h</sup>." "The heavenly letter is directed to the angel of the church of Smyrna, that is, to the pastor. Now the stories witness that angel and pastor of the church of Smyrna to have been Polycarp, ordained bishop (there) by the apostles themselves, I mean by St. John. He was made bishop of Smyrna thirteen years before the Revelation (of John) was written<sup>i</sup>." Marlorat.: "John beginneth with the church of Ephesus for the celebrity of the place; and speaketh not to the people, but to the prince (or chief) of the clergy, even the bishop<sup>k</sup>." Seb. Meyer.: "'To the angel of the church of Sardis.' Amongst the bishops of this church Melito was renowned, a man both learned and godly; but what predecessors or successors he had in the ministry of the

ii. [t. v. 274. "Angelos episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Joannis."]

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Cor. i. cap. 11. [t. ix. 516. "Item hoc loco angelos, ecclesiis præsidentes dicit: sicut et Malachias propheta testatur sacerdotem angelum esse, dicens, 'Labia enim sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam: et, legem requirunt ex ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.' Sive vere propter honorem angelorum, qui ecclesiæ assistere perhibentur."]

<sup>g</sup> Greg. Mag. Moral. in Job, lib. xi in cap. xii. [t. i. Paris. 1705. p. 369. "Angeli quippe, id est, nuntii, in sacro eloquio nonnunquam prædicatores vocantur, sicut per prophetam dicitur, (Mal. ii. 7.), 'Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, et legem requirunt ex ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.'"]

<sup>h</sup> Henr. Bulling. in Apocalyps. Conc. vi. [Basil. 1570. p. 20. "Stellæ dicuntur angeli. Angeli sunt legati Dei, pastores ecclesiarum; ita appellati Ma-

lachiae secundo et tertio capite."]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. Conc. ix. [p. 28. "Principio indicatur, cui destinetur epistolæ cœlestis, Angelo Smyrnensis ecclesiæ; id est pastori, atque adeo toti gregi. . . . . Testantur autem historiæ, angelum sive pastorem illum Smyrnensis ecclesiæ Polycarpum fuisse, ordinatum ab ipsis apostolis, ab ipso, inquam, Joanne, episcopum, ac vixisse in ministerio hujus ecclesiæ annos octoginta sex. . . . . Ideoque ante editam Apocalypsim, quæ nonagesimo septimo anno conscribitur, plures annos Smyrnensi ministraverat ecclesiæ."]

<sup>k</sup> August. Marlorat. [1570. Expos. Eccl. in Apocal. cap. ii. p. 145. "Ab hac Ephesina ecclesia incipit Joannes, quia ob credentium multitudinem et loci celebritatem præcipua habebatur. . . . . Et, quamvis quædam tam in populo quam in clero (ut vocant) corrigenda essent, non tamen populum aggreditur, sed clerum: nec quemlibet de clero nominatim compellat, sed principem cleri, utique episcopum."]



church is not recorded<sup>1</sup>." Beza saith: "To the angel, that is, to the chief president, who should have the first warning of these things, and from him the rest of his colleagues and the whole church<sup>m</sup>."

By the person that speaketh unto the pastors of those seven churches, and name which he giveth them, I collect their vocation was not only confirmed by the Lord himself, but their commission expressed. He speaketh that hath best right to appoint what pastors he would have to guide his flock, till he come to judgment; even Christ Jesus the Prince of pastors. The name that he giveth them sheweth their power and charge to be authorized and delivered them from God: for an angel is God's messenger; and consequently these seven, each in his several charge and city, are willed to reform the errors and abuses of their churches, that is, both of presbyters and people. They are warned at whose hands it shall be required; and by him that shall sit judge to take account of their doings. Hence I infer, first their preeminence above their helpers and coadjutors in the same churches, is warranted to be God's ordinance. Next, they are God's messengers to reprove and redress things amiss in their churches, be they presbyters or people that be offenders. Which of these two can you refuse? Shall they be angels, and not allowed of God? Can they be his messengers, and not sent by him? He would never reward them, if he did not send them. Being sent of God, shall they be charged with those things which they have no power to amend? Is the Son of God so forgetful, as to rebuke and threaten the pastor for the presbyters' and the people's faults, if he have no further power over either but to ask voices? At whose hands doth God require his sheep, but at the shepherd's? He cannot be angel of the (whole) church, but he must have pastoral authority over the whole church.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. [cap. iii. p. 152. "Inter hujus ecclesiæ episcopos præclarus habetur Melito, vir admodum eruditus juxtaque pius . . . . . Sed, qui Melitonem hunc præcesserint in ecclesiæ ministerio, vel quos habuerit successores, non satis constat."]

<sup>m</sup> Theodor. Beza in Apocalyps. Joannis, cap. ii. Comment. [Cantab. 1642. p. 747. n. 1. "Angelo, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, id est, προεστῶτι; quem nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac per eum cæteros collegas, totamque adeo ecclesiam."]

The rest of the pastors, you will say, had the same charge with him. In their degree they had; but why doth the Son of God write only to one of them, if all were even both in power and charge? You are wont very eagerly to ask why the apostle, writing to the churches, never mentioned any bishop, if there had been bishops in the apostles' times? which objection, though it be needless to be answered, because it is negative; yet Ambrose and Epiphanius tell you the churches at the beginning were not settled, nor offices exactly divided; yea, the apostles themselves, for a time, kept the episcopal power in their own hands, and in some places Paul nameth the bishop, as Archippus bishop of Colossus<sup>n</sup>. But on the other side we press you with the affirmative; and ask you how the Son of God could write precisely to one angel in every of those seven churches, if there were many or none? And what reason to charge him above the rest; if he had no pastoral power besides the rest? It is therefore evident the churches of Christ before that time were guided by certain chief pastors, that moderated as well the presbyters as the rest of the flock; and those the Son of God acknowledgeth for stars and angels, that is, for the messengers and stewards of the Lord of hosts; at whose mouth the rest should ask and receive the knowledge of God's divine will and pleasure.

And as they were chief pastors, so were they chief fathers in the church of Christ, God by his law comprising them under that name; and commanding not only reverence and maintenance, but obedience also to be given unto them. This case is so clear, it cannot be doubted. "The church," saith Austin, "calleth (the bishops) her fathers<sup>o</sup>." The bishops "are thy fathers," saith Jerome, "by whom thou art ruled<sup>p</sup>." Origen: That "teachers are called fathers, the apostle Paul sheweth, when he saith, 'I have begotten you in Christ Jesus by the gospel<sup>q</sup>.'" "He is a good father," saith

<sup>n</sup> Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. iii. §. 7. [Amstel. 1667. p. 283. "Alibi Archippus, Colossensium episcopum commemorat."]

<sup>o</sup> August. in Psalm. xlv. [t. viii. col. 417. "Ipsa ecclesia patres illos appellat, ipsa illos genuit, et ipsa illos constituit in sedibus patrum."]

<sup>p</sup> Hieron. Comment. in Psalm. xlv.

[t. viii. p. 68. "Sunt enim et hi patres tui, quia ab ipsis regeris."]

<sup>q</sup> Origen. Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. iv. cap. iv. [t. iv. Paris. 1759. p. 521. "Quod autem magistri etiam parentes appellantur, et apostolus Paulus dicit, quia 'in Christo Jesu per evangelium vos genui.'"]

Ambrose, "which can teach and frame the Lord Jesus in us, as Paul saith, 'My little children, with whom I travail again till Christ be fashioned in you'.<sup>r</sup>" "Can I be a father," saith Chrysostom, "and not lament? I am a father in affection towards you, and languish with love. Hear how Paul crieth out, 'My little children, with whom I travail again'.<sup>s</sup>" And therefore "worthily," saith he, "are the priests to have more honour than our own parents. They are these to whom the spiritual births are committed<sup>t</sup>." If they be fathers, they must be honoured; and the chiefest part of their honour is obedience. Disobedience of children is punished in God's law by death; and shall it be no sin in us to disobey the fathers of our faith? Deut. xxi. 18—21.

Their flock, you think, must obey them, but their brethren and fellow presbyters must not. As though the rest of their flock were not their brethren, as well as the presbyters; or as if among brethren there might be no superiority. "We are all brethren," saith Chrysostom, speaking to his clergy, "howbeit amongst brethren it is lawful that one should prescribe, and the rest obey<sup>u</sup>." And speaking of the return of the bishop, when himself was a presbyter at Antioch, he saith, "Blessed be God that hath restored the head to the body, the pastor to the sheep, the master to the scholars, the captain to the soldiers, the high priest to the presbyters<sup>x</sup>." Basil, writing to the church of Neocæsarea upon the death of their bishop, saith: "Thy fairest beauty (O city) is decayed; the church closeth her eyes, the solemn assemblies look heavily, the sacred synedrion (or presbytery) desire their head, they

<sup>r</sup> Ambros. in Psalm. xliiii. [t. iv. 548. "Ipse est enim bonus pater, qui potest docere et formare in nobis Dominum Jesum, sicut ipse testatus est dicens, 'Filioli mei, quos ego parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis.'"]

<sup>s</sup> Chrysost. in Ep. ad Hebr. cap. xi. Homil. 23. [t. xii. p. 909. "Ἄλλ' οὐ δύναμαι πατήρ εἶναι μὴ δακρύων. πατήρ εἰμι φιλόστοργος. ἀκούετε οἷα βοᾷ ὁ Παῦλος· Τεκνία μου, οὓς ἅλιν ὠδίνω.]"

<sup>t</sup> Idem de Sacerdot. lib. iii. [t. iv. p. 33. Οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν, οὔτοι, οἱ τὰς πνευματικὰς πιστευθέντες ὠδῖνας.]

<sup>u</sup> Chrysost. in Act. Apost. Homil. iii. [cap. ii. t. ix. p. 38. Πάντες γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐσμεν· εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ καθηγητής. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀδελφοῖς ἓνα ἐπιτάττειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πείθεσθαι.]

<sup>x</sup> Chrysost. ad populum Antioch. Homil. xx. [t. i. 223. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἑορτὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης πολλῆς καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελέσαι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποδοῦς τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τοῖς προβάτοις, τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.]

that are in dignity their leader, the people their ruler<sup>γ</sup>.” “Be subject to thy bishop,” saith Jerome, instructing Nepotianus in the duties of a presbyter, “and reverence him as the father of thy soul. ‘If I be a father,’ saith (the prophet), ‘where is mine honour?’ What Aaron and his sons were, that understand a bishop and his presbyters to be<sup>z</sup>.” “If any,” saith Ambrose, speaking of presbyters and ministers, “obey not his bishop, he swerveth from the right way through pride<sup>a</sup>.” Austin, being newly made presbyter, and desiring some longer respite of the bishop before he undertook the execution of his office, saith: “Will you me to perish, O father Valerius? I beseech you, by the goodness and mercy of Christ, even by him that hath inspired so great love in you towards us, that we dare not offend you for the gain of our soul<sup>b</sup>.” “Some of the presbyters,” saith Cyprian to his clergy, “neither remembering the gospel, nor their place, neither thinking on the judgment of the Lord to come, nor on the BISHOP THAT IS SET OVER THEM, which was never done under any of my predecessors, with contempt and reproach of their ruler, take upon them to do any thing (even to communicate with those that fall in time of persecution). Let those rash and unwise among you know, that if they persist any longer in such actions, I will use that admonition which the Lord willeth me, in suspending them from the ministry of the Lord’s table: and at my return, make them answer before us and the whole people for their doings<sup>c</sup>.” Some ripe youths

<sup>γ</sup> Basil. Epist. lxii. [t. iii. p. 93. Par. 1638. *Nūn ἀπήνθηκέ σοι κόσμος ὁ κάλλιστος: ἐκκλησία δὲ μέμνηκε, καὶ σκυθρωπάουσι πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συνέδριον τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐπιποθεῖ, λόγοι δὲ μυστικοὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἀναμένουσιν, οἱ παῖδες τὸν πατέρα, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἡλικιώτην, οἱ ἐν τέλει τὸν ἑταίρον, ὁ δὴμος τὸν προστάτην, οἱ βίου δεόμενοι τὸν τροφέα.]*

<sup>z</sup> Hieron. ad Nepot. de vita clericorum. [t. i. 14. “Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suspice. Amare filiorum, timere servorum est. ‘Si pater sum,’ inquit, ‘ubi est honor meus? Si Dominus ego sum, ubi est timor meus?’ . . . . Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc episcopum et presbyteros esse

noverimus.”]

<sup>a</sup> Ambros. Offic. lib. ii. cap. 24. [t. i. 49. “Caterum si quis non obediat episcopo, extollere atque exaltare sese desiderans, obumbrare merita episcopi simulata affectatione doctrinæ, aut humilitatis aut misericordiæ, is a vero devius superbit.”]

<sup>b</sup> August. Epist. cxlviii. [t. ii. 687. “Jubes ergo ut peream, pater Valeri? . . . . Attende omnia ista, senex Valeri, obsecro te per bonitatem et severitatem Christi, per misericordiam et judicium ejus, per eum qui tantam tibi inspiravit erga nos charitatem, ut te nec pro lucro animæ nostræ audeamus offendere.”]

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lib. iii. 16. [Oxon. 1682. p. 36. Epist. “Quod enim non

will think all these fathers were infected with human devices, in attributing so much unto bishops; but the graver sort will remember these learned and godly men were as like to know what in Christian duty they were to yield, or to ask, as the plotformers of our time, that affirm the bishop must be subject and obedient to the greater part of his presbyters, and do nothing but what they determine.

The bishop then, or president of the presbyters, (for I stand not on names whiles I discuss their powers,) is by Christ's own mouth pronounced to be the angel of the church; that is, the chief steward over God's household, and overseer of his flock; and the authority that he hath in the church is pastoral and paternal, even the same that hath continued in the church since the beginning of the world. This fatherly kind of regiment began in the patriarchs, dured in the priests and prophets of Moses' law, was derived to the apostles, and so descended to the chief pastors of Christ's church to this day; who are to be honoured and obeyed in the word and sacraments as fathers, of all their children. This power and honour I trust is so tolerable and Christian, that you dare not spurn against it.

If you did not give it only to them, and take it from all others, we would not gainsay it so much as we do.] That which is common to every pastor in regard of those that are under them, cannot be denied the chief, to whose oversight and charge the whole church in every place is committed. If you think the name of pastor cannot be common to many in one and the same church, then the bishop must be pastor alone; for he is the angel of God's church. If the pastoral charge may be common to many, then must he have it chiefly and above all, because he is God's angel, and superior to all. You remember your own positions; it is God's essential and

*periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vindicent. . . . Interim temerarii et incauti et tumidi quidam inter vos, qui*

*hominem non cogitent vel Deum timent; scientes quoniam si ultra in iisdem perseveraverint, utar ea admonitione qua me uti Dominus jubet, ut interim prohibeantur offerre, acturi et apud nos, et apud confessores ipsos, et apud plebem universam, causam suam; cum, Domino permittente, in sinum matris ecclesiæ colligi cœperimus.”]*



perpetual ordinance that one should be chief as well over presbyters as people. He cannot be chief in the presbytery, but he must be chief in the church ; and consequently if the presbyters be pastors, he is chief pastor.

We give him no power but to moderate the meetings, and execute the decrees of the presbyters. That, we are well content the bishop shall enjoy ; but further we give him none.] Blessed are your presbyters, that must have their betters to execute their decrees ; but I pray you, sirs, for God's decrees, who shall execute them ? Must the presbyters' voices be asked before God's laws shall be executed ? Take heed not of tyrannical, but of satanical pride, if God's will shall not take place in your churches, till the presbytery be assembled and agreed. You have provided a president to execute your own pleasures ; now let God have one amongst you to execute his.

Execution in all things we reserve to him that is chief ; for as to consult and decree a number is fittest, so to execute that which is decreed, one is the surest ; lest if execution be committed to many, their excusing themselves one on another, or dissenting from each other, do hinder the whole.] You begin to be wise. The honour to determine you keep to yourselves, the pains to execute you lay on your chief ruler ; to make him the gladder to be rid of his office, that another by course may succeed in his room. And so where by God's ordinance you must have one chief, you take such order with him, that he shall never be willing to stay long in it.

We do it to prevent ambition in such as would seek for the highest place.] You decrease the ambition of one that should be highest, and increase the pride of an hundred that should be lowest. For where we have one bishop in a diocese tied to the laws of God, the church and the prince ; you would have three hundred in a diocese, in some more, all of equal power, and set at liberty to consult and determine of all matters at their pleasures.

We subject our presbyteries to the laws of God, the church, and the realm, as well as you do your bishops ; and give them no leave to resist or reverse the decrees of any superior powers.] You do well ; for when the God of heaven hath

declared his will; or the church by her provincial or general councils determined doubts, and made rules; or Christian magistrates by their laws redressed and ordered things amiss; besides the loss of your pains, it were more than pride for your presbyters in their assemblies to consult afresh, and bring the selfsame things again to the question. What is decreed by superiors, must not by inferiors be debated, whether it shall take place or no; but be rather obeyed with readiness. So that in all cases determined by the laws of God, the church, or the prince, consultation is both superfluous and presumptuous; execution is only needful; and that must be committed to some persons that may precisely be challenged and punished for the contempt, if that which is commanded be not performed. Now whom appoint you to execute the decrees of God, the church, and the prince? the whole presbytery? Then upon the not execution of God's or man's law by any one presbyter, all must be punished, as well innocent as nocent, diligent as negligent. The blame must lie on all, where the charge is in common. Were you but once or twice well followed for other men's faults, you would soon wax weary of this general and confused execution. And though you would not, yet neither the equity nor prudence of God's or man's laws endure that wandering kind of execution. They note and specify the persons that shall have the charge and oversight to execute their decrees; that upon any neglect or defect the right offenders may be challenged. And since to avoid confusion and prevent delays you commit the execution of your own decrees to the care and circumspection of your president; what cause can there be why the laws of God, the church, and the prince should not likewise be executed by the bishop or chief pastor of each place? There can be no doubt but the canons of councils and laws of Christian princes touching church causes, from the apostles' age to ours, have been committed to episcopal audience and execution; the question is for God's law, who should be trusted with the execution thereof? And who rather say we, than he that is authorized by God to be the angel of his church and steward of his house; at whose

mouth the rest should ask the law, and be rather subject unto him than perch over him.

The execution of God's law by no means we grant to the bishop; for then we yield him all; but in that case, though each presbyter be inferior to him, yet the whole presbytery is above him, and may both overrule him and censure him.] That is as much as if you had said; When the sheep list to agree, I will not say, conspire, they must lead their shepherd; and when the children are wilful, they must rule their father. Otherwise, if the bishop be pastor and father to each presbyter, he is the like to the whole presbytery; and consequently they must hear and obey him as God's angel, so long as he keepeth within the bounds of his message.

Nay, every presbyter is a pastor and father as well as the bishop, and equal with him; neither hath he by God's law any right over them, but only by man's device.] Fie on this wavering<sup>d</sup>. Sometimes the bishop shall be chief over the presbytery by God's essential and perpetual ordinance; sometimes again every presbyter shall be equal and even with him, and he not chief over them; and when you are a little angry, he shall be subject unto them and be censured by them. This taping to and fro I impute rather to the rawness of your discipline not yet digested, than to the giddiness of your heads. This it is to wander in the desert of your own devices without the line of God's word, or level of his church to direct you. But can you shew us by what authority you claim this power of your presbyteries above and against their bishops? if by scriptures, produce them; if by fathers, then shrink not from them, when they tell you on the other side what power the bishop had, and should have over his presbyters.

We have both scriptures and fathers, but specially scriptures. First, the apostles Peter and Paul acknowledge the presbyters to be pastors, and give them the feeding, overseeing, and ruling the flock. Next, the presbytery did excommunicate the incestuous Corinthian, and imposed hands

<sup>d</sup> Thus L: "Apagē mobilitatem hanc et crebram tanquam tempestatum, sic sententiarum mutationem."

on Timothy. Thirdly, they are the church, which if a man hear not, he must be taken for a publican and an ethnic by Christ's commandment. Fourthly, the commonwealth of Israel had apparently that kind of government which Christ and his apostles did not alter. Lastly, the fathers confess the churches at first were governed with the common counsel of the presbyters, and without their advice nothing was done in the church.] These be the forts of your late erected consistory; if these be taken from you, you have no place left whither your maimed discipline may retreat: and these are most easily razed to the ground in order as they stand.

For first, the same power which you claim by Peter's and Paul's words, unto presbyters as pastors in respect of the flock committed to their trust, you must yield unto bishops as chief pastors in comparison both of presbyters and people; and so you prove against yourselves: for the bishop is as well chief in the church, where he is God's angel, as in the consistory, where he governeth the presbytery. Next, you cannot convince that the presbytery did either excommunicate the malefactor of Corinth, or lay hands on Timothy; I have cleared the inferments of both places before. And if you could conclude any such thing, which you cannot; yet most apparently the apostle Paul with his own mouth "adjudged" <sup>1</sup> Cor. v. 3 the one, and "with his own hands" ordained the other. <sup>2</sup> Tim. i. 6. Thirdly, what is meant by the church in those words of Christ, "If he hear not the church, let him be as an ethnic unto thee," I have already discussed; I need not reiterate. If you will with the fathers apply that censure to excommunication, you must with the fathers understand by the church, the bishops and chief rulers of the church. Fourthly, neither had the Jews that kind of government which you would establish in the church; neither did our Lord and Master, or his disciples, ever prescribe to the Gentiles the judicial part or form of Moses' law more than they did the ceremonial; if Moses' policy be abrogated, Moses' consistory may not be continued. The judges cease where the law faileth: the change of the law ceremonial worketh, as the apostle reasoneth, a change of the priesthood; and even so the disannulling of their penal judgments dischargeth all their judges

Deut. xvii.  
12.

and consistories. And were it otherwise, what win you by that against bishops? If your presbyters must be the Jews' elders, your presidents must answer to their chief priests, and then have you spun a fair thread: for where you thought to diminish the power of bishops over presbyters, you triple it by this argument. It must be "death to disobey the chief priest" in all points and parts of God's law. Would you stand to your tackling, I would never wish a better reason against you for the power of bishops than your own comparison; but you use to give back so fast when you be pressed, that my labour would be but lost to follow you. Indeed Cyprian doth vehemently urge that precept of Deuteronomy, and many others of the Old Testament, for obedience to be yielded to himself and other bishops, as well by presbyters as people; he that will, may see the places<sup>e</sup>. Lastly, for fathers, as your

<sup>e</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 59. [Ed. Erasm. lib. i. ep. 3. p. 120. "In Deuteronomio loquitur Dominus Deus, dicens, 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia, ut non exaudiat sacerdotem, aut judicem, quicumque fuerit in diebus illis, morietur homo ille: et omnis populus, cum audierit, timebit: et non agent impie etiam nunc.'"]

Ejusdem Epist. 43. [Ed. Erasm. lib. i. ep. 8. p. 84. "Nunc est fratres dilectissimi, ut et qui statis fortiter perseveretis, et stabilitatem vestram gloriosam, quam in persecutione tenuistis, perpetua firmitate servetis; et si qui circumveniente adversario lapsi estis, in secunda hac tentatione spei et paci vestræ fideliter consulatis; et ut vobis Dominus ignoscat, a sacerdotibus Domini non recedatis; cum scriptum sit, 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia, ut non exaudiat sacerdotem, aut judicem quicumque fuerit in diebus illis, morietur homo ille.'"]

Ejusd. Epist. 4. [Ed. Erasm. lib. i. ep. 11. p. 9. "Nec putent sibi vitæ aut salutis constare rationem, si episcopis et sacerdotibus obtemperare noluerint, cum in Deuteronomio Dominus Deus dicat, 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia ut non exaudiat sacerdotem aut judicem quicumque fuerit, in diebus illis, morietur homo ille, et omnis populus cum audierit, timebit; et, non agent impie etiam nunc.' Interfici Deus jussit sacerdotibus suis non obtemperantes, judicibus a

se ad tempus constitutis non obedientes; sed tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc et circumcisio carnalis manebat: nunc autem quia circumcisio spiritalis esse apud fideles servos Dei cœpit, spiritali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesia ejiciuntur. Neque enim vivere foris possunt, cum domus Dei una, et nemini salus esse nisi in ecclesia posita."]

Ejusd. Epist. 3. [Ed. Erasm. lib. iii. ep. 9. p. 5. "Et tu quidem honorifice circa nos, et pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem qua posses de illo statim vindicari; certus quod collegæ tui omnes gratum haberemus quodcumque circa diaconum tuum contumeliosum sacerdotali potestate fecisses, habens circa hujusmodi homines præcepta divina, cum Dominus in Deuteronomio dicat, 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia ut non exaudiat sacerdotem aut judicem, quicumque fuerit in diebus illis, morietur homo ille, et omnis populus cum audierit, timebit: et non agent impie etiam nunc.'"]

Ejusd. Epist. 66. [Ed. Erasm. lib. iv. ep. 9. p. 166. "Quod vero dixisti sacerdotibus humiles esse debere, quia et Dominus et apostoli ejus humiles fuerunt: humilitatem meam et fratres omnes, et gentiles quoque, optime norunt et diligunt; et tu quoque noveras et dilige-



fashion is, you take a paring of one or two of them where they speak to your liking, but reject both the same<sup>f</sup> and all other ancient writers when they mainly depose against your new discipline.

That the advice of presbyters was at first used in the regimen of the church, Jerome and Ambrose seem to witness; but that they might overrule or censure the bishop, they never said nor meant. "The safety of the church," as Jerome thinketh, "standeth on the dignity of the chief priest, (or bishop,) to whom, except there be given a power without any equal, and eminent above all, there will be as many schisms in the churches as there be priests<sup>g</sup>." And so Cyprian: "Thou makest thyself judge of God and of Christ, which said to his apostles, and thereby to all rulers that succeed the apostles in being ordained their substitutes, 'He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' For whence have heresies and schisms heretofore risen, and daily rise, but whiles the bishop, which is but one, and ruleth the church, is despised by the proud presumption of some<sup>h</sup>?" And that one bishop he calleth "the leader of the people, the pastor of the flock, the governor of the church, the bishop of Christ, and priest of God<sup>i</sup>." Infi-

bas: cum adhuc in ecclesia esses, et necum communicares. Quis autem nostrum longe est ab humilitate, utrumne ego qui quotidie fratribus servio, et venientes ad ecclesiam singulos benigne et cum voto et gaudio suscipio; an tu qui te episcopum episcopi et judicem judicis ad tempus a Deo dati constituis? cum Deus in Deuteronomio dicat, 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia, ut non exaudiat sacerdotem, aut judicem, quicumque fuerit in diebus illis, morietur homo ille, et omnis populus cum audierit, timebit, et non agent impie etiam nunc.'"

<sup>f</sup> Thus L.: "summo cum fastidio rejicitis."

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. adv. Lucifer. [t. ii. 139. "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficiuntur schismata, quot sacerdotes."]

<sup>h</sup> Cyprian. Ep. lxvi. [Ed. Erasm. lib. iv. ep. 9. "Non hæc jacto, sed dolens pro-

fero, cum te judicem Dei constituas et Christi, qui dicit ad apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt, 'Qui audit vos, me audit: et, qui me audit, audit eum qui me misit. Et, qui rejicit vos, me rejicit: et, qui me rejicit, rejicit eum qui me misit.' Inde enim schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt et oriuntur, dum episcopus qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur; et homo, dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus ab hominibus judicatur."]

<sup>i</sup> Ibidem. ["Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio, ad cognitionem suam præpositos et sacerdotes vocare; ac nisi apud te purgati fuimus et sententia tua absoluti, ecce jam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit episcopum, nec plebs præpositum, nec grex pastorem, nec ecclesia gubernatorem, nec Christus antistitem, nec Deus sacerdotem?"]

nite are the testimonies of the catholic fathers against the power which you give to your presbyters; but because you turn them all over the bar, as tainted with human policy, and neglecters of God's ordinance, let us see whether we can say more for the power of bishops over presbyters by the scriptures, than you have done for your presbyterial censures, which in my judgment are very slenderly and weakly proved.

All that we can say for the power of bishops above presbyters out of the scriptures is this; that the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of St. Paul, hath given the bishop of each place authority to ordain such as be worthy, to examine such as be faulty, and reprove and discharge such as be guilty either of unsound teaching or offensive living. Thus much he saith to Timothy and Titus, and in them to their successors, and to all other bishops of Christ's church for ever. The places be plain, and need no long discoursing till we hear your answer.

- <sup>1</sup> Tim. v. 22. Of admitting presbyters, Paul saith to Timothy, "Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins." And to Titus: "For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city (such) as I appointed thee." Of conventing them he saith: "Receive no accusation against a presbyter, but under two or three witnesses. Those that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear." Of dismissing them, he saith: "I prayed thee to abide at Ephesus to command certain that they teach no strange doctrine." "Their mouths must be stopped, that they teach things they ought not, for filthy lucre." "The presbyters that do their duties, let them be counted worthy of double honour." "Stay foolish questions and contentions." "An heretic after one or two warnings reject." "These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. See no man despise thee." "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, *χωρὶς προκρίματος, μηδὲν ποιῶν κατὰ πρόσκλισιν*, without carrying any prejudice, or inclining to either part." The words be singular, the charge is vehement<sup>k</sup>; the parties were bishops to whom the apostle wrote: the case therefore is

<sup>k</sup> Added L: "mandata usque ad adventum Domini duratura, nec Titi aut Timothei morte finienda;"

clear, that the bishop's power over presbyters in these points is ratified by the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

You be mightily deceived. This power belonged to evangelists, not to bishops, and therefore it dured but for their time, and exceeded not their persons to whom the apostles wrote. See you how easily the very foundations of your prelacy are shaken and overthrown.] If your reply be sound, you say somewhat to the purpose; but if it be false, absurd, repugnant to the very text, and refuted by your own positions, then take you heed, what answer you will make to God for disturbing his church, despising his ordinance, and deriding his messengers, that himself hath placed and authorized with his own mouth. And here I must pray the Christian reader advisedly to mark what is said and answered on either side. This indeed is the main erection of the episcopal power and function, if our proofs stand; or subversion, if your answer be good. For if this fail, well may bishops claim their authority by the custom of the church; by any divine precept expressed in the scriptures, they cannot. But if these rules be delivered by the apostle to bishops, as we say they are, and not to Timothy and Titus in respect of their evangelship, as the presbyterists affirm; then can there be no question but this new discipline is a very dream<sup>1</sup>, and the ancient and primitive church of Christ held the right and apostolical form of governing the house of God according to the prescript of his word. Our rejoinder therefore is as followeth.

No power proper to evangelists is or ought to be perpetual in the church of Christ; their calling was both extraordinary and temporary: but power to ordain fit ministers, to convent and discharge unfit, is and ought to be perpetual in the church of Christ. This therefore was no power proper to evangelists which St. Paul in these places prescribed unto Titus and Timothy. Again, your presbyters may not claim evangelistical power, since your presbyters are no evangelists; but your presbyteries claim this power which Paul

<sup>1</sup> Thus L.: "manifesto constat, disciplinam hanc totam non ex probatis theologorum judiciis, sed ex recentiorum quorundam somniis esse conflataam;"

1 Tim. vi.  
13, 14.

here committeth to Timothy and Titus, even to ordain, examine, censure, and deprive pastors and teachers; *ergo*, this power was not proper to evangelists. Let all this be nothing, if St. Paul in express words say not as much. "I charge thee," saith he to Timothy, "in the sight of God, and before Jesus Christ, that thou keep this commandment, without spot and unrebukable, UNTIL THE APPEARING of our Lord Jesus Christ." For Timothy to observe these things until the coming of Christ in glory, was utterly impossible; he was to die long before: these precepts therefore are delivered to him, and those that should succeed in his place, unto the end of the world: *ergo*, Timothy's power and function in this behalf must be perpetual in the church of God, and not fail before the day of judgment. "With great vigilancy and providence," saith Ambrose upon this place, "doth the apostle give precepts to the ruler of the church; for in his person doth the safety of the people consist. He is not so circumspect as fearing Timothy's care, but for his successors, that, after Timothy's example, they should observe the ordering of the church<sup>m</sup>." Now let the Christian reader judge whether this were a temporary function in Timothy, that died with his person, or a perpetual charge to him and his successors for ever.

Surely Timothy was an evangelist; Timothy was no bishop.] You say he was no bishop; Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Epiphanius, Œcumenius, Primasius, affirm he was a bishop<sup>n</sup>; and in that respect St. Paul by this epistle directed him, and all other bishops in him, how to impose hands on presbyters, and receive accusations against them; yea, the whole church of Christ since the apostles' times, without exception, hath so construed and observed the apostle's words, in suffering none but bishops either to ordain or degrade presbyters: yet all this with you is nothing; your bare fancy must overbear both fathers, were

<sup>m</sup> Ambros. in 1 Epist. ad Tim. cap. vi. [t. v. 410. "Magna vigilantia atque providentia præcepta dat rectori ecclesiæ. In hujus enim persona totius populi salus consistit. Non sollicitus de cura Timothei tam circumspectus est,

sed propter successores ejus, ut exemplo Timothei ecclesiæ ordinationem custodirent; ipsi quoque futuris formam tradentes a semetipsis inciperent."]

<sup>n</sup> See chapter xii. p. 288.

they never so learned, and churches, were they never so ancient<sup>o</sup>. And though you avouch this power must not exceed their two persons, to whom St. Paul wrote; yet you are so liberal and beneficial to your presbyteries, that against all truth and authority you make them succeed Timothy and Titus in their evangelistical power. And so according to your manner you will have this power to be proper, and yet common; to be extraordinary, and yet usual; to cease with their persons, and yet to dure for ever with your presbyteries. Fire will better agree with water, than you with yourselves, except you leave this rolling to and fro at your pleasures.

We say the evangelists had this power for a time; the presbyteries for ever.] What you say, no wise man will regard, unless you make better proofs than I yet see you do. You have not a word nor a tittle in the scriptures for the power of your presbyteries, and yet you pronounce so peremptorily and resolutely of them, as if there were nothing else written in the New Testament but the power of your presbyters.

Did not the presbytery impose hands on Timothy to make him an evangelist? did not they watch and feed the flock in the apostles' times? did not the Holy Ghost make them overseers of the church? What would you have more? Of laymen, your presbyteries either wholly or chiefly consist: then they also be pastors and bishops, and watch and feed the flock; and the Holy Ghost hath set them over the church; and they also impose hands, as well as the best. And to say the truth, what thing is there so peculiar to pastors which you do not communicate to your presbyters? for when you be urged<sup>p</sup> that presbyters in the apostles' times were by duty to do those things which belonged properly to pastoral care and oversight, and therefore laymen were no part of those presbyteries; you answer roundly, that lay elders in the consistory do watch and feed and overlook the flock as well as pastors; and so not only their power, but also their charge is the very

<sup>o</sup> Thus L.: "et vobis in vestra sententia nimium pertinaciter hærentibus, patres antiquitate et eruditione præstantissimos, synodos autoritate et numero celeberrimas, ecclesias fide et

pietate laudatissimas cedere oportet, fascesque summittere."

<sup>p</sup> Thus L.: "Nam cum eo premi vos, vel potius opprimi sentiatís,"



same, as you say, that the Holy Ghost gave unto pastors, and yet they no pastors. And touching hands laid on Timothy by the presbytery, you answer yourselves; for when you allege, that the presbytery did impose hands on Timothy, we ask you whether all the presbytery had right and power to impose hands, or only some of them? if all, then lay elders must either impose hands, (which Calvin conclusively denieth; "This we must understand, that only pastors imposed hands on ministers<sup>q</sup>,") or be no part of the presbytery. If some only imposed hands, and yet the presbytery is said to do that which not all, but some few, or one of them did<sup>r</sup>; in like manner Paul saith the presbytery laid hands on Timothy, when himself did the deed, who was one of the presbytery. And thus much Calvin likewise avoucheth: "Paul witnesseth that himself, and none others, laid hands on Timothy<sup>s</sup>."

And strange it is to see you build the main foundation of your presbyterical power on a place that hath so many sound and sufficient answers as this hath. First, Jerome, Ambrose, Primasius, and Calvin tell you the word *presbytery* signifieth in that place the degree and function which Timothy received, not the college and number of presbyters. Next, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, and Theophylact tell you, that Paul by the presbytery meant the bishops, (their names at first being common;) for that presbyters might not lay hands on a bishop, such as Timothy was. Thirdly, the scriptures tell you that the apostles, evangelists, prophets, and the seventy disciples were of the presbyteries in the first church; and they might well impose hands on Timothy without any presbyters. Fourthly, St. Paul telleth you, as Calvin well observeth and urgeth, that himself and none others laid hands on Timothy. Lastly, yourselves say Timothy was an evangelist, which function and vocation the presbytery of no particular church could give him, but only the

<sup>q</sup> Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 3. [Amstel. 1667. §. 16. p. 285. "Hoc postremo habendum est, non universam multitudinem manus imposuisse suis ministris, sed solos pastores.")

<sup>r</sup> Added L.: "presentibus, videntibus, et approbantibus cæteris;"

<sup>s</sup> Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 3. §. 16. p. 285. "Sed Paulus ipse alibi se, non alios complures. Timothei manus imposuisse commemorat. 'Admoneo te,' inquit, 'ut gratiam suscites quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum.'"

apostles. What power had the church of Iconium or Ephesus to make evangelists, I mean such as should accompany the apostles, and assist them in their travels? If you trust neither scriptures nor fathers, for shame trust yourselves and your own positions. How shall other men believe your assertions, when yourselves do not believe them? If Timothy were an evangelist, they must be apostles and no presbyters that imposed hands on him. If the presbytery of any particular church imposed hands on him, Timothy must be a bishop, and have a local charge in some church; which you impugn under pretence of his evangelship. Choose which you will, so you choose somewhat, and stand to it when you have chosen it. Were they presbyters or no that imposed hands on Timothy? If they were, yet they did it jointly with Paul; and so without the apostle or his successor presbyters may not impose hands, and then must Timothy be a bishop when Paul wrote unto him; for presbyters could not make him an evangelist. Were they no presbyters, but apostles, or others of higher calling? Then maketh this place nothing for the power of presbyters either to ordain or deprive ministers of the word and sacraments<sup>t</sup>; and setting this aside, what one jot find you in the scriptures concerning your presbyteries?

The conclusion is: We shew you substantial and full proof that TIMOTHY AND HIS SUCCESSORS are charged by Paul to observe these precepts of the Holy Ghost in the church of Christ for ever; touching the admitting of fit ministers, and removing of unfit. Thence we infer this power must be perpetual in bishops, for they succeed Timothy in the church; the presbyteries do not. On the other side you claim this authority from bishops to your presbyteries; but you cannot prove either their succession from Timothy, or joint commission with Timothy, by any sentence or syllable in the scriptures. That they should feed and watch the flock, you urge, and we grant; in teaching and exhorting, they were joined with Timothy, by reason the labourers must of force be many, where the harvest was so great, as in the apostles' times: but in ordaining and governing the teachers, as there was no need

<sup>t</sup> "of the word and sacraments," omitted L.

of many, so is there no precept for many, lest by the multitude of rulers order should be rather confused than preserved. Wherefore as Timothy was placed at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, to ordain, moderate, and rebuke, as well presbyters as people; so was Archippus at Colossus; so were the seven pastors in the seven churches of Asia, to whom the Son of God wrote by St. John's pen; so in all the apostolic churches were apostolic men throughout the Christian world left to guide and govern the churches of Christ with like power, and to leave the same to their successors for ever. And this our construction and exposition of St. Paul's words to Timothy the learned and ancient fathers confirm with one consent, and the catholic church of Christ hath continued and performed in all ages and places since the apostles' deaths.

Mean you that bishops alone might do what they would without the knowledge or consent of their presbyters? My meaning is soon understood. You establish one chief in your presbyteries by God's essential and perpetual ordinance to execute that which you decree, which you call your president. How far I join with you, you shall quickly perceive. To avoid tumults and dissensions, God hath authorized one in each place and church able to have and maintain a presbytery, who with pastoral and fatherly moderation should guide as well the presbyters that assist him, as the people that are subject to him, according to the laws of God and man; the execution whereof is chiefly committed to his charge that is the leader and overseer of all the rest, whom we call a bishop. His power I call a moderation, and not a domination, because the wisdom of God hath likewise allowed and provided Christian means, as well to bridle him from wrongs, as to direct him in doubts.

That is right the power which we give to our presbyteries.] Did you not put laymen instead of pastors to be presbyters, and make them controllers where they should be but advisers; your presbyteries might have some use in the church of God, though far less now than when they first began: but your disdaining bishops, and taking from them that which the apostle giveth them, and your extolling presbyteries (the most part whereof, if not all, be lay elders) to

determine all cases, and censure all persons in the church, which the scriptures never speak of, are the spots and stains of your discipline, which you will never wash away. Presbyteries we acknowledge were in the apostles' times, and in the primitive church<sup>u</sup>, serving to religious and needful uses; but no such presbyteries as you pretend, neither erected to any such end as you conceive, nor endued with any such sovereign power as you imagine.

I find many uses of presbyteries ordained in cities by the apostles, and after by them conjoined in one church with the bishop; whereof some are extinguished by the alteration of times, others remain in force to this day. The first was the conversion of the world unto Christ. In great cities, where none yet believed, how long would it be before one man should gain any great number unto the faith; persecutions especially growing so hot, that none might publicly shew himself to be a Christian without danger of life? Wherefore the Holy Ghost disposed and appointed many labourers in every city to carry the knowledge of the truth from house to house. As at Ephesus, Paul at one time furnished "twelve" Acts xix. 7. with the gifts of God's Spirit for the spreading of the gospel in that place; at Rome he saluted twenty that were of his acquaintance, besides those he knew not, who planted them- Rom. xvi. 1-16. selves and their households in that city, to win the multitude to the obedience of the faith. And so wheresoever the apostles erected any church, they did store it with as many meet men to teach the word as they could find, that the truth of Christ might disperse itself, not only throughout their cities, but into the towns and countries that bordered near them.

The next use of presbyteries was to continue such as they had converted, by instructing, exhorting, and encouraging the believers from house to house, and from man to man, to stand fast in the doctrine received, and neither to shrink at the bloody storms of tyrants, nor to give ear to the wily charms of Satan, nor follow the deceitful baits of this world; but constantly with truth and holiness to serve God, in spite of all adversaries that exalted themselves against the know-

<sup>u</sup> Thus L.: "*prima etiam purissimaque ecclesia,*"

ledge of Christ. And as the people did increase, so did the pains in each place, and consequently the number of presbyters; one man being no more able to serve the necessities of a great city, than to bear the burden of the earth on his back. Wherefore the spirit of wisdom so guided the church, that to procure the conversion, and attend the salvation of men, there was every where (as occasion required) store of pastors and teachers; and yet to maintain unity, and keep both preachers and people in peace, there was in each church and city one chief amongst them, that as principal pastor of the place looked into all their doings, stayed them from dissensions, rebuked the unruly, and with the help of the rest rejected the intolerable; lest many teachers, by challenging unto themselves such as they had converted, should rend the faithful into as many churches as there were presbyters in every city: for which cause each place, were it never so great, had but one church, and one chief pastor or bishop elected to succeed in the pastoral charge and chair above the rest that were his brethren in office, children in honour, helpers in labour, and assessors in counsel and judgment.

The third use was the training up and trying of men that were meet to have the care of souls committed unto them, and the regiment of the church reposed on them. At first the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost supplied all wants and defects of learning and knowledge, so that by the laying on of the apostles' hands, men afore unfit were made meet ministers of the new testament: but because these gifts were not always to continue, or not in so plentiful manner as at the prime tide of the gospel, the apostles settled in every church and city, needing their service, and able to give them maintenance, by reason of the populousness of the place, a presbytery, that is, a convenient number of deacons to serve about divine matters and mysteries, and of pastors to intend for the word and sacraments: from whence, as from a fountain, both the cities themselves might at all times after have sufficient men to furnish their own turns, and to help the smaller towns and villages within their circuit, which, for the slenderness of their state, could neither maintain presbyteries, nor nourish up meet men to supply their need upon the death



of the former incumbents. This to us, that have universities for that purpose, founded by the bounteousness of Christian princes and other benefactors, may seem superfluous; but the church of Christ, after her first supply made by the apostles' hands, had no means to continue the succession of fit and able pastors in each place, but only her presbyteries in greater churches and cities, that were her nurseries of learning, and seminaries of sound religion and holy conversation; which stored both the cities where they were supported, and the country round about, that was under the charge and oversight of the bishop of each city.

The fourth use of presbyteries, which you much grate on, but never rightly hit, was the advising and assisting the bishop or pastor of each church and city in all doubts and dangers. At first there were no councils to make canons, nor Christian princes to establish laws for the good guiding and ordering of the church, but each place was left to direct itself. Lest therefore the bishop's only will should be the rule of all things in the church, the government of the church was at first so proportioned, that neither the presbyters should do any thing without their bishop, nor the bishop dispose matters of importance without his presbytery. The presbyters sat not with the bishop as equal in power with him, much less as superior above him, when the more part consented against him: you would fain have it so<sup>x</sup>; but the church of Christ, from the apostles to this present, never used or endured any such presumption.

"As Christ," saith Ignatius, "doth nothing without his Father, so do you (nothing) without the bishop, whether you be presbyter, deacon, or layman<sup>y</sup>." And again: "Presbyters be subject to your bishop, deacons to your presbyters, and laymen to both. My soul for theirs that observe this order, the Lord will be always with them<sup>z</sup>." The canons,

\* Thus L.: Scio nihil vobis esse prius aut potius in vestra disciplina."

y Ignat. ad Magnesios Epist. [Is. Vossius. Lond. 1680. p. 33. "Ωσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ, φησὶ, ποιεῖν ἅπ' ἑμαυτοῦ οὐδὲν, οὐτῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· μὴδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴδὲ διάκονος, μὴδὲ

λαϊκός.]

z Ejusd. ad Tarsenses Epist. [Ἔπο-  
τάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· οἱ διάκονοι, τοῖς  
πρεσβυτέροις· ὁ λαὸς, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις  
καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ἀντίψυχος ἐγὼ τῶν  
φυλαττόντων ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν· καὶ  
ὁ Κύριος εἴη μετ' αὐτῶν διηνεκῶς.]

reporting the ancient discipline that obtained in the church from the apostles' times, say; "Let the presbyters and deacons do nothing without the consent of the bishop, for the bishop is he to whose charge the people are committed, and who shall render an account for their souls<sup>a</sup>." Tertullian, that lived in the next age after the apostles, proveth that in his time neither presbyter nor deacon might baptize without the bishop's leave: "The right to give baptism, hath the high priest, which is the bishop, then the presbyters and deacons: but not without the bishop's authority, for that honour the church yieldeth (to bishops); which being preserved, peace is maintained. Emulation is the mother of schisms<sup>b</sup>." The council of Ancyra, that was elder than the council of Nice, sheweth; It was "not lawful for rural bishops to ordain presbyters or deacons," nor for "the presbyters of the city to do any thing out of their charge without the license and letters of the bishop<sup>c</sup>." The council of Laodicea, expressing the bishop's preeminence, saith; "The rural bishops that are already made must do nothing without the consent of the bishop of the city. Likewise the presbyters must do nothing without the liking of their bishop<sup>d</sup>." The council of Arles, in Constantine's days: "The presbyters may do nothing without the knowledge (or consent) of the bishop." Jerome giveth the same reason for it that Tertul-

<sup>a</sup> Canon. Apostol. in Concil. Can. xxxviii. [t. i. col. 33. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείωσαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτησόμενος.]

<sup>b</sup> Tertull. de Bapt. cap. xvii. [p. 230. "Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est: quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest, nisi episcopi jam, aut presbyteri aut diaconi vocantur, discentes Domini sermo non debet abscondi ab ullo. Proinde et baptismus, æque Dei census, ab omnibus exerceri potest: sed, quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundiæ et modestiæ incumbit? cum ea ma-

joribus competant, ne sibi adsumant dicatum episcopis officium episcopatus. Emulatio schismatum mater est."]

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Ancyran. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1461. Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.]

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Laodicen. can. lvii. [t. i. col. 1505. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιοδεύτας· τοὺς μὲντοι ἤδη προκατασταθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου."]

<sup>e</sup> Concil. Arelatens. I. can. xviii. [t. i. col. 1429. "De diaconibus urbicis, ut non sibi tantum præsumant, sed honorem presbyterio reservent, ut sine conscientia ipsorum nihil tale faciant."]

lian doth : If the chief priest should not have power " eminent above all without partner, there would be as many schisms as there be priests. Thence is it, that without the bishop's leave, neither presbyter nor deacon may baptize<sup>f</sup>." If presbyters by the discipline of the primitive church were to obey their bishop, and might do nothing, no, not baptize without the bishop's leave ; how far were they from overruling and censuring their bishop by number of voices, which you attribute to your presbyters !

This was that custom of the church, which Jerome confessed was against the divine disposition.] If this were the custom of the primitive church, then were their presbyteries nothing like your consistories ; neither did the bishop as a consul in the senate ask voices, and execute what the most part decreed ; but as a pastor he governed and overlooked as well the presbyters as the people ; and without his consent and liking the presbyters might do nothing, no, not baptize, nor administer the Lord's supper<sup>g</sup> : neither doth Jerome say that this custom of the church was against the divine disposition ; he is so far from condemning it, that he saith, " the safety of the church dependeth thereon<sup>h</sup> : " but Jerome willeth the bishops to remember, that though the whole care and oversight of the church be now given to them, and taken from presbyters for preventing of schisms ; yet they should use them with honour, and consult with them for the good of the church, because by the truth of the divine disposition afore schisms began, they were trusted in common with the regiment of the church.

That disposition which he calleth divine we seek to restore.] By pretence of those words, you proclaim your own devices under the title of God's ordinance. Otherwise, the charge that Paul giveth Timothy maketh strongly for bishops against your presbyteries ; but that we interpret his

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. adv. Lucifer. [t. ii. 139. " Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet : cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficiuntur schismata, quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus ha-

beant baptizandi." ]

<sup>g</sup> Added L : " nec quicquam eorum quæ ad sacrum munus spectant, peragere." ]

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. adv. Lucif. [t. ii. 139. " Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet." ]

words by the practice of the church ; and thereby conceive, that though the chief power and care were committed to bishops, yet their presbyteries were not excluded : for as then bishops had no means to be directed or assisted, but only their presbyteries. Afterwards, when upon the general prevailing of the gospel on the face of the earth, synods began to assemble ; and the pastors of diverse churches used by letters and meetings to confer about such orders and rules as they thought needful to be observed in all their churches ; the presbyteries of every particular place had more leisure and leave to play, by reason provincial councils undertook the debating and resolving of those doubts and difficulties that before troubled the presbyteries. And as you tie your president to the execution of such things as your presbyters shall decree ; so the primitive church of Christ had greater reason and better ground to bind her bishops to see those things performed, which were concluded by general assent of the bishops and pastors of any province. Where you may see upon what occasion the power of presbyteries first decreased, not that bishops wrongfully encroached on their liberties, and violently overmastered them ; but what things were before handled and debated in the presbyteries of each place, came now to be discussed and concluded in the synods and full assemblies of all the bishops and pastors of one kingdom or country. So that synods in consultation and determination of all ecclesiastical griefs and causes were preferred by the primitive church of Christ, as courts of greater judgment, higher power, better experience, and more indifferency, than presbyteries ; and if malice do not blind you, you will confess the same.

Was it possible to find in any presbytery so many grave, wise, learned, and sufficient men as in a province ? In presbyteries, affections and factions mightily prevail, by reason men that live together, upon liking or disliking, soon link together : in synods, where all were strangers to themselves and to the parties, no such thing could be feared. In presbyteries it was easy for the bishop to have his forth, for that the rest were subject unto him, and might many ways be displeased by him, if he would seek revenge : in synods they

were all his brethren and equals, no way in danger to him, and therefore the more likely to be sincere and indifferent judges. And as for authority, I trust yourselves do not mean in every parish to erect a pope and a college of cardinals, from whom there shall be no appeal, of whose wrongs there shall be no redress, whose censures must stand indissoluble; that were of all tyrannies the most intolerable. In all Christian societies, the whole of like power and calling is greater than any part; and a province must be respected before a parish. Wherefore presbyteries must yield to synods; and the bishop of each place is more bound to regard and execute synodal than presbyteral decrees.

This whiles you mark not, you imagine the whole church of Christ conspired against presbyters to suppress them, and to change the apostolical form of regiment; where indeed the decrees of councils and laws of Christian princes moderating and determining all those doubts and questions which before were examined in presbyteries, caused them to be less needed and less regarded than before; and charged the bishop with the execution of all laws and canons, without assembling or consulting his presbyters; superior courts not submitting their acts to the judgment of inferior officers. Wherefore when you rail at bishops as usurpers and tyrants over their brethren, you forget that after so many hundred years, all things being settled and guided by laws, which your presbyteries neither may reverse nor can correct, your elders were as good spare their pains, as lose their labours. More laws we need not, better you cannot make; no man that hath his right wits will choose to live under the discretion of the presbyters, rather than under the prescript of written laws. Frustrate them when you will, to make work for your consistories, and you shall find greater difference betwixt the equity and certainty of the canons, and the affectionate and inconstant headiness of your presbyters.

We would change no laws but such as are popish; and where now the bishop alone doth all, we would join the presbytery with him.] The laws that upheld the pope's superstition or usurpation are already abrogated, thanks be to God; the rest that agree with the canons of the primitive



church, if you seek to dissolve, I would wish you did publish the new, that men might see them before you did exauthorate the old, lest you make the people as lawless as your presbyters. It is easier to evert or disturb, than to plant or establish a church or commonwealth. If you take not the same laws again, I dare warrant your children's children, to the fourth generation, shall see neither order nor peace in your churches. And as for joining presbyters with the bishop to execute laws, that is the way to multiply bishops, and where we have one, to make us twenty; but that is not the way to have laws more speedily or sincerely executed. In a multitude, diversity of opinions breedeth delays, and hindereth execution; in one it cannot; and if each man be subject to affections, I hope the more, the worse. But what reason we whether one or many shall execute the laws, when it is not in our hands to limit the lawmakers to our choice? They that have power from God to make laws, have likewise authority and liberty to choose whom they will charge with the execution of their laws; and therefore in God's name let both councils and princes choose what persons they think meetest to see their canons and laws observed<sup>i</sup>, so long as they transgress not the rules of piety and equity.

Our chiefest care is for the right execution of God's law, which we would not have committed to the bishop without his presbyters.] Give the bishop that right and authority which God's law alloweth him, and then join with him whom you can.

What right is that? You heard before: he must have pastoral and paternal power; either wholly, if by God's law there may be but one pastor in one church; or chiefly, if there may be more in the same place to advise and assist him in governing the flock. More authority by God's law we claim not for bishops, than to be pastors of the places which they govern. And pastoral authority, since you give to every rector in his church, what reason have you to deny it to every bishop in his diocese?

We give no man pastoral power over the presbyteries;

<sup>i</sup> Thus L.: "Itaque liberum iis re- legum suarum administrationem cre-  
linquamus, ut suo, non alieno arbitrio, dant,"

and as for dioceses, we say they are intrusions on other men's cures.] If by God's law you assign one church to one man as pastor of the same, then all the members of that church, be they presbyters or people, must be subject to him as to their pastor, and he must have pastoral authority over them, whatsoever they be. And therefore this shift of yours, that the presbyters shall have a president over them by God's ordinance, but no pastor, is a mere collusion, repugnant as well to the word as church of God; for what do the scriptures call your president in respect of the presbyters, if not a pastor? Shew us either his name or his power in the New Testament; and if it be not equivalent with pastoral, we will exempt your presbyters from all subjection. The power that Timothy received, to restrain them from preaching false doctrine, and to convent and rebuke such presbyters as sinned, was it not pastoral? And that charge was to remain, by the apostle's words, to him and his successors till the coming of Christ. Your pastors that you would erect in country parishes, shall they not have pastoral power over your lay presbyters? shall your lay elders be sheep without a shepherd? shall no man watch over their souls? If your lay presbyteries must have a pastor over them in each country parish, how cometh it to pass that your presbyteries in cities may endure no pastors above them? Are they not all of one and the same institution by your own rules? Is there one order in the scriptures for rustical presbyteries, and another for civil? I think yourselves can hardly shew any such distinction. Wherefore when we give bishops pastoral authority as well over their presbyters as over their people, we do it by the warrant of God's word, that maketh them chief pastors over their churches, which includeth both presbyters and people; and we therein give them no more than by your wills you would give to the meanest rectors of country parishes.

Pastors we are content they shall be over their flocks, but not over their coequals and copartners.] Then no man may take or lead their flocks from them, so long as they teach and guide them right: and consequently your presbyters may use no pastoral power in any bishop's charge without his liking. For he is pastor of the flock; and by God's law they must

hear and obey the voice of their shepherd. And as for the rest of the presbyters, if you make them copartners with him, that is, not helpers, but equals, you distract the flock, and rent the church into as many pieces as there be pastors. One flock cannot have many pastors, except they be subordinate one under another: but many pastors of equal power must needs have many flocks. Wherefore one church must have but one pastor, to whom the rest, be they presbyters or others, must by God's law be subject and obedient, whiles he rightly directeth them, and worthily rebuketh them; otherwise against God and his truth, we must obey neither man nor angel. Yet to temper the pastoral power of bishops that it might be fatherly, as it hath been always in the house of God even from the beginning; and not princely, for fear of reigning over the Lord's inheritance; the church of Christ did in certain cases of importance not suffer the bishop to attempt any thing without the consent of his presbyters or a synod. The fourth council of Carthage prohibiteth the bishop "to hear and sententiate any man's cause without the presence of his clergy<sup>k</sup>," as also it voideth "the gifts, sales and exchanges of ecclesiastical goods made by the bishop without the subscription of his clerks<sup>l</sup>." The council of Hispalis: "We decree according to the rule of the ancient fathers, that none of us presume to degrade a presbyter or deacon without the examination of a council; for there are many that condemn them without discussing their causes, rather by tyrannical power, than by canonical authority<sup>m</sup>." Many like cases there are in which the bishop might not meddle, without his presbytery or a synod, whereof some are altered by laws, some rest in force at this present.

Against this tyrannical power which you mention we repine; that bishops alone should excommunicate and deprive

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Carthag. iv. cap. xxiii. [t. ii. col. 1202. "Ut episcopus nullius causam audiat absque præsentia clericorum suorum: alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi, nisi clericorum præsentia confirmetur."]

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. cap. xxxii. ["Irrita erit donatio episcoporum, vel venditio, vel commutatio rei ecclesiasticæ, absque conniventia et subscriptione clericorum."]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Hispal. II. can. vi. [t. v. col. 1665. "Id denuo adversus præsumptionem nostram decrevimus, ut juxta priscorum patrum synodalem sententiam, nullus nostrum sine concilii examine deiciendum quemlibet presbyterum, vel diaconum audeat. Nam multi sunt qui indiscussos, potestate tyrannica, non auctoritate canonica damnant."]

presbyters at their pleasures.] Did you acknowledge the canonical authority of bishops, we should soon conclude for the tyrannical; but under the show of the one you impugn the other, and when you come to redress it, you establish a plainer tyranny instead of it. True it is that the frequency of synods did first rebate the credit and decay the use of presbyteries. For when the bishops of each province, as by the general councils of Nice and Chalcedon they were bound, met twice every year, to hear and moderate ecclesiastical griefs and causes; presbyters were less regarded, and less employed than before; synods, as superior judges, entering into the examination and decision of those things, which were wont to be proposed in presbyteries. And when, private quarrels and questions increasing, synods began to be tired with continual sitting about such matters, and the bishops of most churches to be detained from their cures and attend the debating and deciding of griefs and displeasures betwixt man and man, the burden grew so intolerable, that synods were forced to settle an appeal from the bishop to the metropolitan; and commit it to the care of the primate, what causes were fit for synodal cognition. The council of Sardica: "If any bishop in a rage hastily moved against a presbyter or deacon, will cast him out of the church, we must provide that an innocent be not condemned, and deprived the communion. All answered; Let the party so ejected, have liberty to fly to the metropolitan of the same province, and desire his cause to be more advisedly heard<sup>n</sup>." The great council of Africa finding how troublesome it was for the bishops of that whole region to meet and stay the hearing of all matters, "chose out three of every province<sup>o</sup>" to end causes undetermined; and by reason they could not assemble twice a year for the length of the way,

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Sardic. can. xvii. [t. ii. col. 649. "Osius episcopus dixit: Quod me adhuc movet, reticere non debes. Si episcopus quis forte iracundus (quod esse non debet) cito et aspere commoveatur adversus presbyterum, sive diaconum suum, et exterminare eum de ecclesia voluerit; providendum est, ne innocens damnetur, aut perdat communionem. Et ideo, habeat potestatem is

qui abjectus est, ut episcopus finitimos interpellat, et causa ejus audiat, ac diligentius tractetur, quia non oportet ei negari audientiam roganti."]

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. can. cxxvii. [t. ii. col. 1131. 'Ομοίως ἤρεσε πάση τῇ συνόδῳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιτολὴ τοὺς πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον συναχθέντας ἐπισκόπους πάντας κατέχεσθαι, ἐξ ἑκάστης ἐπαρχίας ἀνὰ τρεῖς ἐπιλεγῆναι δικαστάς.]



they were contented with "one full council in the year", and left the causes and complaints of presbyters, deacons and other clergymen, first to the bishops that were nearest, and then to the primate or metropolitan of the same province. "We decree that presbyters, deacons, and other inferior clergymen, if in any matters they find themselves aggrieved with the judgments of their own bishops; the bishops that are nearest shall give them audience. And if they think good to appeal from them, they shall not appeal to the tribunals beyond the seas, but to the primates of their own province, even as we have often decreed of bishops<sup>q</sup>."

These canons did not establish but repress tyrannical power in bishops, if any did affect it, and required the bishop before he proceeded against presbyter or deacon, to take unto him assessors of the nearest bishops, such as the parties consented should demand; and if they could not end the cause with the liking of both sides, then the primate to have the hearing of it, and lastly, the council, if either part would appeal from the primate. Thus did the bishops of the primitive church order the hearing of causes within their provinces, neither proudly nor antichristianly, but, in my judgment, soberly and wisely referred them from the bishop to the primate; thereby to ripen causes, and search into the truth of each complaint, with a great deal less trouble and no less indifference, than if it had been immediately brought to the council.

And were you as moderate as you be resolute, you would perceive what a tedious labour it is, and in our state superfluous for a synod of bishops to sit all a year long hearing pri-

p Ibid. can. xviii. [col. 1050. Ὡστε κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὄρους διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς αἰτίας, αἱ τινες πολλάκις πρὸς ὕλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ παλαιοῦνται, καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν σύνοδον συγκαλεῖσθαι, πρὸς ἣν πάντες οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὰς πρώτας καθέδρας ἐπέχοντες, ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων, συνόδων δύο, ἥ καὶ ὕσους ἐπιλέξονται, ἐπισκόπους τε τοποτηρητὰς ἀποστείλωσιν, ἵνα ἐν τῇ συναχθείσῃ συλεύσῃ πλήρης εἶναι δυνήθῃ ἡ αὐθεντία.]

q Ibid. can. xxviii. [col. 1063. Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν, ἵνα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατώτεροι κληρι-

κοί, ἐν αἷς ἔχωσιν αἰτίαις, ἐν τὰ δικαστήρια μέμφωνται τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκόπων, οἱ γείτονες ἐπίσκοποι ἀκροάσωνται αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ συνανέσεως τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, τὰ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν διαθῶσιν οἱ προσκαλούμενοι δι' αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοποι. Διὸ εἰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐκκλητον παρέχειν νομίσωσι, μὴ ἐκκαλέσωνται εἰς τὰ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης δικαστήρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαρχιῶν, ὥς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πολλάκις ὤρισται. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς περαματικά δικαστήρια διεκκαλούμενοι, παρ' οὐδενὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ δεχθῶσιν εἰς κοινωνίαν.]



vate griefs, complaints and contentions. If you be so desirous of it, I would you were for a while fast tied to it, that you might learn to be wise; you would be the willinger as long as you lived to let courts alone, and spend your time better than in examinations, depositions and exceptions of witnesses. Howbeit in our realm unless you change all your ecclesiastical laws, I see not how synods or presbyteries should intermeddle with any such matters. For how shall your presbyters judge? by discretion or by law? Your discretions I know no man so foolish that will trust. What greater tyranny and injury can be urged on a Christian realm, than instead of laws to offer the determinations of your presbyteries? Shall each man's safety and soul depend on your pleasures? But your presbyteries you mean shall be tied to execute the same laws that are already settled. Alas, good men! how many hundred years will you ask before your presbyteries in cities and villages will be able to read them? and how many thousand before they understand them? Are you well in your wits to claim the execution of those laws for your presbyteries, which they neither do, nor ever will conceive? First set them to school, and when they can read law, send them to the universities, and upon their growing to such perfection that they can hear and decide each man's case by the laws of this realm, make petition for them, to have them authorized in every parish instead of the arches. If otherwise you will have them sit judges in all men's cases before they can read either Latin or law, the world will muse at your madness.

Your bishops are no such great lawyers.] And therefore they have the more need of chancellors and registers that are better acquainted with the laws than themselves are. And as for appeals, unless you look to tread government under your feet, and overrule all things by the mere motions of your own wills, though they sometimes advantage offenders, yet were they provided to protect innocents, and are Christian remedies to do every man right that thinketh he hath wrong. They do not maintain the antichristian pride of bishops; there can be none other, nor better way to repress it, than by appeal to bring the judgments of all their courts and officers to be tried and examined by the prince's power and delegates, which I

trust you take to be no tyranny. If corruption sometimes creep in through men's fingers to bolster bad causes, the laws are far from allowing, and I as far from defending it. What hath been so sacred, that covetousness hath not expugned? and your presbyteries, except they consist of angels, and not of men, will soon shew both what affections and what corruptions are in men, as well as other consistories.

Titus iii. 1.  
10; 1 Tim.  
v. 20.

Man's laws we leave to such as are skilled in them; we would have our presbyteries meddle no further than with rebuking and censuring of vice, as God's law requireth.] "To admonish" those that err, "reject" those that persist, and "re-buke" those that sin, are pastoral and not presbyterial duties by the words of St. Paul. And he that is pastor, hath both word and sacraments committed unto his care within his own church. Wherefore, without their pastor the presbyters may not judicially rebuke, nor publicly excommunicate any man within his charge. They may preach the word, and so generally apply it in the pulpit; they may dispense the sacraments, and so not deliver them, where they find men impenitent; but personally to convent them, or openly to sever them from the fellowship of the church, that belongeth to the pastor, and not to the presbyters. St. Paul committed that power and care to Timothy, and his successors, not to the presbytery of Ephesus. The words are plain: "Against an elder receive thou no accusation, but under two or three witnesses; those that sin, rebuke thou openly, that the rest may fear. I charge (thee) before God and the Lord Jesus, and his elect angels, that thou observe these things without prejudice or partiality;" that is, without oppressing or favouring any side. Shew thus much for your presbyteries, and bring them in with full sail.

1 Tim. v.  
19, 20, 21.

Paul made Timothy no monarch at Ephesus to do all this without the presbytery; but appointed him to be chief in these actions, and the presbyters to join with him.] Much less did Paul make him a voice-asker<sup>r</sup>, to know whether it should please the presbyters to have these things done, or no. The charge is precisely and exactly Timothy's, and not the pres-

<sup>r</sup> Thus L.: "Nedum eum tam vili munere fungi voluit,"

bytery's; the power therefore must be his, and not theirs. All this notwithstanding, you affirm against the words of the apostle, and against the use of the primitive church, that the presbyters might overrule and censure Timothy, if he would not be quiet; and, in spite of Timothy, do in all these things as they saw cause; and this you barely suppose without any kind of proof. But either shew what warrant you have to claim this prerogative of presbyters above and over their bishops and pastors; or give us leave to believe the whole church of Christ expounding and practising those words of St. Paul as we do, before your slender and naked supposals. The private use of the keys in appointing offenders upon the acknowledging of their sins, for a time to forbear the Lord's table, we deny not to presbyters; but the public use of the keys, to exclude an impenitent and obstinate person from all fellowship of the faithful, as well sacred as civil, that the church of Christ allowed always and only to bishops.

Origen saith: By "falling from truth, faith and love, a man goeth out of the tents of the church, though he be not cast out by the BISHOP'S VOICE<sup>s</sup>." Cyprian, writing to a bishop, that was reproached by his deacon, saith: "Use against him the power of your honour either TO DEPRIVE HIM, OR TO REMOVE HIM from the communion<sup>t</sup>." "The affection of a good bishop," saith Ambrose, "wisheth to heal the sick, to remove cankered sores; to cauterize, not to cut off; lastly, that which cannot be healed TO CUT IT OFF with sorrow<sup>u</sup>." "I marvel," saith Jerome against Vigilantius, "the BISHOP, in whose charge he is said to be a presbyter, DOTH NOT CRUSH this unprofitable vessel with the apostolic rod, and deliver him over (to Satan) for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved<sup>x</sup>." "There is no greater punishment in the church,"

<sup>s</sup> Origen. in Levit. cap. xxiv. Homil. xiv. [t. ii. Paris. 1733. p. 260. "Exit enim a veritate, exiit a timore Dei, a fide, a charitate, sicut superius diximus, quomodo per hæc quis exeat de castris ecclesie, etiamsi per episcopi vocem minime abjiciatur."]

<sup>t</sup> Cyprian. Ep. iii. [Ed. Erasm. lib. iii. ep. 9. "Quod si ultra te contumeliis suis exacerbaverit et provocaverit, fungeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut

eum vel deponas, vel abstineas."]

<sup>u</sup> Ambros. Offic. lib. ii. cap. 27. [t. i. 50. "Sic episcopi affectus boni est, ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentina auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscindere: postremo, quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscindere."]

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. ad Riparium advers. Vigilant. [t. ii. 119. "Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochia esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus; et

saith Austin, "than that damnation which THE EPISCOPAL JUDGMENT pronounceth; yet the pastor must needs sever the sick sheep from the whole, lest deadly infection reach unto others y." "If," saith Chrysostom, giving the people admonition of a certain abuse crept in amongst them, "we be despised, we shall be compelled to bring these threats to effect, and to chastise you by the laws of the church. Be angry who list, I will keep them from the church a long space as idolaters. Bear with me, neither let any man despise the bands of the church. It is not man that bindeth, but Christ which hath given us this power, and made men masters of so great honour. We desire not to be brought to that extremity; if we be, we will do our duty. If any man break those bands, I have done my part; thou shalt answer to him, that COMMANDED ME to bind thee z."

The council of Nice willed synods to be kept twice every year, to examine whether any "laymen or clergymen were excommunicated, by the IMBECILITY, PERTINACY OR INSOLENCY OF THE BISHOP; and such as were found to have OFFENDED THEIR BISHOP, to stand excommunicate till the synod released them a." The council of Antioch likewise decreed,

non virga apostolica, virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile, et tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fiat."]

y August. de Corrupt. et Grat. [t. vii. cap. xv. col. 1349. "Corripiantur itaque a præpositis suis subditi fratres correptionibus de charitate venientibus, pro culparum diversitate diversis, vel minoribus vel amplioribus: quia et ipsa quæ damnatio nominatur, quam fecit episcopale judicium, qua pœna in ecclesia nulla major est, potest si Deus voluerit, in correctionem saluberrimam cedere atque proficere. Neque enim scimus quid contingat sequenti die: an ante finem vitæ hujus de aliquo desperandum est, aut contradici Deo potest non recipiat et det pœnitentiam, et accepto sacrificio spiritus contribulati cordisque contriti, a reatu quamvis justæ damnationis absolvat, damnatumque ipse non damnat? Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet, ne per plures serpant dira contagia, separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam, ab illo cui nihil est impossibile, ipsa forsan separatione sanandam."]

z Chrysost. in Ep. ad Hebr. cap. ii. Homil. iv. [t. xii. 737. Εἰ δὲ (ὅπερ ἀπείη) καταφρονηθῶμεν, ἀναγκασθῶμεθα λοιπὸν εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν ἀπειλὴν, ὑμᾶς μὲν τοῖς νόμοις παιδεύοντες τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ἐκεῖνας δὲ ὡς ἐκείναις προσήκόν ἐστιν. . . . (ὁ βουλόμενος ὀργιζέσθω πολλὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπείρξω ὡς τὸν εἰδωολάτριν. . . . Σύγγνωτε δὴ, καὶ μηδεὶς καταφρονεῖτω τῶν δεσμῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν ὁ δεσμῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἡμῖν δωκὼς, καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν ἀνθρώπους τῆς τοσαύτης τιμῆς. . . . Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν εὐχόμεθα εἰς ἀνάγκην μὴ ἔλθειν εἰ δὲ ἔλθοιμεν, τὸ ἐαυτῶν πληροῦμεν, περιβάλλομεν τὰ δεσμά. εἰ δὲ τις διαρρήξει ταῦτα, ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκα, καὶ ἀνεύθυνός εἰμι λοιπὸν, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἔσται σοι πρὸς τὸν ἐμοὶ κελεύσαντα δῆσαι.]

a Concil. Nicæn. can. v. [t. ii. col. xxix. Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, εἴτε ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατεῖται ἡ γνῶμη κατὰ



that if "any layman, presbyter, or deacon were excommunicated BY HIS OWN BISHOP, no man should receive him to the communion, afore he were restored by his own bishop, or by a synod<sup>b</sup>." The council of Sardica, in the same manner: "If any deacon, presbyter or clergyman, be excommunicated, and fly to another bishop of his acquaintance, that knoweth he is deprived of the communion BY HIS OWN BISHOP, the other must not with reproach to a bishop and his brother, receive that person to the communion<sup>c</sup>." The council of Taurine, to which Ambrose wrote, decreed touching Exuperantius, a presbyter, (that had reproached Triferius his bishop, and was therefore by him put from the communion,) "That his restitution should BE IN THE (bishop's) DISCRETION, in whose power the rejecting of him was. And therefore when Exuperantius (the presbyter) should make satisfaction, or Triferius the bishop be so content, then he should be received to the communion<sup>d</sup>." The council of Africa taketh order for such as "complain against the judgments of their own bishops, that they shall be heard by the next bishops<sup>e</sup>;" but if any man "fly THE CANONICAL SENTENCE OF HIS OWN BISHOP, no

τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὴ προσέσθαι· ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχίᾳ, ἢ φιλονεικίᾳ, ἢ τινι τοιαύτῃ ἀηδία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποσυνάγωγος γέγεννηται. "Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνῃ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι· ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοιτο· καὶ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκεκρουκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινώνητοι παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσιν, μέχρις ἂν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξῃ τὴν φιλανθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσθαι ψήφον.]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Antioch. I. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 564. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἐτέρων δεχθῆναι (εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθεῖν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου) ἢ συνόδου γενομένης ἀπαντήσας ἀπολογήσεται, πείσας τε τὴν σύνοδον, καταδέξοιτο ἐτέρων ἀπόφασιν. 'Ο αὐτὸς δὲ ὕρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι.]

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Sardic. can. xiii. [t. ii. col. 638. "Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀρεσάτω, ἵνα εἴ τις διάκονος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ καὶ τις τῶν κληρικῶν ἀκοινώνητος γέννηται, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν εἰδῶτα αὐτὸν καταφύγοι, γινώσκοντα ἀποκεκινήσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς κοινωνίας, παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, μὴ χρῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ὕβριν ποιοῦντα παρέχειν αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν.]

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Taurin. can. v. [t. ii. col. 1157. "Statuit quoque de Exuperantio presbytero sancta synodus, qui ad injuriam sancti episcopi sui Triferii gravia et multa congerserat, et frequentibus eum contumeliis provocaverat; ita ut nonnulla fecerit contra ecclesiasticam disciplinam, propter quam causam ab eo fuerit dominica communione privatus, ut in ejus sit arbitrio restitutio ipsius, in cujus potestate fuit ejus abjectio:—hoc est, ut quando vel idem Exuperantius satisfecerit, vel episcopo Triferio visum fuerit, tunc gratiam communionis accipiat."]

<sup>e</sup> Concil. Afric. can. xxviii. [Vide p. 404. note 9.]



man should receive him to the communion<sup>f</sup>." By which it appeareth that Gregory's words are very true, where he saith: "THE BISHOPS now in the church hold the places (of the apostles). THEY which have that degree of regiment, HAVE AUTHORITY to bind and loose<sup>g</sup>." And Theophylact's: "THEY HAVE POWER to bind and loose, which have the grace of a BISHOP'S OFFICE, as Peter had<sup>h</sup>." The public use therefore of the keys, to excommunicate from all Christian company, belonged to the bishop as pastor of the place. The presbyters sat with him; at first as assessors and consenters, before synods undertook such causes; but after when once councils began to have the hearing of such griefs, then sat the presbyters with the bishop, only as beholders and advisers of his judgment, that the matter being public might be handled with the more gravity and sincerity; notwithstanding, to examine it, or reverse it, pertained only to the assembly of the bishops of the same province.

If none but bishops may excommunicate, how do your judges of the civil law, which are no ministers, take upon them to do it? They take not upon them the power of the keys committed to the apostles and their successors; but inflict a punishment for disobedience containing all those penalties, that by law were ordained for such as contemned the keys of the church, by what name soever they call it; be it a suspension, condemnation, or excommunication, it greatly skilleth not, so long as they claim it not by God's law, but by man's; and yet if the sentence of the canon wrap all contempt within the band of excommunication, I see no cause but lay judges may denounce the offender to be within the compass of the canon; for that is more than if they pronounced him

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. can. ix. [col. 1054. *Αὐγουστίνος ἐπίσκοπος τοποτηρητῆς τῆς Νομικῆς χώρας εἶπεν· τοῦτο ὁρίσαι κατὰ ξιώσατε, ὥστε τοὺς ἀξίως τῶν οἰκείων ἐγκλημάτων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωχθέντας, εἴαν τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος δέξηται εἰς κοινωνίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτι μὴν τῷ ἴσῳ ἐγκλήματι ὑπεύθυνος φανῇ ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου τὴν κανονικὴν ψῆφον ἀποφεύγουσιν.]*

<sup>g</sup> Gregor. Magn. in Evang. lib. ii.

Homil. xxvi. [t. i. Paris. 1705. col. 1555. §. 5. "Horum profecto nunc in ecclesia episcopi locum tenent. Ligandi atque solvendi auctoritatem suscipiunt, qui gradum regiminis sortiuntur."]

<sup>h</sup> Theophyl. in Matth. Com. cap. xvi. [p. 94. Lutet. Par. 1635. "Ἐχουσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι καὶ δεσμεῖν, οἱ κατὰ Πέτρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξιωθέντες χάριτος.]

wilfully obstinate; and consequently to have incurred the sentence of excommunication, which the canon decreeth. And of all men you should not be so curious, which give your lay presbyters power to censure their pastor by number of voices, and make excommunication to be the judgment of the whole church, comprising as well the people as the presbyters. For our parts, though we take the power of the keys to be common to all that have pastoral charge of souls, in their degree, yet to avoid the infinite showers of excommunication, which would overflow all churches and parishes, and the intolerable quarrels and brabbles that would ensue, if every presbyter might excommunicate at his pleasure; we praise the wisdom of God's church in suffering no inferior to excommunicate without the bishop's consent and license; and for aught that I know, we follow the same rule. Surely, had we two or three hundred excommunicators, where we have one, lightnings fly not so fast about in a tempest, as excommunications would in every diocese.

To increase the power of bishops, you make them pastors over churches: but when it cometh to the discharging of pastoral care, they be furthest off. But grant them to be pastors, they can be but over those churches that are in cities; over whole shires they cannot be, since they cannot be present in so many places to do any pastoral duties.] Had we first devised or else divided dioceses for bishops, you might well have challenged us for making them larger than pastoral care might extend unto; but your quarrel indeed is not to the length or breadth of their dioceses (which must wholly be referred to the wisdom and consideration of the state;) you dislike that a bishop should have any diocese at all, or govern any church besides that one wherein he teacheth and administereth the sacraments; which nice conceit of yours not only condemneth the whole primitive church of Christ that assigned dioceses unto bishops, but contradicteth the very grounds and examples of that government which the apostles left behind them.

Did the apostles appoint dioceses for bishops? that were news indeed.] No such news, but that your own principles will confirm the same. For what order say you did the

apostles leave behind them to govern the church? Did they trust one pastor or presbyter alone in each place to do as he thought good? or else did they provide direction and assistance in dangerous and doubtful cases to guide him and help him in the government of the church? The power of one man in each church to do what he will, be he pastor or presbyter, yourselves affirm is antichristian and devilish. And I think you say truth, if he will have neither associates to restrain him, nor superiors to overlook him. That were to plant a pope in every parish, with plenitude of power to do what pleaseth himself. What you detest in bishops, I hope you will not endure in the presbyter or pastor of every parish church in the country; that he shall take upon him alone to guide his flock as he seeth cause, without consent or oversight of any man.

You may be sure we abhor it as the poison of all piety, and the very root of Antichrist's pride.] Means to avoid it I see none; but that every rural pastor must have either a presbytery in the place with him, or the bishop of another church appointed over him, that may both direct him and rule him as he doth the presbyters of his own city. If he have no help at home, he must needs seek it abroad: one of the twain is inevitable. Now for presbyteries there is no possibility to have either so many meet clergymen, or so much maintenance as will serve them in every country parish. Fit pastors for so many places, putting one to a parish, could never yet be found. Whence then shall we get so many thousand able presbyters as to furnish each parish with three or four? which are few enough, and too few, respecting the burden that they must bear in the sight of God and man.

Again, had we store of men, which we have not, nor no age before us had; from whom shall we have maintenance for them and theirs? from the people? Half the realm of England employed to that use will even but serve. The people now yield a tenth part unto God and their minister, which proportion is so moderate, that where the parishes are small, the pastor hath work enough to live thereon. Then must they consequently give five parts of ten, which is just the half of all they have, before there can be any show of a

presbytery in every parish. I do not ask you how well the people, that are, God knoweth, poor enough in many places with these nine parts which they have, will like to spare so much to the furthering of your fancies; or how a Christian prince can digest to have all her subjects so disabled, and half the realm allotted to support your conceits. These blocks, and a hundred such, you never stumble at, whiles you run yourselves out of breath to pursue the perfection and profit of your discipline; but this I would know: did the apostles, besides the relief of the poor, which indeed is a divine precept, impose this charge on every parish by God's commandment? or did ever any Christian kingdom or commonwealth since Christ's ascension, abide this yoke? If they did, shew the instance, and claim your maintenance; if you can shew no such thing, do you not perceive that your little fingers are heavier to God's people than the apostles' loins were? and that your discipline is far grievouser to the faithful, than their doctrine? The best is, you may talk long enough, before either prince or people, rich or poor, will admit or endure this chargeable frame of your needless and proofless government.

To amend these flaws, which rend the very body of your discipline in sunder, (for hardly can so many pastors in every parish be gotten, as you must have, and more hardly maintained;) you are driven to change the very substance of the presbyteries that were in the apostles' times, and instead of ministers of the word and sacraments, who preaching the gospel must live of the gospel, to return us a quest of lay elders, which you thought might be found in every place, and would not be so costly as the former; and to give them power to impose hands, to bind and loose sins in heaven and earth, to censure doctrine and manners in all men, even in pastors, by deprivation, excommunication, or howsoever; and rather than they should miscarry, to make them teachers and watchmen, pastors and bishops in the church of God, contrary to the whole church of Christ, to all the ancient and learned fathers and councils, and contrary no less to the scriptures than to your own positions. But, masters, you must either confound all, and make no difference betwixt pastor and



people, which now you are fair for ; or, will you nill you, you must exclude lay elders from these actions, which be proper to pastors ; and so have no presbyteries, but where meet men may be had, and in Christian manner honoured and succoured for their pains. And consequently country parishes, which by no means can be provided either of men or maintenance sufficient for such presbyteries, as the word of God alloweth, must have their pastors restrained by none, and subjected to none, but pope-like, if not Lucifer-like, to be more than princes ; or if that be not tolerable, then must they be united and annexed to some city that lieth near them, and be governed by the bishop and presbytery of that place even as the churches in the city are, and so be part of his charge and diocese.

How ancient dioceses were in the church of God, and how generally received and approved, will soon appear by the full consent of all antiquity. The council of Antioch renewed “the canon of their fathers anciently established,” that no bishop should undertake “but those things only which pertained to his own church, and the country towns belonging to the same.” Every bishop hath “full power in his own church and in all the country round about, which is under the jurisdiction of his city, to make priests and deacons and dispose every thing discreetly<sup>1</sup>.” The general council of Constantinople saith: “Bishops must not invade the churches that are without the bounds of their diocese<sup>k</sup>; unless they be called, they may not pass the limits of their own diocese either for ordering of ministers, or for any other ecclesiastical business, observing the canon that is already established of every man’s diocese<sup>l</sup>.” The general council of Ephesus, having report

i Concil. Antioch. I. can. ix. [t. ii. col. 565. “Οθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἣ ταῦτα μόνα, ὅσα τῇ ἐκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροικίᾳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν χώραις· ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιέσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

πόλει, ὥς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν.]

k Concil. Constant. can. ii. [t. ii. col. 947. Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους, ταῖς ὑπερόροις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.]

l Ibid. [Ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις, ἣ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς. Φυλαττομένου δὲ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων κα-



made unto them, that the bishop of Antioch presumed to order in Cyprus without the compass of his diocese and province, repressed that his enterprise, being as they term it, “an innovation against the ecclesiastical laws, and against the canons of the holy apostles;” and decreed the “bishops of Cyprus should hold their right untouched and unviolated according to the canons of the holy fathers and their ancient custom;” adding therewithal, that “the selfsame rule should be observed in other dioceses and provinces whatsoever, that no bishop should invade another’s limits, which were not anciently, and from the beginning subject to him or his predecessors<sup>m</sup>.”

The great council of Chalcedon determineth, “That all rural churches and country parishes shall remain unmovable (or without alteration) to the bishops that have had them; specially if they have quietly possessed and governed them above thirty years<sup>n</sup>.” For the enlarging of dioceses upon the return of schismatics and heretics to the church; and parting them with the consent of the former bishop, where the circuit was too wide and troublesome, or joining them where the people so desired; he that will, may read canons 57, 102, 103, 119, 120, 121, 122 of the great African council. By which it is evident, that the bishop of every city besides his principal and cathedral church, had the villages and parishes of the country round about that city belonging to

νόμος εὐδην ὡς τὰ καθ’ ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἢ τῆς ἐπαρχίας σύνοδος διοικήσει, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὠρισμένα.]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Ephes. Decret. post suggestiones Episc. Cypr. [t. iii. col. 802. Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπε· Πράγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς, καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καινοτομούμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον, προσήγγειλεν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος συνεπίσκοπος Ῥηγίνος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας, Ζήνων καὶ Εὐάγριος· ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη μείζονος δεῖται τῆς θεραπείας, ὡς καὶ μείζονα τὴν βλάβην φέροντα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον παρηκολούθησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείων πόλεως ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας, καθὰ διὰ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν ἐδίδαξαν οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἄνδρες, οἱ τὴν πρόσδοτον τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ

ποιησάμενοι, ἔξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον προεστώτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνθήειαν, δι’ ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέραν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἠνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν.]

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Chalced. act. xv. can. xvii. [t. iv. col. 763. Τὰς καθ’ ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγροικικὰς παροικίας, ἢ ἐγχωρίους, μένειν ἀπαρασαλεύτους παρὰ τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τριακονταετὴ χρόνον ταύτας ἀβιάστως διακατέχοντες φικονόμησαν.]

his diocese and jurisdiction; and these partitions and distributions began even from the *apostles* and from the *beginning*, as the council of Ephesus avoucheth, and were confirmed and ratified by the four great and œcumenical councils, and received and continued by all the godly bishops and fathers of the primitive church. Wherefore they be mightily deceived that think cathedral churches and episcopal dioceses to be a part of Antichrist's pomp and pride, and his first invention; the wisdom of God's Spirit devised and settled that course even from the first enlarging of the church; and all the general and provincial councils liked and allowed the same.

There is almost no council that doth not mention and confirm to every bishop his diocese, and inhibit all others to enter or intermeddle with any cause or person in another man's circuit. The council of Ancyra suffereth not the "rural bishops to ordain" without the license of the bishop of the city. The council of Neocesaria provideth that "the presbyters of the same region" shall not minister the Lord's supper "when the bishop of the city is present." The council of Gangris accurseth all that assemble any congregation for divine service, "unless a presbyter licensed by the bishop be present with them<sup>q</sup>." The council of Laodicea forbiddeth any "bishop to be made in country towns and villages<sup>r</sup>." The council of Antioch calleth it "a canon of their fathers, that anciently stood in force<sup>s</sup>," even as the council of Nice before

o Concil. Ancy. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1461. Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξῆναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.]

p Concil. Neocæsareens. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1484. Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως, οὔτε μὴν ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῇ, οὐδὲ ποτήριον. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπώσι, καὶ εἰς εὐχὴν κληθῇ μόνος, δίδωσιν.]

q Concil. Gangrens. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 419. Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάσῃ, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώ-

μην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.]

r Concil. Laodicen. can. lviii. [t. i. col. 1505. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιοδεύτας.]

s Concil. Antiochen. can. ix. [t. ii. col. 565. Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἶδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μὴδὲν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἢ ταῦτα μόνᾳ, ὅσα τῇ ἐκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροικίᾳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ'

them said it was “an ancient use<sup>l</sup>.” The council of Ephesus maketh it an “apostolic rule<sup>u</sup>.” The council of Carthage, kept by Constantine’s procurement, inhibited, “that no bishop should usurp upon another’s borders, or cures, without his request, because thence came all other mischief<sup>x</sup>.” The council of Sardica likewise; “Let your holiness prohibit, that no bishop procure away any ecclesiastical minister of the bishop of another city, and order him in his own diocese (or parishes)<sup>y</sup>.” The third council of Carthage would have “no bishop usurp over another’s flocks, nor encroach on his colleague within his diocese<sup>z</sup>.” The fourth council of Carthage commanded the “presbyters that guided churches through the dioceses to fetch chrism not from any bishop but from their own bishop<sup>a</sup>.” The council of Aurelia; “All the churches that have been, or are daily builded in sundry places, we decree according to the rule of the former canons, that they shall be in the power of that bishop in whose territory they stand<sup>b</sup>.”

As the use of dioceses was ancient, so the reason that first

αὐτὴν χώρας. ἔκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιέσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἑκάστα διαλαμβάνειν. περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης.]

<sup>l</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 31. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν.]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Eph. Decret. [vide p. 415. note m.]

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Carthaginens. I. can. x. [t. ii. col. 716. “Felix episcopus Baianensis dixit: Nullus debet collegæ suo facere injuriam. Multi enim transcendunt sua et usurpant aliena, ipsis injuriis. Gratus episcopus dixit, Avaritiæ cupiditatem, radicem omnium malorum esse, nemo est qui dubitet. Proinde inhibendum est, ne quis alienos fines usurpet, aut transcendat episcopum col-

legam suum, aut usurpet alterius plebes sine ejus petitu, quia inde cætera mala omnia generantur.” Caput istud Græce non extat. Ed.]

<sup>y</sup> Concil. Sardicens. can. xviii. [t. ii. col. 650. “Januarius episcopus dixit: Illud quoque statuatur sanctitas vestra, ut nulli episcopo liceat alterius episcopi civitatis ministrum ecclesiasticum sollicitare, et in suis parochiis ordinare.”]

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Carthagin. III. can. xx. [t. ii. col. 1170. “Placuit, ut a nullo episcopo usurpentur plebes alienæ, nec aliquis episcoporum supergrediatur in diocesi suum collegam.”]

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Carthagin. IV. can. xxxvi. [t. ii. col. 1203. “Presbyteri, qui per dioceses ecclesias regunt, non a quibuslibet episcopis, sed a suis; nec per juniorem clericum, sed aut per ipsos, aut per illum qui sacrarium tenet, ante paschæ solennitatem chrisma petant.”]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Aurelianens. I. can. xvii. [t. iv. col. 1407. “Omnes autem basilicæ, quæ per diversa loca constructæ sunt, vel quotidie construuntur, placuit secundum priorum canonum regulam, ut in ejus episcopi, in cujus territorio sitæ sunt, potestate consistent.”]

occasioned them was inevitable, even by the pattern of the apostolic discipline. For when country towns and villages first began to receive the faith, how were they furnished with fit pastors, and how were their churches governed but by the bishop and presbytery of some city adjoining? Lay presbyteries the church of Christ never had any, yea, the scriptures permit none to rule pastoral actions; other presbyteries those places were neither able to have, nor to maintain. What now was left but only to submit and incorporate themselves to the bishop of some city near them, by whom their churches might be both guided and supplied, when any need required, even as the churches in cities were? If to avoid schisms rising every where by the multitude of teachers and pastors, bishops were in the apostles' times placed throughout the world, in all the cities that accepted the gospel, to guide and moderate the presbyters that were many; shall we think this order was needful only for cities, and needless for towns and villages? Were not the presbyters of so many parishes as one shire doth yield, as like to trouble the region with schisms and heresies as the presbyters of the city? You lack sense, if you think that dissension and error could not creep as well into villages as into cities; or that the apostles provided one kind of regiment for cities, another for country parishes. If all the churches in one city, which at Rome were "above forty" in Optatus' time<sup>c</sup>, were governed by one bishop, why might not the villages, and parishes confining round about the city, be governed after the same manner?

So that for dioceses, as well the necessity as the antiquity of them is evident. It was not possible in the primitive church to have presbyters to succeed in the rooms of such as died in country parishes, but from the bishop in whose diocese the churches were. He supplied their wants out of his own church and presbytery, which served to store the whole diocese. Otherwise, within his circuit none other bishop could ordain a presbyter; nor without his leave might any clergyman depart his church. The council of Antioch; "A bishop

<sup>c</sup> Optati Afri Milevitani contra Parmenianum, lib. 2. [Par. 1679. p. 39. "Non enim grex aut populus appellandi

fueraut pauci, qui inter quadraginta, et quod excurrit, basilicas, locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant."]



may not invade another's city that is not subject to him, nor country not pertaining to him, to ordain any; neither he appoint presbyters or deacons in places that are under another bishop, unless it be with the liking (or consent) of the bishop of that region or country<sup>d</sup>." The council of Nice; "If any presbyters or deacons, or other clergymen, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor knowing the ecclesiastical canon, leave their own church, they must not by any means be received in another church. And if any shall withhold a clergyman belonging to another, and ordain him in his own church, (the bishop, from whom he departed, not agreeing,) his ordering shall be utterly voided." This was the general and perpetual discipline of Christ's church in all the coasts and quarters of the world, as may appear to him that will take pains to view these places: the council of Constantinople I. canons 2 and 3: of Chalcedon, can. 8: of Carthage, the first, can. 5; the second, can. 11; the third, can. 20 and 21; the fourth, can. 27: of Orleans, can. 22: of Sardica, can. 18, 19: of Taurine, can. 6: of Aurenge, can. 8: of Venice, can. 10: of Tours, can. 9. 11. And so the Milevitane council, can. 15: African, can. 21: Aurelian, the third, can. 15: the Epaunine, can. 5: the Valentine, can. 6: and Aruerine, can. 9 and 10.

If these rules were universally and anciently observed, that no presbyter might remove from one church to another, nor depart from the church where he was first called, without the consent of his bishop; neither might any other man impose hands on him, or admit him and invest him into any church, without the liking and good will of the bishop in whose diocese

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. xxii. [t. ii. col. 572. Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει τῇ μὴ ὑποκειμένη αὐτῷ, μηδὲ χώρα τῇ αὐτῷ μὴ διαφερούσῃ ἐπὶ χειροτονία τινός, μηδὲ καθιστᾶν πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ διακόνους, εἰς τόπους ἐτέρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποκειμένους, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ οἰκείου τῆς χώρας ἐπισκόπου· εἰ δὲ τολμήσειεν τις τοιοῦτο, ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν χειροθεσίαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμίας ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου τυγχάνειν.]

<sup>e</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. xvi. [t. ii. col. 36. Ὅσοι ῥιψοκινδύνως, μήτε τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ ποδὸς ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, μήτε

τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα εἰδότες, ἀναχωρήσουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι, ἢ ὅλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι, οὗτοι οὐδαμῶς δεκτοὶ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χρῆ, ἀναστρέφειν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν παροικίας, ἢ ἐπιμένοντας, ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι προσήκει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμήσειε τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἐτέρῳ διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου οὐ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενος. ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.]



the church stood, and of whose clergy the party was: by no means could any country parishes in the primitive church have any presbyters but from some city, and that not without the liking and assent of the bishop; which forced all country towns and villages to matriculate and incorporate themselves into the church of some city, by whose bishop their presbyters living were governed; and dying, were supplied, even as the churches in cities were. The reason of their doings is as evident as their fact: for if bishops were placed by the apostles' hands to ordain presbyters, and contain them in their duties, lest in so great a number emulation might breed confusion, which all the fathers were fully resolved was the apostles' deed; they must needs be of opinion the apostles meant to have country towns and villages guided and assisted the very same way that they left for cities; and the same men that governed the one, all things considered, were the fittest to be trusted with the other.

If you object that the bishops of the cities could employ no pastoral care but where they were present, I answer, that all the councils and fathers of the primitive church were not so ignorant as not to understand what pastoral oversight a bishop might yield to towns and churches far distant from him, though he were not present to dispense the word and sacraments amongst them. To see them always stored with a sound and able pastor, that should watch over their souls; to take care that they were rightly taught and soberly guided; to keep both presbyters and people from schisms, heresies, and open impieties; to direct in dangers, and determine doubts without troubling the whole province to meet upon every particular occasion and contention: these be good parts of pastoral vigilance, and very needful effects of episcopal regiment, which may be performed as well in a diocese as in a city.

In any man's harvest, he that laboureth himself, and overseeth the rest, doth more good than any other. In each man's house, the steward that well ordereth and guideth the family is more profitable than any of his fellows. In God's house and harvest, shall the overlooking of others be counted either needless or fruitless? St. Paul himself knew not these curious

positions when he appointed Titus to take the charge and oversight of the whole island of Crete; and saw no cause why one man might not perform many pastoral and episcopal duties to all that were in the same country with him. But what seek I more examples, when we have the pattern from the primitive church that first allotted dioceses to bishops, and the liking and approbation of all provincial and general councils, that ratified and confirmed as well the partition as distinction of territories, and charged each man's interest in every diocese to be preserved, without infringing any man's bounds, or encroaching on any man's right<sup>f</sup>.

The need that you pretend of having dioceses, as well for the guiding as furnishing of country parishes by the bishops and presbyteries of the cities, we easily avoid, for in every parish with the pastor we appoint lay elders, by whose counsel, as Ambrose witnesseth, all things should be done in the church; and when the former incumbent is dead, we reserve the electing of a new to the people of the same parish, to whom by God's law it appertaineth. And here we let you understand that you have not so good warrant for the regiment of bishops, as we have for the election of bishops and pastors by the people. The scriptures are clear with us; the fathers often and earnest; the perpetual use of the primitive church is so full with us in this behalf, that no example can be shewed to the contrary. Your bishops therefore being not elected by the people, are no true pastors in the church of God.] I know well you have no other shift to avoid the necessity of episcopal regiment but by your lay presbyteries, and therefore you must cleave to them, or else admit the form of governing the church by bishops to be catholic and apostolic, which would gripe you to the very hearts. But how far both the word and church of God are and ever were from mentioning or acknowledging any lay elders to be imposers of hands, and governors of pastoral and ecclesiastical actions, we have already seen, and may not now regress thither again. Fain would you fasten them on Ambrose, but of all the fathers he

<sup>f</sup> [At this place, there follows, in the Latin edition, a long passage upon the use of the words *παρoικος* and *παρoικια*, which is to be found in the Appendix. ED.]

is the unfittest proctor for your lay presbyteries; he brusheth them off as a man would thorns that hang at his heels. If you believe him not alleging the Romans' laws against your lay elders, believe him speaking in an open council against them: "Priests ought to judge of laymen, not laymen of priests." And condemning Palladius the heretic; "We are ashamed," saith Ambrose, "that he should seem to be condemned of laymen which challengeth to be a priest. He is WORTHY TO BE CONDEMNED EVEN FOR THIS VERY POINT, that he expecteth the judgment of laymen, whereas priests ought rather to judge of laymen<sup>g</sup>."

How sufficient the bar is that you lay against our bishops and presbyters because they are not elected by the people of each place, but named by the prince, and presented by the patron, the chapter now presently following shall fully declare.

## CHAP. XV.

*To whom the election of bishops and presbyters doth rightly belong, and whether by God's law the people must elect their pastors or no.*

THE want of popular elections is one of the griefs you conceive, and exceptions you take against the bishops of this realm; which quarrel doth not so much touch the office and function of bishops, as it doth the prince's prerogative. Did we teach it were not lawful for the people to elect their pastor, you might make some show against us; now, when we say no such thing, but you rather think the prince may not name her bishops without the consent and election of the people, you impugn not us, but directly call the prince's fact and her laws in question. I take not advantage of man's law,

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Aquileiense in condemnatione Palladii. [t. ii. col. 989. "Ambrosius episcopus dixit, 'Sacerdotes de laicis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus: sed tamen quos judices petas dicito.' Palladius dixit, 'Auditores veniant.' Chromatius presbyter dixit, 'Salva condemnatione sacerdotali, quin et qui Palladii sunt, etiam in pleno legantur.' Palladius dixit, 'Non permittantur loqui: auditores veniant, et ex

utraque parte exceptores; et respondebunt vobis hi in concilio generali.' Ambrosius episcopus dixit, 'Etsi in multis impietatibus deprehensus sit, erubescimus tamen ut videatur, qui sacerdotium sibi vendicat, a laicis esse damnatus. Ac per hoc, quoniam et in hoc ipso damnandus est, qui laicorum expectat sententiam, cum magis de laicis sacerdotes debeant judicare.'"]

thereby to decline the force of your reasons or authorities, but to put you in mind, that if there were any defect in the law, it must not be ascribed to bishops, but imputed rather to the makers of the law. Howbeit, to tell you the truth, I think there will be found better reason for the making and maintaining the law, than you will be able to bring for the repealing or altering the law; for when superstition and blindness wholly possessed<sup>h</sup> the people's hearts, as in time of popery, how could the prince have restored religion, or reformed the church, if the people through the realm had still been suffered to choose themselves pastors after their own desires? The first occasion of the law being good and godly, what ground have you to dislike the continuance thereof?

Cyprian saith it is God's ordinance that the people should elect their pastor, and according to the divine instruction the same is observed in the Acts of the Apostles in the choice of Matthias and of the seven deacons<sup>i</sup>.] Those examples I have answered before. It is not written that Matthias and his fellow were chosen by the multitude; an apostle might not be chosen by men, his calling must be immediate from God. Yea, the words of the text are, "Thou, Lord, which knowest Acts i. 24, the hearts of all men, shew which of these twain thou hast<sup>25</sup> chosen, to take the office of this administration and apostleship." So that thence can nothing be concluded. As for the choice of the seven in the Acts of the Apostles, Epiphanius saith; "Of the seventy disciples were the seven that were set over the widows<sup>k</sup>." The council gathered under Justinian, alleging Chrysostom's words upon that place, concludeth of them in this wise: "We therefore denounce that the foresaid seven deacons must not be taken for those that served at the mysteries, but for such as were trusted with the dispensation

<sup>h</sup> Added L: "et voluntates intime persuasissent, et plene possedissent,"

<sup>i</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lxxvii. [Ed. Erasm. lib. i. ep. 4. p. 172. "Quod postea secundum divina magisteria observatur in Actis Apostolorum; quando de ordinando in locum Judæ apostolo Petrus ad plebem loquitur: 'Surrexit,' inquit, 'Petrus in medio discentium, fuit autem turba in uno.' Nec hoc in episcoporum tantum et sacerdotum, sed in diacono-

rum ordinationibus observasse apostolos animadvertemus, de quo et ipso in Actis eorum scriptum est, 'Et convocaverunt,' inquit, 'illi duodecim totam plebem discipulorum, et dixerunt eis.']

<sup>k</sup> Epiphanius. adv. Hæres. lib. i. tom. i. [Par. 1622. t. i. p. 50. in Herodiani Hæres. 'Ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐβδόμηκοντα δύο κηρύττειν, ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἐπτὰ, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χηρῶν τεταγμένοι.]

of the common necessities of those that were then assembled together<sup>1</sup>." Jerome, alluding to this place, calleth a deacon, "the servant of tables and widows<sup>m</sup>." The fourth council of Carthage saith; "The bishop alone shall lay his hands on (the head of) a deacon," when he is ordered; "because he is consecrated not to any priesthood, but unto a service<sup>n</sup>." Yourselfs give the deacons no charge in the church, but the care of the poor: as persuaded that these seven received none other function at the apostles' hands. You therefore by your own rules are excluded from taking any hold of this election. And indeed since they were not chosen to be presbyters and dispensers of the word and sacraments, what consequent can you frame from their electing by the people, to force the like to be observed in presbyters and bishops?

You give them power to preach and baptize; against you therefore the argument is good.] The primitive church gave them leave so to do in cases of necessity<sup>o</sup>, where presbyters wanted; otherwise, neither do we, nor did they make them presbyters and ministers of the word and sacraments. Tertullian saith; "Presbyters and deacons may baptize with the bishop's leave<sup>p</sup>." Jerome saith, that "presbyters and deacons in lesser and far distant towns did baptize, but not without the bishop's license<sup>q</sup>." "We appoint the deacons," saith Ge-

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Quinisexti sive Trullani, can. xvi. [t. vi. col. 1150. 'Επὶ τούτοις οὖν κηρύσσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὥστε τοὺς προειρημένους ἐπὶ τὰ διακόνους μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμένων λαμβάνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν προερμηνευθεῖσαν διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς κοινῆς χρείας τῶν τότε συνηθροισμένων ἐγχειρισθέντας τούτους ὑπάρχειν, οἱ τῷ πρὸς ἡμῖν καὶ τούτῳ γεγόνασι τῆς περὶ τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς.]

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. Evagrius. [t. ii. 329. "Legimus in Esaia, 'Fatuus fatua loquitur.' Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est, episcopis, anteferebat. Nam cum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos, quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?"]

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Carthag. IV. can. iv. [t. ii. col. 1200. "Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur."]

<sup>o</sup> "in cases of necessity," omitted L.

<sup>p</sup> Tertull. de Baptismo, cap. xvii. [p. 230. "Superest ad concludendam materiolum, de observatione quoque dandi et accipiendi baptismum commonefacere. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, pax est."]

<sup>q</sup> Hieron. adv. Lucifer. [t. ii. 139. "Non quidem abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat."]



lasius, “to keep their own measure, and to enterprise nothing against the tenor of the canons of our forefathers. Without a bishop or a presbyter let not” a deacon “presume to baptize, unless in their absence extreme necessity compel, which is often permitted unto lay Christians to do<sup>r</sup>.” The church of Rome did not give them leave to baptize, but in cases of necessity, when others could not be gotten, as they did laymen: for my part, though St. Luke in the Acts do not give them the name of deacons, and Chrysostom expressly thinketh they were made “neither presbyters nor deacons<sup>s</sup>,” whose judgment the council in Trullo followeth; yet by St. Paul’s precepts, teaching us what conditions he required in those that should be deacons, I collect their office was not only a charge to look to the poor, but also to attend the sacred assemblies and service of the church, and even a step to the ministry of the word. Ignatius saith to Heron the deacon of Antioch; “Do nothing without the bishops, for they are priests; thou dost but attend on the priests. They baptize, consecrate the mysteries, impose hands to ordain and confirm; thou dost” in these things “but minister unto them, as holy Stephen did to James and the presbyters at Jerusalem<sup>t</sup>.” And so Cyprian: “The apostles, after the Lord’s ascension into heaven, appointed deacons to attend both on the church, and on their episcopal function<sup>u</sup>.” Justin Martyr, an hundred years before

<sup>r</sup> Gelasii episcopis per Lucaniam et Brutios et Siciliam constitutis epist. ix. cap. 7. [t. iv. col. 1190. Concil. Labb. “Diaconos quoque propriam constitui-mus servare mensuram, nec ultra tenorem paternis canonibus deputatum, quippiam tentare permittimus: nihil eorum penitus suo ministerio applicare, quæ primis ordinibus proprie decrevit antiquitas. Absque episcopo vel presbytero baptizare non audeant, nisi, prædictis fortasse officiis longius constitutis, necessitas extrema compellat. Quod et laicis Christianis facere plerumque conceditur.”]

<sup>s</sup> Chrysost. in Acta Apost. cap. vi. Homil. 14. [t. ix. 134. ‘Οποῖον δὲ ἄρα ἀξίωμα εἶχον οὗτοι, καὶ ποίαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίαν, ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν. ἄρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων; καὶ μὴν τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-

ρων ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκονομία· καίτοι οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἀπόστολοι μόνον. ὅθεν οὔτε διακόνων οὔτε πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι δῆλον καὶ φανερόν. ἀλλὰ τέως εἰς τοῦτο ἐχειροτονήθησαν.]

<sup>t</sup> Ignat. ad Heronem diaconum ecclesiæ Antiochenorum Epist. [Ed. Is. Vossius, Lond. 1680. p. 92. Μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε, ἱερεῖς γὰρ εἰσι, σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων. ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱερουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθετοῦσι· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακονεῖς, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβω καὶ τοῖς πρεσβύτεροις.]

<sup>u</sup> Cyprian. Ep. iii. Oxon. 1682. [Ed. Erasm. lib. iii. ep. 9. “Diaconos post ascensum Domini in cælos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministros.”]

Cyprian, saith of his time; "After (the chief) amongst us hath given thanks," and all the people said Amen, "those that with us are called deacons give unto every one present of the sanctified bread and wine, and carry thereof to such as are absent<sup>v</sup>." The council of Ancyra willed deacons that sacrificed unto idols in time of persecution, "to cease from all sacred service in the church, and neither to deliver the (Lord's) bread or cup, or to speak openly to the people (in time of prayers)<sup>x</sup>." For I interpret *κηρύσσειν*, not *to preach*, but *to command* the people *silence, attention and devotion*, which the deacons used to do whiles the divine service was performed at the Lord's table. Whatsoever their office was, it is certain they were not presbyters and ministers of the word and sacraments; and therefore from the election of those seven in the Acts, to make a general and precise rule for the choice of all presbyters and bishops to the world's end, is but a strain of your forwardness; it hath neither cause nor consequent in any learning.

You make small account of it, but Cyprian esteemed this to be proof sufficient to make it God's ordinance; you shall hear his words. "The people chiefly hath power to choose worthy priests, and refuse unworthy. The which we see descended from the divine authority, that the priest should be chosen in the presence of the people under all men's eyes, and be approved to be worthy and fit by public judgment and testimony; as in Numbers God commandeth Moses, saying, 'Take Aaron thy brother, and Eleazar his son, and thou shalt bring them to the mount before all the assembly; and put off Aaron's garments, and put them on Eleazar his son.' Before all the multitude God willeth the priest to be made; that is, he instructeth and sheweth that priests should not be ordained but with the knowledge of the people standing by; that by the people present, the offences of the evil may be

Numb. xx.  
25.

<sup>v</sup> Justin. Martyr. pro Christianis Apol. ii. ad Anton. Pium. [p. 97. Paris. 1636. Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόνασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἔργου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν

ἀποφέρουσι.]

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Ancyran. can. ii. [t. i. col. 1456. Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαύσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τε τοῦ ἔργου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν.]

detected, or the deserts of the good commended; and that to be counted a lawful and true ordination, which is examined with the voices and judgment of all; which afterward, according to God's instruction, was observed in the Acts of the Apostles, when Peter spake to the people of ordaining a bishop in Judas' place. Neither only shall we find that the apostles observed this in the ordaining of bishops and priests, but also of deacons. Which surely was therefore so diligently and warily done, the whole multitude being called together, lest any not worthy should by stealth get either the place of a priest, or to serve at the altar. Wherefore it must be duly retained and kept, as coming from the divine tradition and apostolic observation, which is used with us and (almost) in all provinces, that in rightly ordaining, the next bishops of the same province resort to the people for whom they ordain a ruler, and the bishop to be chosen in the presence of the people, which best knoweth the life of each one, and hath viewed all the manner of his conversation." It is a notable

y Cyprian. Epist. lxxvii. p. 171. Oxon. [lib. i. ep. 4. Ed. Erasm. "Propter quod, plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe præsentem, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur, sicut in Numeris Dominus Moysi (Num. xx. 25.) præcepit, dicens, 'Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum, et Eleazarum filium ejus, et impones eos in montem coram omni synagoga, et exue Aaron stolam ejus, et indue Eleazarum filium ejus, et Aaron appositus morietur illic. Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsentem vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicantur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima; quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. Quod postea secundum divina magisteria observatur in Actis Apostolo-

rum; quando de ordinando in locum Judæ apostolo Petrus ad plebem loquitur; 'Surrexit,' inquit, 'Petrus in medio discentium; fuit autem turba in uno.' Nec hoc in episcoporum tantum et sacerdotum, sed in diaconorum ordinationibus observasse apostolos animadvertimus, de quo et ipso in Actis eorum scriptum est; 'Et convocarunt,' inquit, 'illi duodecim totam plebem discipulorum, et dixerunt eis.' Quod utique idcirco tam diligenter et caute convocata plebe tota gerebatur, ne quis ad altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum indignus obreperet. Ordinari enim nonnunquam indignos non secundum Dei voluntatem, sed secundum humanam præsumptionem; et hæc Deo displicere, quæ non veniant ex legitima et justa ordinatione, Deus ipse manifestat per Osee prophetam, dicens, 'Sibimetipsis constituerunt regem, et non per me.' Propter quod, diligenter de traditione divina, et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum quod apud nos quoque, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentem, quæ singulo-

place; I was loath to leave out any, though the words were somewhat long.] I would as soon have believed your report of the words, had it been true, as your repeating them; but you have done well to put the matter out of doubt, and somewhat eased me by alleging them; for now I shall not need but to refer you to your own allegation.

I have much mused with myself, what should lead you to make so great account of this place as you do; I could never see any such thing as you intend, either contained in the scriptures, which Cyprian bringeth, nor expressed in the reason which he giveth for this kind of choice, nor enforced in the heat of those words by which he summeth his collection. The places of scripture say nothing for your purpose: Eleazar was not chosen by the people, but expressly by God, and by him alone. Yourselves, I hope, will discharge that quotation, as erroneous and mistaken<sup>2</sup>. There are no such words in the text as Cyprian citeth; there were no such

Numb. xx.  
25, 26.

deeds. God willed Moses "to bring Aaron and Eleazar his son up into mount Hor," (whither the people neither did nor might ascend,) and there "to put off Aaron's garments," and

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27.

"to put them on Eleazar his son." And "they (three) went up into the mount Hor, in the sight of the congregation

Numb. xx.  
28, 29.

(standing beneath);" and only two, "Moses and Eleazar (Aaron dying in the top of the mount) came down from the mount." Whereby "all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead; and they wept for him thirty days." The congregation did not intermeddle by word or deed with this election; Eleazar, as the eldest son, was called for by God to succeed in his father's place. Out of this you may gather that God advanced the eldest son to have his father's office; not that the people elected him: it was not in their power to appoint who should stand before the ark to minister unto the Lord.

The choice of Matthias helpeth you as much as the appraising of Eleazar did. I have often said, you may remember it, the people had no power to choose an apostle, no more than they had to choose Eleazar. He must have his calling

rum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit."]

<sup>2</sup> Thus L.: "ut errore, si non falsitate respersam, missam facietis."



from God, and not from men; and so Matthias had. The faithful did all acknowledge that he was the party whom God had chosen to take Judas' place; they did not elect him. The words of St. Luke are manifest; "Thou, Lord, shew whether Acts i. 24, of these twain thou hast chosen to take the room of this <sup>25</sup> apostleship." To the choice of the seven I have oftentimes spoken; I shall not need to distrust your memory. You have not forgotten the apostle's words to the people; "It is Acts vi. 2. not meet that we should leave the word of God to serve the tables." They meant not the Lord's table; the care thereof the apostles did not transfer from themselves to any others; but because the Grecians murmured that their "widows were neglected in the daily ministering," that care the twelve committed to such as the people would like and elect. What can be urged out of these scriptures, let those that be wise<sup>b</sup> judge; my capacity is so slender, that I see utterly nothing evincible by these examples.

Neither doth Cyprian stretch the places to give the people by God's law the election of their bishops; he saw the precedents would enable no such consequent; he urgeth by scripture the people's presence to this end, that their testimony should be had touching the life and behaviour of the party that shall be chosen, lest an unworthy and wicked person should secretly steal to the office and function of a bishop. He saith it cometh from divine authority, "that a priest should be chosen in the presence of the people:" and that "ordinations ought not to be made but with the knowledge of the people standing by." Now why the people should be present he noteth in these words; "that as well the merits of the good might be acknowledged, as the faults of the lewd discovered," by the presence of the people, "which knoweth each man's life most exactly, and hath tried his behaviour by his conversation<sup>c</sup>." Though Cyprian's proofs do not conclude the people's presence by God's law to be required in the choice of bishops, yet Cyprian's meaning is very good, and

<sup>a</sup> Thus L.: "sermo mihi frequentior quam vellem."

<sup>b</sup> Thus L.: "quibus plus est ingenii et intelligentiæ:"

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lxxvii. p. 171. Oxon. [lib. i. ep. 4. Vide totum locum supra p. 427. not. 7.]



† Tim. iii.  
3. + 7.

agreeth both with the order of the primitive church, and with St. Paul's proviso, that a bishop "must be well reported of, even of them that are without;" as also that he must be "no follower of wine, no fighter, no brawler, no filthy gainer, no desirer of money, but ruling his house honestly, and having his children in obedience;" in effect, one whose life and conversation the whole church commended, and the adversary could not challenge. Notwithstanding, you may not hence collect that the principal and essential right of electing by God's law consisteth in the people's voices; you nor no man living can deduce any such thing out of the scriptures. The apostle that we read used no such form of elections, as in the seventh chapter before I was occasioned more at large to shew. And since we have neither precept nor example of the apostles for the people to choose their bishops, I think you will hardly make any demonstration for your popular elections by the scriptures.

We have places enow in the New Testament, but that you elevate and elude them; and besides, we have the general and full consent and use of the primitive church to justify our interpretation of those places to be agreeable to the truth of the word: but sometimes you do allege and esteem the universal custom of the church and exposition of the fathers, when they make for you; and sometimes when they please you not, you reject them as fast.] Do us no wrong; we refuse nothing that the ancient and primitive church of Christ universally observed and practised as expressed or intended in the scriptures. It is your manner, it is not ours, to think no churches, councils, nor fathers ever understood the necessary points of doctrine and discipline mentioned in the word before yourselves. If the whole church of Christ made any such conclusion out of the scriptures for the popular election of bishops as you do, we will presently receive it; if not, stay your vaunts till you bring their warrants, and by that time your heat will be well delayed: you shew one that after his manner is eloquent and vehement for that he taketh in hand; but his proofs are weak, if not mistaken; his purpose is, to have the people's presence and testimony to witness their lives that shall be chosen; his confession is, that this was not

general; though in favour of his cause he saith, "It is so observed with us, and (almost) in all provinces<sup>d</sup>."

The whole church afterward kept that order in electing their bishops.] What course they kept, we shall quickly find; all the question will be, whether they required the people's voices as necessary by God's commandment, which may not be broken, neither for prelates nor princes; or whether they used that kind of election as an order in Christian assemblies fittest to preserve the peace of the church, and to maintain the good liking of the people towards their pastors. It shall therefore be best, first to consider, where the Holy Ghost layeth the burden and charge of these elections; then, what freedom the wisdom of God leaveth to the multitude or magistrates of each city and country. These things well marked, will deliver us from wandering and erring, as touching God's ordinance.

The apostle writing to Timothy and Titus, first describeth what manner of men must be admitted to the office of a bishop; and then assureth the ordainers, that if they lay hands on any other than on such, they communicate with the sins of as many as they advance unfit for that place. "Lay <sup>1 Tim. v.</sup> hands hastily on no man; neither be partaker of other men's <sup>22.</sup> sins; keep thyself pure." "Let the bishops hear," saith Jerome, "that have power to appoint presbyters in every city, with what condition the order of ecclesiastical constitution is tied; neither let them think they are the apostle's words, but Christ's. Whereby it is evident, that they which contemning the apostle's precept, give any man an ecclesiastical degree for favour, not for desert, do against Christ<sup>e</sup>." Chrysostom: "Paul meaning to intreat of a bishop's office, sheweth what manner of man in all things a bishop must be, not giving it as a warning to Timothy, but speaking unto all, and by him

<sup>d</sup> ["Apud nos, et fere per provincias universas tenetur."]

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [t. ix. 245. "Audiant episcopi qui habent constituendi presbyteros per urbes singulas potestatem, sub quali lege ecclesiasticæ constitutionis ordo teneatur: nec putent apostoli verba esse, sed Christi qui ad discipulos ait, Qui vos

spernit, me spernit: qui autem me spernit, spernit eum qui me misit: sic et, Qui vos audit, me audit: qui autem me audit, audit eum qui me misit. Ex quo manifestum est eos qui apostoli lege contempta, ecclesiasticum gradum non merito voluerint alicui deferre, sed gratia, contra Christum facere."]

directing all<sup>f</sup>." And again upon those words; "I charge thee before God and Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou keep these precepts—Lay hands hastily on no man;" he saith: "Paul terrifieth Timothy, and having so done, he mentioneth that which is most needful, and chiefly holdeth the church together, even ordination. 'Lay hands hastily on no man, neither communicate with other men's sins.' What is hastily? not upon the first trial, not upon the second, not upon the third, but oftentimes examining, and exactly sifting the party. The case is dangerous: thou shalt bear the punishments of his sins, who art the occasion of them; for remitting the former offences out of time, thou shalt answer for those that are after committed, as being the cause of them; and likewise for those that are past, as not letting him alone to lament and repent them<sup>g</sup>." And Ambrose; "(Paul) chargeth Timothy before God the Father, and Christ his Son, and the elect angels. Under this charge he commandeth those things to be kept which pertain to ordination in the church, lest easily any man should get an ecclesiastical dignity; but inquisition be first had of his life and manners, that a meet and approved minister or priest may be appointed; neither any to be ordained whose faults deserve suspicion, lest the ordainer be defiled with his sins and offences; for he sinneth, which ordaineth, and trieth not<sup>h</sup>." Œcumenius,

<sup>f</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. cap. iii. Homil. x. [t. xii. 463. Μέλλων κατιέναι εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λόγον, δείκνυσιν καθάπαξ ὅπου οὖν εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἐν τάξει τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον αὐτὸ παραινέσεως ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς πᾶσι διαλεγόμενος, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πάντας ρυθμίζων.]

<sup>g</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. cap. v. Homil. xvi. [t. xii. 516. Φοβεῖ τὸν Τιμόθεον. εἶτα τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ὃ πάντων μάλιστα κυριώτατον ἦν, ἐπήγαγε, καὶ ὃ μάλιστα συνέχει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ τῶν χειροτονιῶν. χεῖρας γὰρ, φησί, ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἁμαρτίαις ἄλλοτρίαις. Τί ἐστι ταχέως; μὴ ἐκ πρώτης δοκιμασίας, μηδὲ δευτέρας, μηδὲ τρίτης, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις περισκεψάμενος καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσας. Οὐ γὰρ ἀκίνδυνον τὸ πρᾶγμα· τῶν γὰρ ἡμαρτημένων ἐκείνῳ καὶ σὺ δίκην ὑφέξεις ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρσχὼν καὶ τῶν παρελθουσῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

καὶ τῶν γενησομένων· ἀφελὲς γὰρ τὰς πρώτας ἀκαίρως, ὑπεύθυνος ἔσῃ καὶ τῶν ἔσομένων, τούτων μὲν ὡς αἴτιος ὢν σὺ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγαγὼν, τῶν τε παρελθουσῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀφελὲς αὐτὰς πεινῆσαι, οὔτε ἐν κατανύξει γενέσθαι.]

<sup>h</sup> Ambros. in Ep. ad Tim. i. cap. 5. [t. v. 408.] "Contestatione deponit apud Deum Patrem, et Christum Filium ejus, et electos angelos, quos Dominus in evangelio sanctos appellat. Hi ergo electi sunt, quia sunt alii reprobi qui non sunt Dei angeli, sed diaboli, assentientes apostasi ejus. Sub testatione ergo ea quæ ad ordinationem ecclesiæ mandat custodiri, præcipit nihil fieri sine præjudicio, ne facile aliquis accipiat ecclesiasticam dignitatem, nisi prius de vita ejus et moribus fuerit disputatum, ut dignus approbatus minister aut sacerdos constituatur, ut non postea si reprehensibilis videatur, pœniteat forte

where Paul saith to Timothy, "I prayed thee to stay at Ephesus," addeth; "there had Paul ordained him a bishop<sup>l</sup>." "Let no man despise thy youth;" for a bishop must speak with authority<sup>k</sup>." "He giveth precepts not to Timothy alone, but to every bishop<sup>l</sup>." And upon these words, "Lay hands hastily on no man;" "Paul treateth of ordinations, for he wrote to a bishop<sup>m</sup>." And so writing on the Epistle to Titus, he saith; "Paul left Titus to make bishops in every city, having first made him a bishop<sup>mm</sup>." Primasius likewise: "Timothy was a bishop, and Paul's disciple; to him by writing he giveth authority to correct all ecclesiastical discipline, and to ordain bishops and deacons<sup>n</sup>;" and again; "Be not partaker of another man's sins." Paul saith; "It is a communion with another man's sins, when one is ordained and not examined. As therefore in ordaining evil men, he is partaker of their sins which ordaineth such; so in the ordaining of the holy, he is partaker of their righteousness which did make choice of so good men<sup>o</sup>." The peril of ordaining bishops and presbyters by Paul's own confession, lieth inevitably on such as impose hands; and therefore by God's law they must have power to examine who be fit, and liberty to refuse those that be unfit. For as without them there can be none ordained; so if rashly or corruptly they lay hands on any, they be partakers of their sins.

Further, with elections the scriptures do not meddle, save

principem populi non ad liquidum prajudicasse quid mereretur, quem improbabilius ordinavit: nec illum cujus peccata ad suspicionem veniunt, ordinandum, ne commaculetur ordinator vitiis et delictis ejus. Si ergo omnino latentia sunt delicta, immunis erit rector, quia conscientia ejus libera est. Suspicio enim trepidum facit. Peccat enim si non probat et sic ordinat.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Eucumenii in 1 Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Comment. [t. ii. 210. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκεχειροτονήκει.]

<sup>k</sup> Idem in ejusd. Epist. cap. iv. [t. ii. 233. Δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐθεντικώτερον διαλέγεσθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.]

<sup>l</sup> Idem in ejusd. Epist. cap. v. [t. ii. 235. Οὐ Τιμοθέω δὲ μόνω, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ἐπισκόπῳ παραινέι.]

<sup>m</sup> Idem in ejusd. Epist. cap. v. [t. ii. 242. Καὶ περὶ χειροτονιῶν διαλαμβάνει.]

BILSON.

ἐπισκόπῳ γὰρ ἔγραφε.]

<sup>mm</sup> Idem in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [t. ii. 289. Τοῦτον γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ πόλιν καταστήσαι ἐπισκόπους κατέλειπεν, ἐπίσκοπον πρότερον ποιήσας.]

<sup>n</sup> Primasii Epist. 1. Pauli ad Timoth. Argument. [Bibliothec. Maxim. Vet. Pat. Lugduni. 1677. t. x. p. 236. "Timotheus episcopus fuit, discipulus Pauli: huic per literas auctoritatem dat corrigendi omnem ecclesiasticam disciplinam, et episcopos et diaconos instruendi."]

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 240. "Neque communicaveris," inquit, "peccatis alienis." Sicut ergo in ordinationibus malorum, princeps est peccatorum qui tales constituit; sic, in ordinatione sanctorum particeps est eorum justitiæ qui bonos elegit. Neque communicaveris peccatis alienis, communicari dicitur peccatis ejus qui non probatus ordinatur."]

F f



that Timothy (as the fathers affirm by occasion of Paul's words) was chosen bishop by prophecy; that is, by the direction and appointment of the Holy Ghost, and not by voices. Œcumenius: "By the commandment (or appointment) of the Spirit were bishops (at first) made, and not at random<sup>p</sup>." So Theodoret: "Thou undertookest this order by divine revelation<sup>q</sup>." Chrysostom: "Paul to stir up (Timothy) putteth him in mind who chose him, and who ordained him: as if he had said: Thou was chosen of God; he himself put thee in trust; thou wast not made by men's voices<sup>r</sup>." And Theophylact: "Anciently by the oracles and appointment of the prophets, that is, by the Holy Ghost, priests were straightway ordained. So was Timothy chosen to be a priest<sup>s</sup>." Ambrose saith: "Timothy was predestinated when he was taken by the apostle, to this end that he should be ordained, as judged worthy to be a bishop<sup>t</sup>." This kind of election, I take, was usual in the apostles' times; the Spirit of God directing them on whom they should lay their hands; other election of pastors and teachers, I read none specified in the sacred writings. Popular election of bishops I find afterward practised in the primitive church, but not mentioned in the scriptures; and therefore well may the people's interest stand upon the grounds of reason and nature, and be derived from the rules of Christian equity and society; but God's law doth not meddle with any such matter, nor determine more than I have told you; which is, that such bishops as ordain them shall answer for them with the peril of their own souls, if they do not carefully look

<sup>p</sup> Œcumenii in 1 Ep. ad Tim. cap. iv. Comment. [t. ii. 234. Πνεύματος γὰρ προστάξει ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ οὐ χυδην.]

<sup>q</sup> Theodoreti in Epist. 1. ad Tim. cap. i. [Halæ, 1771. t. iii. p. 645. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης, φησὶ, τετύχκας κλήσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεϊαν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐδέξω.]

<sup>r</sup> Chrysost. in 1 Tim. cap. i. Homil. v. [t. xii. 434. Μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος. διανιστὰς τοίνυν αὐτὸν, καὶ νήφειν παρασκευάζων καὶ ἐργηγορέναι, ἀναμνησκει τοῦ ἐλομένου καὶ χειροτονήσαντος, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἐλεγεν· ὁ Θεὸς σε ἐξελέξατο, αὐτὸς σοὶ ἐνεπίστευσεν, οὐκ

ἀνθρωπινὴν γέγονας ψήφω· μὴ ὑβρίσης, μηδὲ κατασχύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ψῆφον.]

<sup>s</sup> Theophylacti in 1 Ep. ad Tim. cap. i. Comment. [Lond. 1636. t. ii. 751. Διὸ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ προφητείας ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, τούτέστιν, ἀπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. προφητεία γὰρ καὶ τὸ τὰ παρόντα λέγειν. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἤρεθ ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεροσύνην.]

<sup>t</sup> Ambros. in Epist. ad Tim. 1. cap. i. Comment. [t. v. 400. "Prædestinatus est enim, quando ad hoc ab apostolo assumptus est, ut ordinaretur dignus judicatus futurus episcopus, ut impleret militiam evangelicam in fide et pura conscientia."



into the ability and integrity of all that they authorize with imposition of hands to guide or teach the flock of Christ.

When I say the people cannot challenge by God's law the right to choose their bishop, I mean, no such thing is expressed and commanded in the scriptures; excluding thereby the false conceits of some fanatical spirits in our days, which affirm our bishops and teachers to be no true pastors, because they are not chosen by the particular voices and personal suffrages of the people; and by consequent, our sacraments to be no sacraments, and church no church; and so this whole realm to be drowned in confusion without assurance of salvation; whose madness is rather to be chastised by the magistrate, than to be refuted by doctrine; the authors being void not only of learning, which they despise, but of reason to weigh what is said against them. Otherwise, I acknowledge each church and people (that have not by law, custom, or consent restrained themselves) stand free by God's law to admit, maintain, and obey no man as their pastor without their liking, and so the people's election by themselves or their rulers dependeth on the very first principles of human fellowships and assemblies: for which cause, though bishops by God's law have power to examine and ordain, before any may be placed to take charge of souls; yet have they no power to impose a pastor on any church against their wills, nor to force them to yield him obedience or maintenance without their liking. How far authority, custom, and consent may prejudice and overrule this liberty, which God's law leaveth undiminished, shall anon be handled, when once we see what order the primitive church observed in her elections of bishops and presbyters.

The churches of Christ had anciently two ways to be provided of bishops and presbyters: the one, election; the other, postulation. When the bishop of any city died, whose church had store of clergymen to succeed, "the bishops of the same province that were nearest to the place<sup>u</sup>," by conference

<sup>u</sup> Cyprian. Epist. lxxvii. p. 172. [Ed. *Erasm. lib. i. epist. iv.* "Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et

tenendum quod apud nos quoque, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur,

amongst themselves appointed a day to resort thither, and advertised both people and presbyters thereof. At which time the clergy and laity assembling in the church, so many bishops as conveniently might, (but under three they could do nothing,) came thither; and there heard both whom the clergy named, and whom the city liked. If all, or the most of every sort agreed, the party was pronounced chosen, and another day prefixed to ordain him, the bishops proposing his name, and the time on the church doors, and requiring every man that could or would object any thing against him, to be then and there ready with his proofs and witnesses. At their next repair, the bishops that came to give imposition of hands, heard advised y what each man could charge him with; and if in their consciences the elect proved to be such as the apostle prescribed, they ordained him in the eyes of all men pastor of that church, and burdened him with the due observation of God's and man's laws. If they found any just impediment, they rejected him as unfit, and proceeded to the like election of some other, on whom both presbyters and citizens could accord. Alexander Severus, the Roman emperor, did commend and imitate the Christians' manner in trying and examining their presbyters and bishops. "When he would send," saith Lampridius, "any rulers to the provinces, or make governors, he proposed their names, exhorting the people, that if any could object any crime, they should make just proof; and used to say it were a shame not to do that in the rulers of the provinces, which the Christians did in proclaiming their priests that were to be ordained \*."

When the cities had not store of clergymen, or not such as they liked, they were forced to seek a bishop from another church; and then did they go to the bishop of the chief or

episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit."]

x *Ælii Lampridii Alexander Severus*. Paris. 1544. p. 274. "Et quia de publicanis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel

procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus: si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitis. Dicebatque grave esse cum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita."]

mother city in the same province, and of him desired to have such a man for their bishop; or else some other, whom the metropolitan, that is, the bishop of the mother church or city, should think fit for them. This was called *postulation*. Upon their request, the metropolitan, conferring with the bishop whose presbyter was desired, and calling unto him at the least two other bishops, tried and examined the party liked, after the same manner that others were, and then ordained him; or if he were rejected, some other likewise tried, and approved to be ruler of the church that wanted a pastor.

And as to keep the people from faction, and the presbyters from ambition, the bishops of the same province were appointed to be present at the choice, and to see the election go forward in Christian and decent manner, without corruption, canvass, or tumult: so to restrain the bishops that they should not disorder the action for hatred or favour of any side, the whole order of their proceeding was to be intimated to the metropolitan before they imposed hands; and if any just complaint were made of their partiality, the metropolitan had power to stay them from going forward, and with a greater number of bishops to discuss, and upon cause to reverse the election. The council of Nice willeth “a bishop” to be “made by all the bishops of the same province,” and “if any difficulty suffer not all to assemble,” yet at least “three to meet,” and “the rest by letters to give their consent” before the party be ordained. Yea, they made it a clear case, that “if any were ordained without the knowledge of the metropolitan, he should be no bishop;” as also that if any diversity of judgments grew amongst the bishops, “the voices of the most part should prevail<sup>z</sup>.”

For the making of presbyters, there did not assemble so many bishops, since one was sufficient to lay hands on them,

γ Concil. Nicæni, can. iv. [t. ii. col. 29. Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μήκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους συμψήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιῆσθαι.]

z Ibid. can. vi. [col. 32. Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκείνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὕτῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκέαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατεῖτω ἢ τῶν πλείονων ψήφος.]

howbeit the same order was observed in trying and examining presbyters that I mentioned before in bishops; and the public testimony of the people touching their conversation was not omitted, except the bishops were so assured of their good behaviour, that they would take it upon the burden of their own souls. "Let no man be made a clergyman," saith the third council of Carthage, "unless he be allowed by the examination of the bishops, or by the testimony of the people<sup>a</sup>." And likewise; "The bishop must not ordain clerks without the counsel of his clergy, and have also the assent and testimony of the citizens<sup>b</sup>." The people might not elect presbyters; the council of Laodicea did utterly prohibit it; "The multitude must not make choice of such as shall be called to be priests<sup>c</sup>:" (for *ιερατεῖον* is either the place where they sat, or the office which they bare :) yet might they present such as they took to be meet men for that place to the bishop, and pray him to examine and allow them according to his discretion; yea, they were desired by the bishop to find out such amongst themselves, as they supposed for learning and life to be fit for that calling, though unknown as yet to the bishop, and to offer them, that he with the help of his clergy might try them whether they were answerable to the canons of the church, and worthy that function. So was St. Austin<sup>d</sup> violently caught by the people, when Valerius exhorted them to look out of themselves some meet men to be dedicated to

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Carthagin. III. can. xxii. [t. ii. col. 1170. "Ut nullus ordinetur clericus, nisi probatus vel episcoporum examine, vel populi testimonio."]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Carthagin. IV. can. xxii. [t. ii. col. 1201. "Ut episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum, clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium conviventiam et testimonium quærat."]

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Laod. can. xiii. [t. i. col. 1497. *Μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.*]

<sup>d</sup> Posidonius de Vita Augustini in August. op. cap. iv. [t. i. col. 827. "Eodem itaque tempore in ecclesia Hipponensi catholica, Valerius sanctus episcopatum gerebat. Qui cum flagitante ecclesiastica necessitate, de providendo et ordinando presbytero ci-

vitatis plebem Dei alloqueretur et exhortaretur, jam scientes catholici sancti Augustini propositum et doctrinam, manu injecta, quoniam et idem in populo securus et ignarus quid futurum esset astabat. Solebat autem laicus, ut nobis dicebat, ab eis tantum ecclesiis quæ non haberent episcopos suam abstinere præsentiam. Eum ergo tenuerunt, et ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagrantibus, ubertim eo flente."]

Augustini Epist. cxlviii. [t. ii. col. 686. "Et hinc erant lachrymæ illæ, quas me fundare in civitate ordinationis meæ tempore nonnulli fratres animadverterunt."]

the service of God, and brought to the bishop to be ordained. The like<sup>e</sup> violence was offered to many by the people, as Austin confesseth. Jerome toucheth this order of presenting by the people, when he saith to Rusticus, "When thou comest to perfect years, and either the people or the bishop of the city choose thee into the clergy<sup>f</sup>"—thereby noting that in cities some were assumed by the bishop; some offered by the people as meet men to be taken into the number of clergymen.

In country parishes when they wanted, they desired a presbyter or deacon of the bishop in whose diocese they were; and he according to their necessities did furnish them out of his own presbytery, or out of the store of some other church in his diocese; and if he were not able to do it, they repaired to the metropolitan, who did furnish them out of the whole province. "It happeneth often," saith Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, in the council of Africa, "that churches which want deacons, presbyters, or bishops, ask them of me; and I, mindful of the canons, send to the bishop under whom he is, and acquaint him that his clerk is desired of this or that church: and hitherto they have not withstood; but lest hereafter it fall out that they deny me requiring this of them, if I demand any such thing of one of my fellow bishops with two or three of your place joining with me, and he be irreligious (and not regard me), your charity must determine what I shall do; for you know that I sustain the care of many churches and ordinations<sup>g</sup>." They answer; "'This seat hath

<sup>e</sup> Augustini de adulterinis conjugiiis ad Pollentium, lib. ii. cap. 2. [This seems to be a false reference: as the subject treated of in the place referred to is of a wholly different nature. ED.]

<sup>f</sup> Hieronymus ad Rusticum Monachum de vivendi forma. [t. i. 47. "Cum ad perfectam aetatem veneris, si tamen sita comes fuerit, et te vel populus, vel pontifex civitatis, in clerum eligerit, agito quo clerici sunt, et inter ipsos sectare meliores, quia in omni conditione et gradu, optimis mixta sunt pessima."]

<sup>g</sup> Ecclesiæ Africanæ, can. lv. [t. ii. col. 1077. Αὐρήλιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· Τὸν λόγον μου ποσοδέξασθε ἀδελφοί·

συνέβη πολλάκις αἰτηθῆναι με ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐνδεομένων διακόνων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ ἐπισκόπων· καὶ ὅμως μεμνημένος τῶν ὀρισθέντων, τοῦτοις ἐπι-  
ομαι, ὥστε συνελθεῖν με τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζητουμένου κληρικοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐμφανίσαι, ὅτι κληρικὸν αὐτοῦ αἰτοῦνται οἱ τῆς οἰασθήποτε ἐκκλησίας. Ἴδού οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι. διὰ δὲ τὸ μήτε μετὰ ταῦτα συμβῆναι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐναντιωθῆναι μοι τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτουμένους· ἐπειδὴ οἴδατε πολλῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ χειροτονιῶν φροντίδα με βαστάζειν, ὅτινιδῆποτε τῶν συνιερέων συνέλθω μετὰ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων τῆς ἡμετέρας συγκληρώσεως, ἐὰν ἀκαθοσίτως εὐρεθῇ



had always liberty whence soever to ordain a bishop that was desired of him, at the instance of any church. One bishop may ordain many presbyters, but a presbyter meet for a bishopric is hardly found." Three at least were requisite to impose hands on a bishop; but any one bishop might ordain presbyters, as the ancient canons of the church import; "Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops; but a presbyter, deacon, and the rest of the clergy, by one bishop<sup>i</sup>."

The primitive manner of electing bishops we see; wherein I observe: first, that the bishops who were to impose hands, had their warrant by God's law to reject the party chosen, if they found him unfit either for learning or manners; the words of St. Paul are clear to that purpose; "Lay hands hastily on no man, neither communicate with another man's sins." Next, the whole church was to join in the naming and liking of their pastor before he was accounted to be chosen. The nomination, as some say, belonged to the clergy, the rest had the approbation, so that neither could the clergy prevail without the people's, nor the people's desires take place without the consent of the clergy. Leo distinguisheth the clergy from the people, in that the clergy did elect and subscribe; that is, deliver their election in writing; the people he divideth into three degrees, and every one of them had an interest in the liking and accepting of their bishop: "The desires of the citizens should be expected, the testimony of the people, the judgment of the honourable should be had, and the election of the clergy; which things use to be kept in ordering of priests (or bishops) of all that know the rules of our fathers<sup>k</sup>." And again: "Let the subscription of the

δικαῖόν ἐστι κρίναι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι, ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὡς ἴστε ἀδελφοί, κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ, πολλῶν ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίδας ἀντέχουμαι. Νουμήδιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· ἂν εἰ ὑπῆρξεν ἡ αὐθεντία αὐτῇ τῷ θρόνῳ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ὅθεν ἦλθε, καὶ περὶ οἰουδήποτε προεστράτη ὀνόματος κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας ἐχειροτονήθῃ ἐπίσκοπον. . . . . Ἀνθρίλιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· Κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ δύναται ὁ εἰς ἐπίσκοπος πολλοὺς χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους· πρεσβύτερος δὲ πρὸς ἐπίσκοπὸν ἐπιτήδεως συσχερῶς εὐρίσκεται.]

<sup>i</sup> Canon. Apostol. in Concil. [t. i. col. 25. can. i. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.

Ibid. can. ii. Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.]

<sup>k</sup> Leon. Magn. Epist. lxxxix. vulg. ed. [Ep. x. p. 431. novæ ed. "Expectarentur vota civium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum, quæ in sacerdotum solent ordinationibus ab iis qui norunt patrum regulas custodiri."]

clergy be continued, the testimony of the honourable, the consent of the order and people. He that shall oversee all, let him be chosen of all<sup>1</sup>."

The wisdom of God's church in taking the consent of the people in the election of their bishops, I cannot but commend; I find so great and good effects of it in the church stories. For thence it came to pass, that the people, when their desires were accomplished, did QUIETLY RECEIVE, WILLINGLY MAINTAIN, DILIGENTLY HEAR, and HEARTILY LOVE their pastors; yea, venture their whole estates and hazard their lives, rather than their pastors should miscarry; as may be seen by the zeal of the people of Alexandria for Athanasius<sup>m</sup> and Peter<sup>n</sup>, of Cæsarea for Basil<sup>o</sup>, of Constantinople for Paul and Chrysostom<sup>p</sup>, and of sundry other places for their bishops. And could the people as well have tempered their grief, when their affections were overruled, as they shewed their love<sup>q</sup>, when their expectation was satisfied; their interest in electing their bishop had been better regarded, and longer continued: but experience of their factions, schisms, tumults, uproars, murders and what not, if they might not have their

<sup>1</sup> Ibidem. ["Teneatur subscriptio clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et plebis: qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur."]

<sup>m</sup> Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 12. [p. 653. Συνελθὼν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐζήτουν τὸν ὑπαρχόν, ἀπερὶ σκεπτῶς μὴ ἀπελαύνειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον . . . . . Ἀντεῖχον δὲ ὅμως καὶ βιάζεσθαι οὐ συνεχώρουν.]

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 37. [p. 254. Ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ λαὸς, τὸν μὲν Λουκίον ἐξελαύνουσιν· ἀντειστάγουσι δὲ τὸν Πέτρον.]

<sup>o</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. in laudem Basil. Orat. xx. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 371. In Mortem Basilii. Ἐκεῖτο μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ τὰ τελευταῖα πνέων, καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἡνω χορστασίας ἐπιζητούμενος, πρὸς ἣν ἐκ πλείονος ἔβλεπεν. Ἐχεῖτο δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, τὴν ζήμειαν οὐ φέροντες, καὶ τῆς ἐκδημίας ὡς τυραννίδος καταβωונτες καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς λαμβανόμενοι, ὡς καθεκτῆς καὶ βιασθῆναι δυναμένης ἡ χερσὶν, ἡ δέησεσιν.]

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 13. [p. 90. Ἦλθε δὲ τὰ γινόμενα εἰς ἀκοὰς Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως, κατὰ τὴν Ἀν-

τιόχειαν διατρίβοντος. Ἐντέλλεται οὖν Ἑρμογένη τῷ στρατηλάτῃ ἐπὶ τὰ Θράκια πεμπομένῳ μέρη, ὁδοῦ περιεργον ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐξωθῆσαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν Παῦλον· ὃς καταλαβὼν τὴν Κωνσταντίου πόλιν, ὕλην διετάραξε, βιάζόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· στάσις γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου παρηκολούθει, καὶ ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν ἀμυνέσθαι· ὡς δὲ ἐπέκειτο ὁ Ἑρμογένης διὰ στρατιωτικῆς χειρὸς ἀπελάσαι τὸν Παῦλον, παροξυνθὲν τότε τὸ πλῆθος, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλογωτέρας ἐποίειτο κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ὁρμὰς· καὶ ἐμπύπρηνσι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν· αὐτὸν δὲ σύραντες, ἀπέκτειναν.]

Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 16. [p. 323. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἀφόρητα ἐστασίαζεν. . . . . Ταῦτα λεχθέντα, φιλονεικότερον ἐποίει τὸ πλῆθος· διὸ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν ταχείαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε γενέσθαι. . . . . Παρέλκοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ βουλομένου εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἡγανάκτει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ᾗ τάχος βλάβσφημα κατὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἠφέλεσαν βήματα· διὸ καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκεν τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ.]

<sup>q</sup> Thus L.: "Ac omnes animi vires et charitates profundebat,"

wills, caused both ancient fathers and councils to dislike that the people bare so great a sway in these elections, and forced Christian princes, if not wholly to exclude them, yet greatly to abridge them.

Nazianzen, reporting the choice of Eusebius to the bishopric of Cæsarea, saith: "The city of Cæsarea was in a tumult about the choice of their bishop; and the sedition was sharp, and hardly to be appeased. And as the people, distracted in many minds, proposed, some one, some another, as is often seen in such cases; at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling amongst them, commended for his life, but not yet baptized, they took him against his will, and with the help of a band of soldiers that was then come to the city, they placed him in the bishop's chair, and offered him to the rest of the bishops present, and mixing threats with persuasions, they required to have him ordered, and pronounced (for their bishop<sup>r</sup>.)" Thus was Eusebius chosen, or rather forced and intruded against all the canons, yea against his own liking, by the heat and intemperance of the people. In electing Basil, the next that succeeded Eusebius, they again fell to another uproar, and stood as stiff against Basil being a most worthy man, as they were heady for Eusebius; till they were calmed by the wisdom and travail of Nazianzen's fathers. "Again," saith Nazianzen, "(after the death of Eusebius,) the same city grew tumultuous for the same cause; and the sedition, the ferventer it waxed, the absurder it proved<sup>s</sup>." The like we read, and worse, of other cities. "There kindled a grievous sedition at Antioch," saith Eusebius, "about the deposing of Eustathius; and after, when an-

<sup>r</sup> Nazianz. Orat. Funeb. in laudem patris sui mortui. [xix. p. 308. Ἔστασιασεν ἡ Καισαρέων πόλις περὶ προβολὴν ἀρχιερέως, τοῦ μὲν ὑπεξεληθόντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιζητουμένου, καὶ ἡ στάσις θερμὴ, καὶ μὴ ῥαδίαν τὴν λύσιν ἔχουσα. . . . . Ὡς δ' εἰς πλείους τοῦ δήμου διαφρεθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλον προβαλλομένων, ὕπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἢ φιλίας πρὸς τινὰς ἔχων, ἢ πρὸς Θεὸν εὐλαβείας τέλος συμφρονήσας ὁ δῆμος ἅπας. τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἓνα βίῳ μὲν ἐξειλεγμένον, οὕτω δὲ τῷ θεῷ βαπτίσματι κατεσφραγισμένον,

τοῦτον ἄκοντα συναρπάσαντες, καὶ ἅμα στρατιωτικῆς χειρὸς συλλαβομένης αὐτοῖς τὴνικαῦτα ἐπιδημούσης, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔθεσαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις προσήγαγον, τελεσθῆναί τε ἤξιον, καὶ κτηρυχῆναι, πειθοῖ βίαν ἀναμίξαντες.]

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. [p. 310. Ἔστασίαζε πάλιν ἡ αὐτὴ πόλις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, τάχιστα προσληφθέντος τοῦ καλῶς βιασθέντος, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημήσαντος, ὕπερ οὐ γενναίως καὶ ἀνδρικῶς ἐν τοῖς διαγωμοῖς ἡγωνίσατο. Καὶ ἡ στάσις ἦν, ὅσῳ θερμότερα, τοσοῦτ' καὶ ἀλογωτέρα.]

other was to be chosen, the flame thereof so increased, that it was like to subvert the whole city; the people being divided into two parts. The magistrates of the city supported the sides, and bands of soldiers were mustered, as against an enemy; and the matter had been tried by the sword, if God and the fear of the emperor (writing unto them) had not somewhat assuaged the rage of the multitude. Eight whole years the place was without a bishop<sup>t</sup>."

When Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was deposed by the great council of Chalcedon, and Proterius set in his place, "by the common decree of the synod; a mighty and intolerable sedition grew amongst the people for it, some affecting Dioscorus, some cleaving to Proterius: the people opposed themselves against the magistrates, and when with a strong hand they thought to repress the uproar, the multitude with stones beat the soldiers into a church, and besieged them, and destroyed a number of them alive with fire<sup>u</sup>." And taking their advantage upon the death of Martian the emperor, "they erected another bishop, and brought him to the church on Easter day, and slew Proterius and six others with him in the temple without any regard of the place or the day, and drew his body wounded and mangled along all the quarters of the city, beating and hewing his dead carcase in most miserable wise; and burning as much as was left, they scattered his ashes into the wind, exceeding the fierceness of any wild beasts<sup>x</sup>." The people of Rome played their parts in the

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constantin. lib. i. cap. 59. [p. 425. Par. 1678. Μέγιστον δ' οὖν ἐξάψας πυρσὸν, τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν τραγικαῖς διελάμβανε συμφοραῖς· ὥς μικροὺ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπῆναι πόλιν· εἰς δύο μὲν τμήματα διαιρεῖσθαι τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαῶν· τοῦ δὲ κοινοῦ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ἔρχουσι καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς πολεμίων τρόπων ἀνακινηθέντων ὥς καὶ ξίφων μέλλειν ἄπτεσθαι, εἰ μὴ Θεοῦ τις ἐπισκοπῇ, ὃ τε παρὰ βασιλέως φόβος, τὰς τοῦ πλήθους ἀνέστειλεν ὁρμὰς.]

<sup>u</sup> Evagr. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. cap. v. [Paris. 1673. p. 295. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Διόσκορος μὲν τὴν Γαγγρηνῶν τῶν Παφλαγόνων οἰκὴν κατακρίνεται. Προτέριος δὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ψήφῳ κοινῇ τῆς συνόδου, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων κληρούται· ὃς ἐπειδὴ

τὸν οἰκεῖον κατεilhφει θρόνον, μέγιστος καὶ ἀνύποιστος τάραχος τῷ δήμῳ διανέστη πρὸς διαφόρους κυμαινομένῳ γνώμας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Διόσκορον ἐπεζήτουν, οἱ δὲ εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ, Προτερίου μάλα γενικῶς ἀντείχοντο, ὥς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα προελθεῖν. Ἰστορεῖ δ' οὖν Πρίσκος ὁ ῥήτωρ, φθῆναι τῆνικαῦτα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας ἰδεῖν τε τὸν δῆμον ὁμόσε κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων χωροῦντα· τῆς τε στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν στάσιν διακωλύειν βουλομένης, λίθων βολαῖς αὐτοὺς χρῆσασθαι· τρέψασθαι τε τούτους καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ πάλαι Σαράπιδος ἀναδραμόντας ἐκπολιορκῆσαι, καὶ πυρὶ ζῶντας παραδοῦναι.]

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. cap. viii. [p. 301. Ὅμως οἱ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Τιμοθέου σκοπὸν εἰς ἔργον



election of their bishops no less than others did, as their own stories witness. For example, at the choice of Damasus, "the sedition was so great, yea the war so fierce, (the people maintaining on either side their bishop elect,) that the places of prayer were filled with man's bloody." Ammianus saith: "The conflict was so sharp, that the regent of the city, not able to redress it nor appease it, was fain to forsake the place, and in the church where the Christians assembled, in one day there were slain an hundred thirty-seven; and the rage of the people scant ceased a long time after<sup>z</sup>."

Every where seditions increased so fast, that hardly could a bishop be quietly chosen; which made Austin in his lifetime contrary to the canons to elect his successor. "I know," saith he, "upon the deaths of bishops, the churches are usually turmoiled by ambitious and contentious persons, which I have often seen and sorrowed<sup>a</sup>." Nazianzen, seeing their disorder in the choice of Basil, censured popular elections in these words: "It was not obscure who did excel the rest, no more than the sun compared with the stars; but very evident to all others, and specially to the most selected and purest part of the people, I mean the clergy and our Nazarites, to whom,

προαγαγεῖν σπουδάζοντες, οἱ μὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀχράντοις ἐκείνοις σηκοῖς αὐτὸν ἀνεχόμενοι σώζεσθαι, οὔτε τὸ σέβας αἰδεσθέντες τοῦ τόπου, οὔτε τὸν καιρὸν ἦν γὰρ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα πανήγυρις, οὔτε τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτὴν φρίζαντες μεσιτεύουσιν Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν ἀνεύθυνον, σφάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπηνῶς μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἕξ· καὶ παραγαγόντες τοῦτον τὸ λείψανον παντάχου κατατετρωμένον, ὁμῶς τε περισύραντες κατὰ πάντα σχεδὸν τόπον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ καταπομπεύσαντες σχετλίως, ἠκίζοντο ἀνηλέως τὸ τῶν πληγῶν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον σῶμα διάτομόν τε κατὰ μέλος καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀπογενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θήρας φειδόμενοι ἐκείνου, ὃν ἔχειν μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐναγχοῦς ἐνομίσθησαν· πυρὶ τε παραδόντες τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα, τὸν ἐκ τούτου κόνιν τοῖς ἀνέμοις παρέπεμπον, θηρίων πᾶσαν ὑπερακοντίσαντες ἀγριότητα.]

y Ruffin. Ecel. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 10. [ed. Beati Rhenani Basil. 1535. p. 250. "Quo ex facto tanta seditio, imo vero tanta bella coorta sunt, alterutrum

defendentibus populis, ut replerent humano sanguine orationum loca."]

z Ammian. Marcell. Rerum Gestarum, lib. xxvii. [cap. 3. Par. 1681. p. 480. "Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatus sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, adusque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressi: quæ nec corrigere sufficiens juvenitius nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam."]

a August. Epist. cx. [t. ii. col. 514. "Scio post obitus episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere ecclesias perturbari: et, quod sæpe expertus sum et dolui, debeo quantum ad me attinet, ne contingat huic prospicere civitati."]



either wholly or chiefly, such choices ought to be referred, (so should the churches never take harm,) and not to the richest and mightiest, and to the throng and indiscretion of the multitude, yea even to the basest persons amongst them<sup>b</sup>.” The emperor at last was forced by public laws to restrain the people, and take the election of bishops from them, and give it to the clergy and certain chief men of every city. “We decree,” saith Justinian, “that as often as need requireth to ordain a bishop, the clergy and principal men of the city (for which a bishop must be provided) shall meet together and set down in writing three persons, and taking their oath upon the holy evangel, shall express in their writing, that they have chosen them neither for reward, promise, favour, or any other cause, but knowing the persons to be of the right and catholic faith, and of honest life, &c.; that of those three so named, the best may be ordained at the election and judgment of the ordainer. If any man be ordained a bishop, and this not observed, we command him by all means to be removed from his bishopric, and likewise the other, that presumed to impose hands against this (our) law<sup>c</sup>.” If three sufficient persons could not be found in the clergy of that city which wanted a bishop, the electors might name two, or one; so it were done within six months, and the men such as the laws required; otherwise the metropolitan to choose for them. A layman amongst others, the emperor saith, they might name; but the canons did not permit a layman to be elected, but only to be desired.

I do not think the people's presence or testimony were

<sup>b</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. in laudem patris sui mortui Orat. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 310. Οὐ γὰρ ἡγνοεῖτο τὸ ὑπεραίρον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν ἄστρασιν ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπίδηλον ἦν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ μάλιστα τῷ ἐγκρίτῳ τε καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ. ὅσον τε περὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ναξираίοις, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδει τὰς τοιαύτας προβολὰς κεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα. καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κακὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογία, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς εὐνοητάτοις.]

<sup>c</sup> Justin. Novell. Constit. cxxiii.

cap. i. Θεσπίζομεν, ὁσάκις χρεῖα γένηται ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθῆναι, συνίεναι τοὺς κληρικοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως, ἧς μέλλει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονεῖσθαι, καὶ προκειμένων εὐαγγελίων, ἐπὶ τρισὶ προσώποις ψηφίσματα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁμνῦναι κατὰ τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ ἐγγράφων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδὲ διὰ δόσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπόσχεσιν ἢ φιλάν, ἢ χάριν, ἢ ἄλλην οἶαν δήποτε προσπάθειαν, ἀλλὰ εἰδότες αὐτοὺς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ καθολικῆς πίστεως, καὶ σεμνοῦ βίου, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν οὕτως ψηφισομένων τριῶν προσώπων ὁ βελτίων χειροτονηθῇ τῇ ἐπιλογῇ καὶ τῷ κρίματι τοῦ χειροτονούντος.

debarred by this law; for that continued a long time after; I take it rather the electors might offer none without the people's liking; but by this means, the multitude were excluded from electing whom they would; and the power thereof translated to the clergy and governors of each city to name certain, if the people could like of their choice; otherwise within six months the right to devolve to the chief bishop of the province. Then began this rule to be more straitly urged: "The people (in electing of bishops) must be taught and guided; not obeyed and followed<sup>d</sup>." For popes themselves could say, though "the election belong to priests," yet "the consent of God's people must be had<sup>e</sup>." "When," saith Leo, "you go about the election of the chief priest (or bishop), let him be advanced before all, whom the consent of the clergy and people with one accord desireth. If their voices be divided betwixt twain, let him be preferred before the other in the judgment of the metropolitan, which hath more voices and merits; only let none be ordained against their wills and petitions, lest the people despise or hate the bishop which they never affected; and they less care for religion, when their desires are not satisfied<sup>f</sup>." The like regard of the people's desires and petitions was had in Gregory's time and long after. "If it be true," saith Gregory to Antonius, "that the bishop of Salona be dead, hasten to admonish the clergy and people of that city to choose a priest with one consent that may be ordained for them<sup>g</sup>." And to Magna about the

<sup>d</sup> Gratian. Decret. Distinct. lxii. [cap. ii. cui titulus "Populus non debet præire, sed subsequi," col. 312. "Docendus est populus, non sequendus: nosque, si nesciunt, eos quid liceat, quidve non liceat, commonere: non his consensum præbere debemus."]

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. Distinct. lxiii. [cap. xii. cui titulus, "In electione Episcopi populus debet adesse," col. 318. in medio capite. "Veruntamen in hoc tuam plurimum oportet adhiberi solitudinem, ut convocato clero, et populo, talis ibi eligatur, per Dei misericordiam, cui sacri non obviunt canones. Sacerdotum quippe est electio: et fidelis populi consensus adhibendus est, quia docendus est populus, non sequendus."]

<sup>f</sup> Leon. Magn. Ep. lxxxiv. ad Anast.

Thessalon. Episc. cap. v. [edit. nov. Ep. xii. Lutet. Par. 1675. p. 441. "Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit: ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani iudicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis: tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur, ne civitas episcopum non optatum, aut contemnat, aut oderit; et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit."]

<sup>g</sup> Gregor. Regist. Epist. lib. iii. Indict. xi. Ep. xxii. [ed. Par. Bened. 1705. t. ii. col. 639. "Natalem Salonitanæ ecclesiæ fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum

election of the bishop of Milan: "Warn," saith he, "the clergy and people that they dissent not in choosing their priest, but with one accord elect some such as may be consecrated their bishop<sup>h</sup>."

The order of choosing their bishops in the primitive church by the clergy and people was never so much respected but that they might many ways forsake and lose their right; as by petition, when they had none of their own; by compromise, when they could not agree; by devolution, when they neglected their time above six months, or transgressed the laws or canons either in the form of their election, or in the person elected: specially upon any corruption, disorder, or violence, the election was utterly void, and the parties deprived of all power to elect for that turn. And when they could not agree, they were to send some to the metropolitan to yield him the reasons of their dissenting on both sides, and he to strike the stroke betwixt them<sup>i</sup>, or else they did refer their consents to two or three that should repair to the chief bishop of the province, and there make choice, with his advice and consent, for the whole city. "If you can find," saith Gregory, "no fit person (amongst yourselves) on whom you can agree, then choose three wise and indifferent men, and send them to this city, in the name of the whole, to whose judgment the people will stand<sup>k</sup>." And again: "Convent the clergy of the church of Naples, to choose two or three of themselves, and not to slack to send them hither about the election of their bishop. And in their certificate to us let them signify, that those whom they send, have authority to supply all their places in this election<sup>l</sup>." So that the people's

obiisse, discurrens in partibus istis fama vulgavit. Quod si verum est, experientia tua omni instantia omnique sollicitudine clerum et populum ejusdem civitatis admonere festinet, quatenus uno consensu ordinandum sibi debeant eligere sacerdotem."]

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. Ep. xxvi. [col. 642. "Admone igitur clerum et populum, ut ad eligendum nullatenus dissentiant sacerdotem: sed uno consensu talem sibi eligant consecrandum episcopum cujus et actus laudabiles; et grata Deo et hominibus possit esse persona."]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 91.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 54. [ed. Par. Bened. 1705. t. ii. col. 635. lib. iii. Indict. xi. Ep. xv. "Sin autem aptam non invenitis in quam possitis consentire personam, saltem tres viros rectos ac sapientes eligite, quos ad hanc urbem generalitatis vice mittatis, quorum et judicio plebs tota consentiat."]

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. lib. iii. Indict. xi. Ep. xxxv. col. 649. "Proinde experientia tua clerum ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ conveniat: quatenus duos vel tres eligere, et huc ad eligendum episcopum transmittere non

right to elect their bishop never depended on God's express commandment, but on the foundation and reason of human government, and was subject both to the canons of councils and laws of princes, and might be moderated and restrained by either of them, and by the people's consent, default, or abuse be transferred, relinquished, or forfeited; and without their wills by superior powers and public laws for just cause be abridged, altered or abrogated. For the power and freedom of the people is not only submitted to the sword which God hath authorized, but wholly closed in the sword; neither is any thing lawful for the people (setting aside the commandments of God, which are subject to no mortal man's will or power,) which the laws of their country restrain or prohibit. Wherefore there can be no question, but the people may willingly forsake, and worthily lose the right which they had in the choice of their bishops, and the prince either way be lawfully possessed of the people's interest. You must rather if you will needs be so inquisitive, examine the causes that induced the law, whether they were just or no; and so shall you see whether this manner of election be a wise and good prevention of such corrupt factions, and fearful tumults, as our desperate age would easily breed; or a rigorous encroachment on the people's right without cause or consent; which you cannot offer to think without evident wrong to the prince and realm.

It cannot be denied, but the prince of right hath, and ever had, as great interest in the choice of bishops, as the people. There can no reason be pretended for the multitude, but it concludeth more strongly for the magistrate. If the people by God's law were to choose their bishop, the king, as the principal part and head of the people, by the same law must be suffered to have the chief place amongst them. Did ever God's or man's law prefer the feet before the head, the rout  
 Matt. x. 24. before the ruler, or the people before the prince? "The servant is not above his master," no, not in elections of bishops; for if the rule be general, it includeth even that particular.

omittant. Sed et sua nobis relatione insinuent, quoniam ii, quos transmisserint, omnium in hac electione vice fun-

gantur, ut ecclesiæ illi, Deo auctore, suos Antistes valeat ordinari."]

Wherefore though there were no princes christened in the apostles' times, nor in three hundred years after, to claim or use their right; yet against the head, that it shall not be head, to rule and guide the feet, can be no prescription, by reason God's ordinance for the head to govern the body, is a perpetual and eternal law; and the usurpation of the members against it is no prescription, but a confusion, and the subversion of that order which the God of heaven hath immutably decreed and settled. And even in the primitive church, when leisure from greater affairs, and occasion of popular uproars, put Christian emperors in mind to use their right, they were by councils acknowledged to have good interest in the elections of bishops, and by the whole church suffered not only to have a several and sovereign consent, but by their laws to moderate, restrain and punish the attempts and abuses as well of bishops and clerks that were electors and ordainers, as of the people that were the likers and supporters of the parties so corruptly or disorderly chosen.

When Valentinian the emperor, upon the death of Auxentius, willed the bishops assembled to elect for the city of Milan such an one as should be fit for the place; "the synod prayed him, being wise and religious, to appoint (a bishop). To whom he answered, The matter is too great for me to undertake; you that are vouchsafed of the divine grace shall better determine (who is meet)<sup>n</sup>." When Chrysostom was chosen to be bishop of Constantinople, Sozomen saith: "The people and clergy determining (on him), the king approved it; and sent to fet him (from Antioch)<sup>o</sup>." "After Sisinnius was dead, though many laboured to have Philip, others to have Proclus ordained; yet it seemed good to the powers (or princes) to have none of that church advanced to the bishopric by reason of some vain men, but it pleased them rather to call a stranger from Antioch<sup>n</sup>." Upon the death of Maxi-

<sup>n</sup> Theodorit. Episc. Cyri Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 7. [Par. 1673. p. 157. Ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰρηκότος, αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἤξιον ψηφίσασθαι, σοφὸν τε ὄντα καὶ εὐσεβεῖα κοσμούμενον. ὃ δὲ ἔφη, μέλizon ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸ ἐγχειρήμα. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τῆς θείας ἡξιωμένοι χάριτος, καὶ τὴν ἀγγλὴν ἐκείνην εἰσδεξάμενοι, ἀμεινον ψη-

φιεῖσθε.]

<sup>o</sup> Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. cap. 2. [p. 758. Ψηφισαμένων δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς συνήνει, καὶ τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν πέπομφε.]

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 29. [p. 370. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίην



mian, successor to Nestorius, "lest again in the election of a bishop variance should arise, and the church be troubled," the emperor Theodosius "straightways (the body of Maximianus not yet being buried) commanded the bishops that were present to set Proclus in the episcopal seat<sup>a</sup>." Pelagius being "chosen bishop" of Rome "without the prince's commandment, for that the city was then besieged," and no man could pass through the enemy's camp, "Gregory was afterward sent to" excuse the matter and "appease the emperor. For then the act of the clergy in choosing their bishop was void, unless the emperor approved the election<sup>t</sup>." Gregory, that excused Pelagius, witnesseth the like of his own choice, and of sundry others. Of himself he saith: "Lo, my most gracious lord the emperor hath commanded an ape to be made a lion. Wherefore he must impute all my faults and negligences, not to me" (who was unwilling) "but to his own devotion, which hath committed the mystery of strength to so weak an one (as I am)<sup>s</sup>." To all the bishops of Illyricum he writeth: "Because I understand by your letters, that the consent of you all, and THE PLEASURE OF THE MOST GRACIOUS PRINCE CONCURRED in the person of John our brother and fellow-bishop, I greatly rejoice<sup>t</sup>." To the emperor Mauritius he saith: "It can be no small thanks with God, that John of happy memory being taken out of this life, your godliness

Σισιννίου ἐδόκει τοῖς κρατοῦσι, μηδένα μὲν διὰ τοὺς κενσοπυδαστὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προχειρίζεσθαι· καίτοι πολλῶν μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον, πολλῶν δὲ τὸν Πρόκλον χειροτονηθῆναι σπυδόντων· ἐπήλυδα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καλεῖν ἐβούλοντο.]

q Ibid. cap. 40. [p. 385. "Ἰνα γὰρ μὴ πάλιν περὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἐπισκόπου ζήτησις ᾖ, καὶ ταραχὴν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κινήσῃ, μὴ μελλήσας, ἀλλ' ἐτι κειμένου τοῦ σώματος Μαξιμιανοῦ, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις ἐνθρονίσαι τὸν Πρόκλον ἐπέτρεψεν.]

r Plat. de Vita Pelag. II. [Hist. de Vitis Pontif. Romanor. Colon. Agripp. 1610. p. 80. "Hæc autem una fuit causa, quare Pelagius injussu principis tum pontifex creatus sit, cum extra obsessam ab hoste urbem mitti quispiam non posset. Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset."]

s Gregor. Magn. Regist. Epist. lib. i. ep. v. [Par. Bened. 1705. t. ii. col. 492. "Ecce serenissimus dominus imperator fieri simiam leonem jussit. Et quidem pro jussione illius vocari leo potest; fieri autem leo non potest. Unde necesse est ut omnes culpas ac negligentias meas non mihi, sed suæ pietatis deputet, qui virtutis ministerium infirmo commisit."]

t Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 53. [Bened. Par. 1705. t. ii. epist. xxii. col. 585. "Quia ergo ex epistolis, quas ad nos per Maximianum presbyterum et Andream diaconum direxistis, in persona Johannis fratris et coepiscopi nostri consensum omnium vestrum et serenissimi principis convenisse cognovimus voluntatem, magna nos exultatio habuit talem, Deo auctore, ad sacerdotii officium fuisse provectum, qui dignus cunctorum est electionis judicio comprobatus."]

about the appointing a bishop, stayed a great while, deferred the time, and sought advice in the fear of God. Wherefore I think my brother and fellow-bishop Cyriacus to be very fit for the pastoral regiment, whom your holiness preferred to that order after so long consultation<sup>u</sup>."

Neither had the Roman emperors this authority to dash elections, and appoint bishops only at Rome and Constantinople; other places were in like subjection to them; and though their care were not so great for the smaller cities, which were innumerable, as for the principal sees, where themselves lived, and whither they often resorted, yet their right was all one in greater and lesser churches. If the chiefest bishops might not be chosen without the emperor's consent, the meaner places had neither by the canons nor by the scriptures any more freedom from the prince's power than the greater. So that what superiority was then acknowledged and yielded by the greatest and chiefest churches as due to Christian emperors in the elections of bishops, the same could by no means be denied them over other churches, though the princes themselves sometimes neglected, and sometimes refused to be troubled with the choice of so many thousand bishops, as were under their territories. And therefore Adrian, bishop of Rome, was not the first that did grant and give this right to the empire, as some Romish stories would fain enforce; it was received in the church of Christ many hundred years before Adrian was born, and used as well by other Christian kings in their realms, as by the emperor in his dominions. The pontifical itself, 580 years after Christ, noteth it as a new and strange accident, that Pelagius the Second "was chosen bishop of Rome without the emperor's commandment<sup>x</sup>:" and giveth this reason,

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 170. [Bened. Par. 1705. t. ii. lib. vii. Ep. Indiet. xv. col. 853. "Non enim parvæ potuit esse mercedis, quod Johanne sanctæ memoriæ de hac luce substracto, ad ordinandum sacerdotem pietas vestra diu hæsitavit, tempus paulo longius distulit, cum metu omnipotentis Domini consilium quæsivit; ut videlicet causa Dei cum magno debuisset timore disponi.

Unde et aptum valde existere in pastorali regimine fratrem atque consacerdotem meum Cyriacum existimo, quem ad eundem ordinem pietatis vestræ consilia longa genuerunt."]

<sup>x</sup> Vita Pelagii II. ex libro Pontif. [Concil. Labbei, t. v. col. 929. "Pelagius natione Romanus ex patre Vinigildo, sedit annos decem, menses duos, dies decem. Hic ordinatur absque jus-

for that the "Longobards then besieged the city;" and Gregory the first of that name, that next succeeded after Pelagius, 200 years before Adrian, confirmeth it to be true by report of his own election<sup>y</sup>; and Gregory of Turon, living at the same time, and whose deacon was present at Rome when Gregory the First was elected, witnesseth as much in the tenth book of his history and first chapter<sup>z</sup>.

Wherefore Adrian did but either continue or renew this right, when the empire was translated unto Charles the Great, and ratified it, with a curse on the transgressors; he did not then first grant it; the Roman emperors long before enjoyed it. "Adrian and a synod (of one hundred and fifty-three bishops and abbots) defined that the archbishops and bishops of every province should take their investiture from Charles, so as unless he were commended (or allowed) and invested by the king, he should be consecrated bishop by no man; and whosoever did against this decree, they did wrap him in the band of excommunication<sup>a</sup>." Leo the Eighth, in another synod more than 130 years after Adrian, "with the clergy and people of Rome, did reknowledge and confirm unto Otho the first of that name, king of the Germans, and to his successors, in the kingdom of Italy for ever, power to choose and appoint the bishop of the apostolic see (of Rome), and consequently archbishops and bishops, that they should receive investiture from him. So that if any were chosen bishop by

sione principis eo quod Longobardi obsiderent civitatem Romanam, et multa vastatio ab eis in Italia fieret."]

<sup>y</sup> Gregor. Magn. Epist. lib. i. cap. 5. [col. 491. "Sed quo iudicio, nescio, Lia mihi in nocte conjuncta est, activa videlicet vita; fecunda sed lippa; minus videns quamvis amplius pariens." Et in notis ita legas. "Maximis præterea curis Gregorius angebatur, ob mala quæ a Langobardis patiebatur Italia, ipsaque Roma metuebatur ut ipse asserit Hom. vii. in Evangel."]

<sup>z</sup> Gregor. Episc. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. x. cap. 1. [Lutet. Paris. 1636. t. i. p. 436. "Subsecuta est de vestigio clades quam inguinariam vocant. Nam medio mense xi. adveniens, primum omnium, juxta illud quod in Ezechiele propheta legitur, 'A sanctuario meo

incipite,' Pelagium papam percudit. Quo defuncto, magna strages populi de hoc morbo facta est. Sed quia ecclesia Dei absque rectore esse non poterat, Gregorium diaconum plebs omnis elegit."]

<sup>a</sup> Gratian. Imperator. Decret. Aur. Distinct. lxiii. [fol. lxxiii. "Adrianus autem papa cum universa synodo traderunt Karolo jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem: dignitatem quoque patriciatus ei concesserat. Insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere diffinivit, ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur, episcopus a nemine consecratur: et, quicumque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit: et nisi resipisceret, bona ejus publicari præcepit."]

the clergy and people, except he were also approved and invested by the said king, he should not be consecrated<sup>b</sup>." Which privilege "to give bishoprics and abbeys by a ring and a staff," continued in the Roman emperors "more than 300 years after Charles," and was "restored to Henry the Fifth, 1111 years after Christ<sup>c</sup>," by Paschalis the Second, and not afterward wrested from him and his successors by the bishop of Rome; but with extreme treachery, bloodshed and violence.

As the emperors of Rome used this superiority in elections of bishops 400 years before Charles; so the kings of France continually practised the same 300 years before the empire came to their hands. After Licinius the ninth bishop of Turon, "in the tenth place Theodorus and Proculus were surrogated by the commandment of queen Chrodielidis<sup>d</sup>," wife

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. "In synodo congregata Romæ in ecclesia sancti Salvatoris ad exemplum beati Adriani apostolicæ sedis antistitis, qui divino Karolo victoriosissimo regi Francorum ac Longobardorum patriciatus dignitatem ac ordinationem apostolicæ sedis, et investituram episcoporum concessit; Ego Leo quoque servus servorum Dei, episcopus, cum toto clero ac Romano populo, constituimus, confirmamus et corroboramus, et per nostram apostolicam auctoritatem concedimus atque largimur domino Otoni primo regi Teuthonicorum ejusque successoribus hujus regni Italiæ, in perpetuum, facultatem eligendi successores, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi; ac per hoc archiepiscopos seu episcopos, ut ipsi ab eo investituram accipiant et consecrationem, unde debent, exceptis his quos imperator pontificibus et archiepiscopis concessit: et ut nemo deinceps cujuscunque dignitatis vel religionis eligendi vel patricium vel pontificem summæ sedis apostolicæ, aut quemcumque episcopum ordinandi habeat facultatem, absque consensu ipsius imperatoris. Quod tamen fiat absque omni pecunia, et ut ipse sit patricius et rex. Quod si a clero et populo quis eligatur episcopus, nisi a supradicto rege laudetur et investiatur, non consecratur."

<sup>c</sup> Siegbert. Gemblac. Chronicon. in anno 1111. [Paris. 1513. p. 108. "Henricus rex Rhomam vadit, propter sedandam discordiam quæ erat inter regnum

et sacerdotium; quæ cepta a papa Gregorio septimo qui et Hildebrandus nominatus est, et exagitata a successoribus ejus Victore et Urbano et præ omnibus a Paschali, magno scandalo erat toti mundo. Rex autem uti nolens auctoritate et consuetudine et auctoralibus privilegiis imperatorum, quia Carolo magno qui post de regibus Francorum imperavit Rhomanis, jamque per trecentos et eo amplius annos imperaverat sub 63 apfics dabat licite episcopatus et abbatias, et per annulum et per virgam. Contra hanc majorem auctoritatem censebant papæ synodali judicio non posse nec debere dari per virgam vel per annulum episcopatum aut aliquam ecclesiasticam investituram a laicali manu: et quicumque ita episcopatum aut aliam ecclesiastici juris investituram accipiebat, excommunicabatur. Propter hanc præcipue causam rex Rhomam tendebat; et si qui Longobardorum quoquo modo ei resistere volebant, potenter eos proterebat. In reconciliationem autem quæ facta est inter imperatorem et papam (nam ipsum papam cum episcopis et cardinalibus ceperat, die paschæ Henrico in imperatorem coronato; post lectum evangelium, tradidit ei papa ante altare apostolorum Petri et Pauli in oculis omnium principum privilegium de investitura episcopatum vel abbatiarum tam per annulum quam per virgam.")]

<sup>d</sup> Gregor. Episc. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. x. cap. 31. [t. i. p. 457. "Decimo



to Chlodoveus the first Christian king of France. "The eleventh was Dinisius, who came to the bishopric by the election of the said king<sup>dd</sup>." The twelfth "was Ommatius, who was ordained by the commandment of king Clodomere," one of Chlodoveus' sons. At Arverne, four years after Chlodoveus' death, "Theodoric (another of his sons) commanded Quintianus to be made (bishop) there, and all the power of the church to be delivered unto him, adding, he was cast out of his own city for the zeal and love he bare to us. And the messengers straightway departing, called the bishops and people together, and placed him in the chair of the church of Arvernee." And when "Quintianus was dead, Gallus by the king's help was substituted in his chair<sup>f</sup>." After whose decease, "Cato elected by the clergy and most part of the people," bare himself for bishop; but when king Theodovaldus heard it, "certain bishops were called unto Mastingright," and Cautinus ordained bishop, and "directed by the king's commandment" to Arverne, "was gladly received of the clergy and citizens there<sup>h</sup>." The same Cato was afterward chosen by the precept of king Chlotharius to the bishopric of

loco Theodorus et Proculus, jubente beata Chrodiele regina, subrogantur."]

<sup>dd</sup> Ejusdem, lib. iii. cap. 17. [t. i. p. 301. "Igitur Dinisio episcopo apud Turonos decedente, Ommatius tribus annis præfuit. Hic enim ex jussu Chlodomeris regis, cujus supra meminimus, ordinatus est."]

<sup>e</sup> Ejusdem, lib. iii. cap. 2. [t. i. p. 294. "Apud Arvernos vero post obitum beati Aprunculi, sanctus Eufasius duodecimus episcopus habebatur. Hic quatuor annos post Chlodovei obitum vixit, vicesimo quinto episcopatus sui anno transiens. Cumque populus sanctum Quintianum, qui de Ruteno ejectus fuerat, elegisset, Alchima, et Placidina uxor, sororque Apollinaris, ad sanctum Quintianum venientes, dicunt, 'Sufficiat, domine sancte, senectuti tue, quod es episcopus ordinatus. . . . Cum autem hæc Theodorico nunciata fuissent, jussit inibi sanctum Quintianum constitui, et omnem ei potestatem tradi ecclesiæ, dicens, 'Hic ob nostri amoris zelum ab urbe sua ejectus est.' Et statim directi nuncii, convocatis pontificibus et populo, eum in cathedram Arvernæ ecclesiæ locaverunt."]

<sup>f</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 5. [t. i. p. 308. "Denique cum beatus Quintianus (sicut supra diximus) ab hoc mundo migrasset, sanctus Gallus in ejus cathedram, rege opitulante, substitutus est."]

<sup>g</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 6. [t. i. p. 309. "Episcopi tamen qui advenierant sanctum Gallum sepeliendum, postquam eum sepelierant, dixerunt Catoni presbytero, 'Videmus quia te elegit pars maxima populorum: veni, consenti nobis, et benedicentes consecramus te ad episcopatum.'"]

<sup>h</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 7. [t. i. p. 309. "Igitur cum consensu clericorum ad episcopatum electus, cum adhuc non ordinatus cunctis ipse præesset, Cautino archidiacono diversas minas intendere cœpit. . . . Quod ille [Theodovaldus rex] audiens, vel qui cum eo erant, convocatis sacerdotibus apud Metensem civitatem, Cautinus archidiaconus episcopus ordinatur. . . . Tunc ex jussu regis, traditis ei clericis et omnibus quæ hi de rebus ecclesiæ exhibuerant, ordinatisque qui cum eo pergerent episcopis et camerariis, Arvernos eum direxerunt. Qui a clericis et civibus libenter exceptus episcopus Arvernensis est datus."]



Turon; for so the clergy told him: "We desired thee not of our own wills, but by the king's commandment<sup>i</sup>;" which he refused, and thereupon they of Turon suggested another to the king; to whom the king replied, "I commanded that Cato the presbyter should be ordained (bishop) there, and why is our commandment despised<sup>k</sup>? They answered, We requested him, but he would not come." And whiles they were with the king, "Cato himself came and besought the king, that Cautinus being removed, he might be placed at Arverne. At which the king smiling, he then secondly requested he might be ordained at Turon, which before he had neglected. To whom the king said: I first commanded, they should consecrate you to that bishopric; but as I hear you despised the place," and therefore "you shall be far enough from it<sup>k</sup>." When Pientius, bishop of Poitiers was dead, Austrapius hoped to succeed in his place; "but king Charibert" (one of Clotharius' sons) "turned his mind, and Pascentius succeeded by the king's commandment<sup>l</sup>." The like precepts of divers Christian kings of France, 1000 years before our days, for the making of Jovinus<sup>m</sup>, Domnolus<sup>n</sup>, Nonnichius<sup>o</sup>, Innocen-

<sup>i</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. c. 11. [t. i. 310. "Non enim nostra te voluntate expetivimus, sed regis præceptione."]

<sup>k</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. c. 15. [t. i. 312. "Turonici autem audientes regressum fuisse regem de cæde Saxonum, facto consensu in Eufonium presbyterum, ad eum pergunt. Dataque suggestionem, respondit rex, 'Præceperam enim ut Cato presbyter illic ordinaretur, et cur est spreta jussio nostra?' Responderunt ei, 'Petivimus enim eum, sed noluit venire.' Hæc illis dicentibus, advenit subito Cato presbyter, deprecans regem, ut ejecto Cautino, ipsum Arverno juberet institui. Quod rege inidente, petiit iterum ut Turonis ordinaretur, quod ante despexerat. Cui rex ait, 'Ego primum præcepi, ut Turonis te ad episcopatum consecrarent: sed quantum audio, despectui habuisti ecclesiam illam, ideoque elongaberis a dominatione ejus.'"]

<sup>l</sup> Ejusd. lib. iv. cap. 18. [t. i. 314. "Redeunte autem in regnum suum rege Clothario, magnus cum eo est habitus

[Austrapius.] Tempore vero ejus, ad clericatum accedens apud Sellense castrum, quod in Pictava habetur diocesi, episcopus ordinatur: futurum, ut decedente Pientio antistite, qui tunc Pictavam regebat ecclesiam, ipse succederet. Sed rex Charibertus in aliud vertit sententiam. Denique cum Pientius episcopus ab hac luce migrasset, apud Parisius civitatem Pascentius, qui tunc abbas erat basilicæ sancti Hilarii, ei succedit, ex jussu regis Chariberti, clamante Austrapio, sibi hunc redhiberi locum."]

<sup>m</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 7. [t. i. 358. "Jovinus iterum, qui quondam provinciæ rector fuerat, regium de episcopatu præceptum accipit."]

<sup>n</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 9. [t. i. 359. "Ad hæc rex annuens, migrante Innocentio Cenomannorum episcopo, ipsum [Domnolum sc.] ecclesiæ illi antistitem destinavit."]

<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 15. [t. i. 362. "Cui Nonnichius consobrinus, rege ordinante, successit."]

tius<sup>p</sup>, Sulpitius<sup>q</sup>, Promotus<sup>r</sup>, Nicetius<sup>s</sup>, Desiderius<sup>t</sup>, Gundegisilus<sup>u</sup>, Virus<sup>x</sup>, Charimeres<sup>y</sup>, Fronimius<sup>z</sup> and other bishops of France in sundry churches of that realm, he that liketh to see, may read in the story of Gregory, made bishop of Turon before Gregory the First was placed to the see of Rome. By which it is evident, that other princes besides the Roman emperors, have from their first profession of Christianity, not only ruled the elections of bishops as they saw cause, but appointed such as were meet for the places to be consecrated, without depending on the voices of the people, or clergy.

And what should hinder Christian princes to take this right into their own hands from the people; since there is no precept in God's law to bind the church that the people should elect their bishops; and consequently the manner of electing them must be left to the laws of each country, without expecting the people's consent? Bullinger, a man of great reading and judgment, alleging both the examples of the scriptures and the words of Cyprian, which are before re-

<sup>p</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 38. [t. i. 370. "Veruntamen Transobadus presbyter rejicitur, et Innocentius Gabalitanorum comes eligitur ad episcopatum, opitulante Brunichilde regina."]

<sup>q</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 39. [t. i. 371. "Post hæc Sulpitius in ipsa urbe ad sacerdotium, Guntchramno rege favente, præligitur. Nam cum multi munera offerrent, hæc rex episcopatum quærentibus respondisse fertur: Non est principatus nostri consuetudo, sacerdotium venundare sub precio, sed nec vestrum eum præmiis comparare, ne et nos turpis lucri infamia notemur, et vos Mago Simoni comparemini. Sed juxta Dei præsentiam Sulpicius vobis erit episcopus."]

<sup>r</sup> Ejusd. lib. vii. cap. 17. [t. i. 381. "Promotus. . . . . in Dunensi castro, ordinante Sigiberto rege, episcopus fuerat institutus."]

<sup>s</sup> Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 20. [t. i. 401. "Nicetius tamen ex laico qui prius ab Chilperico rege præceptum ellicerat, in ipsa urbe episcopatum adeptus est."]

<sup>t</sup> Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 22. [t. i. 402. "Laban Halosensis episcopus hoc anno obiit. Cui Desiderius ex laico succes-

sit. Cum jurejurando enim rex pollicitus fuerat, se nunquam ex laicis episcopum ordinaturum. Sed, quid pectora humana non cogat 'auri sacra fames?'"]

<sup>u</sup> Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 22. [t. i. 402. "Tunc rex data præceptione, jussit Gundegisilum Sanctonicum comitem cognomento Dodonem, episcopum ordinari."]

<sup>x</sup> Ejusd. lib. viii. cap. 39. [t. i. 409. "Obiit et Evantius Viennensis episcopus, in cujus sedem Virus presbyter de senatoribus, rege eligente, substituitur."]

<sup>y</sup> Ejusd. lib. ix. cap. 23. [t. i. 423. "Charimerem enim referendarium cum consensu civium regalis decrevit auctoritas fieri sacerdotem, Bucciovaldo abbate postposito."]

<sup>z</sup> Ejusd. lib. ix. cap. 24. [t. i. 423. "Obiit autem et Deotherius Vinciensis episcopus, in cujus locum Fronimius subrogatus est. Hic autem Fronimius Bituricæ urbis incolæ fuit. Sed causa nescio qua in Septimaniam abiit: ac post mortem Athanaeldi regis, a Leuvane successore ejus magnifice receptus, atque in urbe Agathensi episcopus ordinatus est."]

peated at large, and also the use of the primitive church in choosing their bishops, concludeth thus: "Notwithstanding I would not collect by these, that the right to choose a bishop should be recalled to the voices of the people. Whether it were meet to have a bishop appointed by the assembly of the whole church, or by the suffrages of a few, there can be no certain rule prescribed to all churches; for diverse countries have different laws and customs. But if any tyrannically abuse (their right), they may be punished by the godly magistrate, or the right of electing taken from them. For it were better that some grave men by the magistrate's or the king's commandment made the election, calling to them and consulting with such as know what belongeth to the function of a bishop, what is fit for the people and church where he shall be placed, and how to judge of every man's learning and manners<sup>a</sup>."

Beza, that holdeth hard for discipline, giveth over popular elections, as no part of God's ordinance; and confesseth that in Geneva itself, though their state be popular, yet they allow the people no such power. "The erecting of the deaconship," saith he, "was essential, and never to be abrogated in the church of God. And the manner of appointing (some) for that function in the church, to wit, by election, was likewise essential; but that the whole multitude was called together and gave their voices, that was neither essential nor perpetual; for after, when experience taught that confusion and ambition rising by occasion of the multitude increased, was to be prevented; the synod of Laodicea being indeed but provincial, yet approved by the sixth œcumenical council, prudently took order by their 13th canon, that the election of

<sup>a</sup> Heinrych. Bullinger. de Episc. institut. et function. ad Heinrych. VIII. Angl. Reg. lib. ii. [Tigur. 1538. p. 100. "Quoniam ex illis omnino colligere nolim, deligendi episcopi jus ad promiscui plebis suffragia esse reducendum. Utrum enim totius ecclesiæ comitiis an paucorum suffragiis episcopum designari melius sit, nulla potest certa omnibus præscribi ecclesiis constitutio. Sunt enim aliis regionibus alia jura, alii ritus et instituta. Si qui abutuntur (jure

illo) per tyrannidem, vel cogantur in ordinem a sancto magistratu, vel transferatur ab eis jus designandi ministros. Satiusest enim eligendi munere seniores aliquot ex regis vel magistratus jussu defungi, advocatis consultisque illis qui norint qualis sit functio episcopi, quæ ejus populi aut ecclesiæ ratio cui aliquis præficiendus est, qui item possint de ingeniis eruditione et moribus cujusvis judicare."]

such as were chosen to the sacred ministry, should not be permitted to the multitude, or to the people; not as if the whole church ought not to be acquainted with sacred elections and to allow them, but for that a mean therein is to be observed; the prerogative being yielded to assembly of pastors; and the second place to the liking of the godly magistrate; and lastly, the people to be certified openly of the whole matter; and leave given them, if they have any reason of dissenting, to propose their causes orderly. Which course being hitherto religiously and wisely observed in this city, when one Morellius, a fanatical spirit, in favour of the people, presumed to reprehend, his writing was worthily condemned both in this church and in many synods of France<sup>b</sup>." The choice of the seven in the Acts maketh no perpetual nor essential rule for elections in the church of God. The council of Laodicea did well and wisely prohibit the people to have the choice of such as should be called to the sacred ministry. The pastors elect, the magistrates consent, and open report thereof is made to the people; and if they have any just cause to allege against the parties chosen, they must propose and prove their exceptions; and when Morellius would have challenged more interest than this for the people in the election of their pastors, his opinion was condemned both by the censure of Geneva, and by the synods of France. All this is confessed by master Beza's own testimony.

We differ, you think, in some points from the manner of Geneva: we have great reason so to do. They live in a popular state; we in a kingdom. The people, there, bear the chiefest rule: here, the prince: and yet, there, the people are excluded from electing their pastors. If the multitude have any cause to dislike, their allegation is heard and examined by the pastors and magistrates, but they have no free power to frustrate the whole by dissenting, much less to elect whom they like. Now that our state hath far better cause to exclude the multitude from electing their bishops, than theirs hath, is soon perceived. The people there maintain their pastors; our bishops are not chargeable to the commons, but

<sup>b</sup> In responsione ad tractationem de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus, cap. 22. fol. 154. et 155.



endowed by the liberality of princes, without any cost to the multitude. Their pastors are chosen out of the same city, and their behaviour known to all the inhabitants; our bishops are taken from other places of government, and not so much as by name known to the people, which they shall guide. With us therefore there is no cause why the people should be parties, or privy to the choosing of their bishops; since they be neither troubled with the maintaining of them, nor have any trial, or can give any testimony of their lives and conversations; which were the greatest reasons that inclined the fathers of the primitive church to yield so much unto the people in the choice of their bishops. And lastly, if princes were not heads of their people, and by God's and man's law trusted with the direction and moderation of all external and public government, as well in religion as in policy, afore and above all others, which are two most sufficient reasons to enforce that they ought to be trusted with elections, if they please to undertake that charge, whereof they must yield an account to God; yet the people of this realm at the making of the law most apparently submitted and transferred all their right and interest to the prince's judgment and wisdom; which lawfully they might, and wisely they did, rather than to endanger the whole commonwealth with such tumults and uproars as the primitive church tasted of, and lay the gap open again to the factions and corruptions of the unsettled and unbridled multitude.

Think you all corruptions are cut off by reserving elections of bishops to princes?] Factions and tumults I hope you will grant are by that means abolished and utterly extinguished. As for bribery, howsoever ambitious heads and covetous hands may link together under colour of commendation to deceive and abuse princes' ears, yet reason and duty bindeth me and all others, to think, and say, that princes' persons are of all others farthest from taking money for any such respects. The words of Guntchrannus, Chlotharius' son, and king of France more than a thousand years ago, make me so to suppose of all Christian and godly princes, who when Remigius bishop of Bourges was dead, and many gifts were offered him by some that sought the place, gave them this answer: "It



is not our princely manner to sell bishoprics for money, neither is it your part to get them with rewards, lest we be infamed for filthy gain, and you compared to Simon Magus<sup>c</sup>." In meaner persons more justly may corruption be feared than in princes; who of all others have least need, and so least cause, to set churches to sale. Their abundance, their magnificence, their conscience, are sureties for the freedom of their choice. And therefore I see no reason to distrust their elections as likelier to be more corrupt than the people's. It is far easier for ambition to prevail with the people than with the prince. And as for the meetness of men in learning and life to supply such places, princes have both larger scope to choose, and better means to know who are fit than their people; for since bishops are not, and for the most part cannot be chosen out of the same church or city, what course can the people take to be assured of their ability or integrity, whom they neither live with, nor whose doctrine or manners they are any whit acquainted with?

This difference betwixt our times and the former ages of the primitive church whiles some mark not, they cry importunately for the people's presence and testimony in the choice of pastors; never remembering, the people before there were any Christian magistrates, must needs have greater interest in the election of their pastors than afterward they could have: and when godly princes began to intermeddle with ecclesiastical matters, the people's testimony was still required, because the parties chosen conversed always with them even in their eyes and ears, whereby they could witness the behaviour of the electees to be sincere and blameless; which in our days is clean otherwise, by reason the universities and other places of the realm train up men meet for episcopal charge and calling, and not the same churches and cities where they shall govern. "The people's presence," saith Jerome, "is required in ordaining a priest (or bishop), that all may know and be sure, that out of the whole people, the

<sup>c</sup> Gregor. Episc. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. vi. cap. 39. [t. i. 371. "Non est principatus nostri consuetudo, sacerdotium venundare sub precio, sed nec

vestrum eum præmiis comparare, ne et nos turpis lucri infamia notemur, et vos Mago Simoni comparemini."]

better, the holier, the learneded, the higher in all virtue, even he is chosen to the priesthood, the people witnessing as much ; for that is it which the apostle commandeth in the ordaining of a priest, saying, He must have a good testimony of those that are without<sup>d</sup>."

If this were the reason, why the people were called to the election of their bishops ; then the cause ceasing, why should not the effect likewise cease ? If they can give no testimony, (as in our case they cannot,) what needeth their presence ? If the authority of the people were requisite to place their pastor, as when there was no believing prince haply it was ; in that respect also the magistrate is more sufficient than the multitude to assure the election, and assist the elect. If consent be expected, lest any man should be intruded upon the people against their wills, the people's consent is by the public agreement of this realm yielded and referred to the prince's liking. If judgment to discern between fit men and unfit be necessary, I hope the gravity and prudence of the magistrate may worthily be preferred before the rashness and rudeness of the many, that are often led rather with affection than with discretion, and are carried with many light respects and lewd means, as with faction and flattery, favour and fancy, corruption and bribery, and such like baits, from which governors are, if not altogether free, yet far freer than the intemperate and unruly multitude. And so take what respect you will, either of DISCERNING, ASSISTING OR MAINTAINING of fit pastors, and you shall find the choice of bishops lieth more safely in the prince's than in the people's hands.

The clergy used to discern and elect, the people did like and allow their pastors ; and to say the truth, men of the same profession, if they be not blinded with affections, can best judge of each man's fitness.] Indeed the canon law ruleth the case thus : " Clergymen must elect, the prince may con-

<sup>d</sup> Gratian. Imper. Decret. Aurei. pars ii. caus. viii. quæst. i. [fol. cxv. "Requiritur in ordinando sacerdote etiam populi præsentia, ut sciant omnes et certi sint, quod qui præstantior est ex omni populo, qui doctior, qui sanctior, qui omni virtute eminentior,

ille eligitur ad sacerdotium, et hoc attestante populo ne qua postmodum retractatio cuiquam ; ne quis scrupulus resideret : hoc est autem quod apostolus præcipit in ordinatione sacerdotis dicens, 'Oportet autem illum testimonium habere bonum ab his qui foris sunt.'"]

sent, the people must request<sup>e</sup>." And the late bishops of Rome never left cursing and fighting, till they excluded both prince and people; and reduced the election wholly to the clergy, whom they might command at their pleasures; but by your leave, it was not so from the beginning. The form of election prescribed by the Roman laws 1000 years since, willed "the clergy and (the governors or) chief men of the city to come together, and taking their oaths upon the holy gospel, to decree" (that is, to elect or name) "three persons; of which the ordainer was to choose the best at his discretion<sup>f</sup>."

The fullest words that the ancient Greek writers use for all the parts of election, as *προβάλεσθαι, προχειρίζεσθαι, αἰρεῖσθαι, ψηφίζεσθαι, ἐπιλέγεσθαι*, "to propose, to name, to choose, to decree," are in the stories ecclesiastical applied to the people. When Eudoxius of Constantinople was dead, and the Arians "had chosen Demophilus in his place;" the Christians there, as Socrates writeth, "chose one Evagrius<sup>g</sup>." Sozomen saith, "they decreed Evagrius" to be their bishop<sup>h</sup>. Nazianzen, speaking of the election of Eusebius, saith: "The people were divided into many sides; some naming one, and some another<sup>i</sup>;" (which word also Socrates useth of the people in the choice of Ambrose<sup>k</sup>;) and repineth that in his time the "first naming" of the bishop was permitted "to the heady and undiscreeit multitude<sup>l</sup>." At the choice of Paulus to the bishopric of Constantinople, Socrates saith: "The people were divided into two parts," and the Omousians "elect Paulus to the bishopric<sup>m</sup>." The council of Nice was content

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. Distinct. lxii. [fol. lxxii. "Electio clericorum est, consensus principis, petitio plebis."]

<sup>f</sup> Justinian. Novell. Constit. cxxiii. [Vide p. 445. note c.]

<sup>g</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 14. [p. 226. Καιροῦ δὲ νομίσαντες δεδράχθαι οἱ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου, τῆς ἐαυτῶν πίστεως Εὐάργριον τινα προεβάλλοντο.]

<sup>h</sup> Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 13. [p. 655. Ψηφίζονται Εὐάργριον τινα ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτῶν.]

<sup>i</sup> Greg. Nazianz. in laudem patris sui mortui Orat. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 308. Ὡς δ' εἰς πλείους τοῦ δήμου διαιρέβεντος, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλον προβαλλομένων,

ὑπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν.]

<sup>k</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 30.

[p. 247. Πολλή τε ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλονεικία, ἄλλων ἄλλον προβάλλεσθαι σπευδόντων.]

<sup>l</sup> Greg. Nazianz. in laudem patris sui mortui Orat. [p. 310. Καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κακὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς εὐωνοτάτοις.]

<sup>m</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 6.

[p. 84. Διὸ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου τὴν πίστιν φυλάττοντες, Παῦλον εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προχειρίζονται.]

that such as were ordained by Miletius should be reordered, and placed in the rooms of other bishops that died, "if they were found worthy, and the people elected them<sup>n</sup>." Upon the death of Auxentius, at Milan, "the multitude," saith Sozomen, "fell to sedition, not agreeing on the election of any one<sup>o</sup>." When Nectarius was dead, and Chrysostom chosen to succeed him, Sozomen saith: "The people and clergy decreeing it, the emperor consented<sup>p</sup>." Socrates saith he was chosen "by the common decree of the clergy and people<sup>q</sup>." Upon the depriving of Nestorius, "many named Philip, but more chose Proclus; and Proclus' election had prevailed<sup>r</sup>," had not some of the mightiest pretended a canon against him, that being named bishop of one city, he could not be translated to another: "which being heard and believed, forced the people to hold their peace<sup>s</sup>." So that in the primitive church the people did propose, name, elect and decree, as well as the clergy; and though the presbyters had more skill to judge, yet the people had as much right to choose their pastor; and if the most part of them did agree, they did carry it from the clergy; so the persons chosen were such as the canons did allow, and the ordainers could not justly mislike.

If it seem hard to any man that the people in this point should be preferred as far forth as the clergy, let him remember the apostles in the Acts, when they willed the church at Jerusalem to choose the seven, that undertook the care of the

<sup>n</sup> Ejusd. lib. i. cap. 9. [p. 28. Τοὺς δὲ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ εὐχαῖς ὑμετέροις ἐν μηδενὶ σχίσματι εὐρεθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀκηλιδώτους ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντας, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν προχειρίζεσθαι, καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγεσθαι τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ὅλως πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ θεσμὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν· εἰ δέ τις ἀντιβαίνει ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἀξιοὶ φαίνονται, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο.]

<sup>o</sup> Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 24. [p. 669. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἐστάσιζε τὸ πλῆθος, οὗ τὸν αὐτὸν αἰρούμενοι τὴν Μεδιολάνων ἐκκλησίαν ἐπισκοπεῖν.]

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. lib. viii. cap. 2. [p. 758.

Ψηφισαμένων δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς συνήκει.]

<sup>q</sup> Socrat. lib. vi. cap. 2. [p. 300. Ὀλίγου οὖν διαδράσαντος χρόνου, ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε φημι καὶ λαοῦ, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Ἀρκάδιος μεταπέμπεται.]

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 35. [p. 377. Πάλιν περὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἐπισκόπων ζητήσις ἦν· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν Φίλιππον, οὗ καὶ ἡδὴ ἐπεμνήσθημεν, πλείους δὲ τὸν Πρόκλον ἐπελέγοντο· καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἂν ἡ Πρόκλου γνώμη, εἰ μὴ τινες τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων ἐκώλυσαν, φήσαντες κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κωλύειν, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα τινὸς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον εἰς ἑτέραν μεταφέρεισθαι πόλιν.]

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. [Τοῦτο λεχθὲν καὶ πιστευθὲν, τὸν λαὸν ἡσυχάζειν ἠνάγκαζεν.]

widows, did not make any special remembrance or distinction of the seventy disciples from the rest, who were then present, and part of that company; but committed as well the discerning as electing of fit men in common to the whole number of brethren; reserving approbation and imposition of hands to themselves. For "calling the multitude of disciples together, they said, Consider of seven men of yourselves that are well reported of, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. And they chose Stephen (and the other six) whom they set before the apostles<sup>t</sup>." Since then the apostles left elections indifferently to the people and clergy of Jerusalem; if you make that choice a precedent for elections, what warrant had the bishop of Rome to exclude them? if their unruliness deserved afterward to have their liberty diminished, or their sway restrained; that belonged not to the pope's, but to the prince's power; and therefore he was but an usurper in taking it both from prince and people without their consents; and Christian princes use but their right, when they resume elections out of the pope's hands, and by conference with such as shall impose hands on them within their own realms, name whom they think fit to succeed in the episcopal seat. So did the ancient emperors and princes that were in the primitive church, as I have shewed.

They never took the whole into their hands, but only gave their consents before the election could take place.] It was a most tedious and troublesome work for one man to name and elect all the bishops in the Roman empire; and therefore the emperors left the magistrates of each city to perform that care together with the clergy, thereby easing themselves of infinite labour and danger; yet where occasion so required, they shewed what right they had to elect and name such as should

<sup>t</sup> Act. Apost. cap. vi. 2. 3. 5. 6. Προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, εἶπον, Οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, διακονεῖν τραπέζαις. Ἐπισκέψασθε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν μαρτυρουμένους ἑπτά, πλήρεις Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ σοφίας, οὓς καταστήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης. . . . Καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον

παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον ἄνδρα πλήρη πίστεως καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ Πρόχωρον, καὶ Νικάνορα, καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμενᾶν, καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχείας, οὓς ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων· καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας.]



govern the churches. When Nazianzen had resigned and relinquished the bishopric of Constantinople to the fathers assembled in the second general council, Theodosius the elder "commanded the bishops to give him the names of such written in a paper, as every of them thought fit to be ordained, reserving power to himself to choose one out of that whole number. The bishop of Antioch" (being the chiefest man then present) "put their names in writing," whom he and the rest thought fittest; "and in the last place set Nectarius to gratify Diodorus" bishop of Tarsus, that had commended him for his gravity and person, though otherwise unknown. "The emperor reading the catalogue of those that were written, stood at the name of Nectarius, and holding his finger there, read them all over again, and at length chose Nectarius. Every man marvelled, and asked who this Nectarius was, and of what profession, and of what place. And understanding that he was not yet baptized, they marvelled the more at the emperor's judgment. Diodorus himself understood not so much; for had he known it, he durst not to have given his voice to one unbaptized to be made a bishop. The emperor hearing that he was not yet baptized, stood in his resolution, notwithstanding many bishops laboured against it. And so was Nectarius baptized, and whiles he was in his christening vesture, declared to be bishop of Constantinople by the common decree of the council x." The

u Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 8. [p. 713. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἐγγραψαὶ χάριτ' τὰς προσηγορίας ὧν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξιῶν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυλάξαντος ἐκ πάντων τοῦ ἐνὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλους ἐνέγραψαν· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας ἡγούμενος, ἐγγράφει μὲν οὖς ἐβούλετο· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων προστίθησι Νεκτάριον διὰ τὴν πρὸς Διόδωρον χάριν.] [Supra in eodem capite. Ἐτυχε δὲ τότε διανοούμενος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Διόδωρος, τίνα χρὴ προβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὴν σπουδαζομένην χειροτονίαν· καὶ ἰδὼν εἰς Νεκτάριον, ἀξιὸν εἶναι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνόμισε· καὶ κατὰ νοῦν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προσετέθη, πολὺν τ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ εἶδος ἱεροπρεπῆς, καὶ τὸ προσηγνῆς τῶν τρόπων. Ed.]

x Ibidem. [Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς

τῶν ἐγγραφέντων τὸν κατάλογον, ἔστη ἐπὶ Νεκταρίῳ· καὶ σύννοους γενόμενος, σχυλῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβουλευέτο, τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιθεὶς τῇ τελευταίᾳ γραφῇ· καὶ ἀναδραμὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν, αὐτὸς πάντας ἐπανήλθε, καὶ Νεκτάριον αἰρεῖται. Θαῦμα δὲ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις εἴη Νεκτάριος οὗτος καὶ ποδαπὸς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, καὶ πόθεν· μαθόντες δὲ μὴ καὶ μυστηρίων μετεσχηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθαύμαζον τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κρίσεως· ἡγνόει δὲ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, καὶ Διόδωρος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐθάρρησεν εἰδὼς, ἔτι ἀμνήτω δοῦναι ψῆφον ἱερωσύνης· [ἀλλ' οἷα εἰκὸς, νομίσας πολὺν ὄντα, μὴ καὶ πάλα μεμνησθαι· οὐκ ἂθεελ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινει.] ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀμύητον αὐτὸν εἶναι μαθὼν, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμεινε γνώμης, πολλῶν ἱερέων ἀντιτεινόντων· [ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες εἶξαν, καὶ

people intermeddled not with this choice, the bishops named every man his friend whom he sought to prefer<sup>y</sup>. Nectarius came by chance to know whether Diodorus would any thing unto Tarsus, whither he was then travelling, who fell on the sudden in liking with him, being an ancient and grave man, but had no further knowledge of him, and shewed him to the bishop of Antioch, praying him to remember the man, when he wrote the names for the emperor. The bishop of Antioch derided<sup>z</sup> the conceit of Diodorus, by reason "many worthy men were nominated for this election," and for fashion's sake to please Diodorus, placed Nectarius last. The prince not knowing the one nor the other, fastened on his name, and would not be removed, though by the canons he could not have been elected, and many bishops bent themselves to alter the emperor's mind. This election was made wholly by the prince, not only without the clergy and people, but against both the canons and the liking of the bishops then assembled; and yet the general council took it to be their duties to pronounce him and ordain him bishop of Constantinople according to the emperor's choice.

The bishops, you see, delivered the names, which princes now do not observe.] The bishops, you see, knew not the man; for had they known him, they could not by the canons have named him. And had the emperor of himself known any other to be fit besides those named in his paper, he might as well have chosen one of them, as he did Nectarius. Howbeit I do not gainsay, but princes should be well advised whom they choose; and assured either by their private experience, or by the public commendations of others, that the men are likely to live unspotted, and do good in the church of Christ.

τῇ ψήφῳ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συνέβησαν,] ἐμνήθη καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐτί ἡμφιεσμένος, κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου ἀναγορεύεται Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος.]

<sup>y</sup> Ejustd. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 8. [p. 713. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Νεκταρίος τις Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας, τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τάγματος τῆς συγκλήτου, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διέτριβεν· ἥδη δὲ παρειασμένος εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀπέναι, παραγίνεται πρὸς Διοδώρον τὸν Ταρσοῦ ἐπίσκοπον, εἶγε βούλοιτο γράφειν ἐπιστολὰς· κομι-

σόμενος· ἔτυχε δὲ τότε διανοούμενος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Διοδωρος, τίνα χρὴ προβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὴν σπουδαζομένην χειροτονίαν· καὶ ἰδὼν εἰς Νεκτάριον, ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνόμισε. . . . . Καὶ ὥς ἐπ', ἄλλο τι ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντιόχειας ἐπίσκοπον, ἐπήνει, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει.]

<sup>z</sup> Ibidem. [Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ μεμεριννημένῳ πράγματι, πολλῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἀνδρῶν ὑποψήφων ὄντων, ἐγέλασε τὴν Διοδώρου ψήφον.]

For since the Holy Ghost hath pronounced that such as impose hands on any presbyters or bishops are partakers of their sins, if they do not thoroughly examine and refuse such as they find unfit, I must confess, that if princes will not endure to have the persons whom they choose, to be tried by such as shall ordain them, they undertake that burden themselves, which otherwise lieth on the ordainers. No power on earth may frustrate or abolish the precept which the Holy Ghost giveth, "Lay hands hastily on no man;" if hands be hastily laid on, that is, if men apparently unworthy be called to the government of the church of God, be it people, prelate, or prince, that is wittingly the cause thereof, God will not so be answered. The suffering of wicked men to infect or trouble the church is evil, the commanding of such to be placed in the church is worse. I do not speak as if Christian princes might not safely elect and name bishops without danger or scruple; only they must remember, as it is an honour in preeminence to choose those that shall guide the church under them, so is it a burden of conscience to provide by the best means they can, that no venomous nor unclean thing so much as enter the house of God, to defile it with his presence, or disorder it with his negligence.

The ancientest laws of our country witness that elections were free from force, fear, or entreaty<sup>a</sup> of all secular powers; and the kings of this realm consented it should be so.] As ancient laws of this realm as those witness that the kings of England had the gift and collation of bishoprics and other dignities of their advowry, before free election was granted. And when princes first yielded that the clergy should make free elections, they restrained them to these conditions, that they should ask license of the king to choose, and when their election was made, it was not good without the royal assent. The statute of provisors of benefices made at Westminster the

<sup>a</sup> Artic. Cler. cap. xiv. [edit. anno ix. Edvard. II. in "Magna Charta et cet. antiq. Statuta." Lond. 1556. fol. 94. "Responsio. De idoneitate personæ presentare ad beneficium ecclesiasticum pertinet examinatione ad judicem ecclesiasticum: ita hactenus usitatum, et

fiat in futurum. Item si vacet aliqua dignitas ubi electio est facienda, peti-tum quod electores libere possunt eligere absque incussione timoris et quacun-que potestate seculari, et quod ces-sent preces et oppressione in hac parte."] ]

25th of Edward the Third will tell you so much; the words be: "Our sovereign lord the king and his heirs" (in case the bishop of Rome do intermeddle against the law) "shall have and enjoy for the time the collations to the archbishoprics and other dignities elective, which be of his advowry, such as his progenitors had before that free election was granted, sithence that the first elections were granted by the king's progenitors upon a certain form and condition; as to demand license of the king to choose, and after the election, to have his royal assent, and not in other manner; which conditions not kept, the thing ought by reason to resort to his first nature<sup>b</sup>." By which it is evident, the kings of England had right to confer bishoprics and other dignities, before free elections were granted, and when they granted free elections should be made, they did never dispossess themselves of these two prerogatives: first, that the king's license must be asked to choose; and next, the king's consent to make the election good; yea, Henry the First, the Conqueror's son, sent the pope word in great earnest, that "he would not lose the investiture of his churches, not for the loss of his kingdom<sup>c</sup>:" and so neither clergy nor people had ever any right in this realm to choose their bishops since the kings of this land began to endow them with lands and livings for the ease of their people, and benefit of their church, but by the king's grant, and with the king's leave and consent. For God's law prescribing no form of elections, it is most clear by the laws of this realm, that princes, being the first founders of churches and endowers of bishoprics, "have had, and ought to have, the custody<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Statutum de provisoribus beneficio-  
rum apud Westminster. anno 25. Ed-  
wardi III. [Statutes of the Realm, 1810.  
vol. i. pp. 317, 318. "Notre seigneur le  
roi et ses heirs eient et enjoient par  
cele foitz les collacions, es erceveschees,  
eveschees, et autres dignites electives,  
qe sont de savowerie, autieles come ses  
progenitours avoient avant qe franche  
election feust graunte desi come les elec-  
tions feurent primes grantez par les pro-  
genitours le roi sur certaines forme et  
condicioe come a demander du roi conge  
de eslir et puis la election davet son assent  
roial et ne mye en autre manere les  
queles condicions nyent gardez la chose

doit par reson resortir a se primere na-  
ture."]

<sup>c</sup> Matth. Par. Hist. in Henrico Pri-  
mo, an. 1103. [Ed. Willielm. Wats,  
S. T. D. Lond. 1640. p. 59. "Dehinc  
die pro regis constituto negotiis, Wil-  
lielmus de Warenast clericus et procu-  
rator regis Anglorum causam ipsius in  
medium tulit, ac inter alia constanter  
allegavit, quod nec ipse pro regni amis-  
sione investituras ecclesiarum amittere  
velit."]

<sup>d</sup> Magna Charta, cap. v. [Lond. 1556.  
fol. 3. "Et si dederimus vel vendideri-  
mus alicui custodiam alicujus talis terræ,  
et ille inde destructionem fecerit vel

of the same in the vacancy, and the presentments<sup>e</sup> and collations of those prelaties, as lords and advowees" of all the lands and possessions that belong either to cathedral churches or bishops.

If you speak of former ages, when as yet bishops lived on the oblations of the faithful, I have then likewise shewed by the example of Theodosius and others, twelve hundred years ago, that princes, though not as patrons, yet as higher powers, made elections of bishops as they saw cause; and though they did not reserve all elections to their personal and royal assent, yet in their steads the magistrates<sup>f</sup> and chief men of each city were to consent, before the election could be good; yea, they were to make the election jointly with the clergy<sup>g</sup>, as we find confirmed by the Roman laws.

Not only princes, but patrons are suffered in every church to present whom they think meet to take cure of souls; and so the people are every way defeated of their choice.] Call not that the defeating the people of their right, which was begun with so great reason for the good of the people, and hath now continued more than a thousand years, warranted by the laws, and practised with the liking of all nations. The law of this land knoweth not the beginning of patronages. Advocations<sup>h</sup> and presentations<sup>i</sup> are remembered in Magna

vastum, amittat illam custodiam, et tradatur duobus legitimis hominibus de feodo illo, ut predictum est, qui similiter nobis respondeant, sicut predictum est."]

<sup>e</sup> In Parlamento Edwardi I. apud Carlisle, 25. regni sui. Citatur 25. Edwardi III. in Statut. de Provisoribus apud Westm. [Statutes of the Realm, 1810. vol. i. p. 316. "Et en cas que dascune erceveschee eveschee dignite ou autre quecumqe benefice soit reservacion collacion ou provision faite par le court de Rome en destourbance des elections collacions ou presentacions susnomes meisme les temps des voidances qetieles reservacions collacions et provisions deussent prendre effect que a meisme la voidance meismes les rois countes barons et nobles come seignours et avowes eussent et aver deussent la garde de tieles voidances et les presenteimentz et collacions des benefices esteanz des tieles prelaties."]

<sup>f</sup> Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv.

cap. 20. [Halæ 1771. t. iii. p. 1000. Αὐτῇ μετὰ πολλὰς συμπλοκάς σπειραμένη, εἴτα τῆς θεογνωσίας εἰσδεξαμένη τὸ φῶς, ᾗτησεν ἀρχιερέα προβληθῆναι τῷ ἔθνει Μωσῆν τινὰ, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Παλαιστίνης ἐσκηνωμένον. Ταύτην δεξιόμενος ὁ Βάλης τὴν αἵτησιν, εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπαχθῆναι τὸν θεῖον ἄνδρα προσέταξε, κατέειδεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ὑποδέξασθαι χάριν.]

<sup>g</sup> Justiniani Novell. Constit. cxxiii. [Gotting. 1797. p. 489. Θεσπίζομεν τοῖνυν, ὅσακις ἂν χρεία γένηται ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθῆναι, τοὺς κληρικοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως ἧς μέλλει ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τρισὶ προσώποις ψηφίσματα ποιεῖν.]

<sup>h</sup> Magna Charta, cap. xxxiii. [p. 7. "Omnes patroni abbatiarum, qui habent cartas regum Angliæ de advocacione, vel antiquam tenuram vel possessionem, habeant earum custodiam cum vacarint, sicut habere debent et consueverunt, sicut superius declaratum est."]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. cap. xiv. [p. 4. "Assisæ de



Charta, as things long before current by the laws of the realm. The plea of *Quare impedit*<sup>k</sup>, when the bishop refuseth the patron's clerk, as well for the summonitions as for the return, is mentioned in the statute of Marlebridge, anno 52. Henrici III. The laws of foreign countries are far elder than ours that are extant. Amongst the laws of Charles the Great, made for France and Germany, and collected by Ansegisus in the year 827, this is one: "It is decreed that presbyters shall not be appointed in any churches, nor removed from thence, without the authority and consent of the bishops. And if laymen offer clerks of tolerable life and learning unto bishops to be placed in their own churches (that is, where laymen are patrons) the bishops upon no manner of occasion shall reject them<sup>l</sup>." Neither might the patron place a clerk without the bishop, neither could the bishop refuse the patron's clerk, if he were such as the canons did tolerate.

In Spain, about the seventh year of king Reccesiunthus, and the 654th year of Christ, the council of Toledo made this canon: "We decree, that as long as the founders of churches remain in this life, they shall be suffered to have the chief and continual care of the said places; and themselves shall offer meet rectors unto the bishop, to be ordained in those very churches. And if the bishop, neglecting the founders, shall presume to place any others, let him know that his admission shall be void; and to his shame, others shall be placed in their steads, even such as the founders shall choose, being not unworthy<sup>m</sup>." Long before this, the Roman laws determined

ultima præsentatione semper capiuntur coram iudiciario de banco, et ibi terminentur."]

<sup>k</sup> Statutum de Marlebridge. [in "Magna Charta," cap. xii. fol. 21. "In assisis autem ultimæ presentationes, et in placito quare impedit de ecclesiis vacantibus, decem dies de quindena in xv. vel de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas prout locus fuerit propinquus vel remotus."]

<sup>l</sup> Ansegisi Abbatis Karoli Magni Leg. Eccles. [Paris. 1603. lib. i. capitul. 90. "De presbyteris constituendis." "Statutum est ut sine autoritate et consensu episcoporum, presbyteri in quibusbilibet ecclesiis nec constituantur nec expellantur. Et si laici clericos proba-

bilis vitæ et doctrinæ episcopis consecrandos, suisque in ecclesiis constituendos obtulerint, nulla qualibet occasione eos rejiciant."]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Tolet. IX. cap. ii. [t. vi. col. 453. "Quia ergo fieri plerumque cognoscitur, ut ecclesiæ parochiales, vel sacra monasteria ita quorundam episcoporum, vel insolentia, vel incuria, horrendam decendant in ruinam, ut gravior ex hoc oriatur ædificantibus mœror, quam in construendo gaudii extiterat labor, ideo pia compassione decernimus, ut quamdiu earumdem fundatores ecclesiarum in hac vita superstites extiterint, pro eisdem locis curam permittantur habere sollicitam, et solitudinem ferre præcipuam, atque rectores idoneos in

the like throughout the Roman empire. "If any man build a church or house of prayer, and would have clerks to be placed there, he or his heirs; if he allow maintenance for those clerks, and name such as are worthy, let them be ordained upon his nomination. But if such as they choose be prohibited by the canons as unworthy, then let the bishop take care to promote some, whom he thinketh more worthy<sup>n</sup>."

This law giveth two reasons for patronages, which I take indeed were the very grounds of that interest they have at this day; to wit, building the church, and maintaining the ministers. Before the law for tithes was made in cities, the clergy lived of the voluntary oblations and donations of the faithful; in country villages the lord of the soil was left to his discretion to yield what allowance he thought good out of his land for the maintenance of the minister; the rest of the inhabitants being but his husbandmen and servants, had neither wealth to build churches, nor right to give any part of the fruits and profits of their lord's land. So that either churches must not at all have been built in country towns, or the lords of each place were to be provoked to the founding of churches, and allowing convenient proportions with the honour and pre-eminence to dispose their own to their liking.

Neither do I see any thing in God's law against it; for when you affirm the people should elect their pastor, I trust you do not include in that word children, servants, beggars, or bondmen; but such as are of discretion to choose, and ability to maintain their pastor. Put then the case, which was in the primitive church when the villagers and husbandmen of each place had no state nor interest in the lands which

*iisdem basilicis iidem ipsi offerant, episcopus ordinandos. Quod si tales forsitan non inveniantur ab eis, tunc quos episcopus loci probaverit Deo placitos, sacris cultibus instituat, cum eorum conviventia servituros. Quod si, spretis eisdem fundatoribus, rectores ibidem præsumpserit episcopus ordinare, et ordinationem suam irritam noverit esse, et ad verecundiam sui alios in eorum loco, quos iidem ipsi fundatores condignos elegerint, ordinari."*]

<sup>n</sup> Justin. Novell. Constit. cxxiii.

cap. 18. [Gotting. 1797. p. 500. *Εἴ τις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουληθείη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ τοῦτου κληρονόμοι· εἰ τὰς δαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι, καὶ ἄξιους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονείσθαι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεγέντας, ὡς ἀναξίους κωλύσουσιν οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες χειροτονηθῆναι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ τῶν τόπων θεϊότατος ἐπίσκοπος οὗς ἂν νομίσοι καλλίοντας, προβάλλεσθαι φροντιζέτω.]*

they tilled, but served the lord of the soil, and had allowance for their pains out of the fruits of the earth at his pleasure; what assurance or maintenance could those men yield unto their pastors? Call to mind but the conquest of this land, when there was neither freeholder, nor copyholder, but all bond besides the lord; who could then elect a clerk, but only the lord of the place, since no man was free but he alone? Wherefore patronages and presentations are far ancients in this and all other Christian realms, than either the liberty or hability of husbandmen and copyholders; and when the lords of villages having erected churches, and allotted out portions for divine service, made afterward some free, and some bond tenants; did either God's or man's law command or intend, that their latter grants should overthrow their former rights? That which hath so many hundred years been settled and received by the laws of all nations, as the remembrance and inheritance of the first founders or donors of every church, shall a few curious heads make the world now believe it is repugnant to the law of God? By your eager impugning of patronages, without understanding either the intent or effect of them, wise men may soon see what soundness of judgment the rest of your discipline is likely to carry.

To close up this question—if the allowance given at first to the ministers of each parish by the lord of the soil, were matter enough in the judgment of Christ's church, to establish the right of patrons that they alone should present clerks, because they alone provided for them; the prince's interest to confer bishoprics hath far more sound and sufficient reason to warrant it: for besides the maintenance which the kings of this land yielded, when they first endowed bishoprics with lands and possessions, to unburden their people of the support and charges of their bishops; and in that respect have as much right as any patrons can have: the preeminence of the sword whereby the prince ruleth the people, the people rule not the prince, is no small enforcement, that in elections, as well as in other points of government, the prince may justly challenge the sovereignty above and without the people, God's law prescribing no certain rule for the choice of bishops; the people may not challenge the like without or against the

prince. And lastly, though the people in former ages, by the sufferance of magistrates, had somewhat to do with the elections of their bishops; yet now for the avoiding of such tumults and uproars as the primitive church was afflicted with, by the laws of this realm and their own consents, the people's interest and liking is wholly submitted and enclosed in the prince's choice, so that whom the prince nameth, the people have bound themselves to acknowledge and accept for their pastor, no less than if he had been chosen by their own suffrages. And had they not hereunto agreed, as by parliament they have, I see no let by God's law, but in Christian kingdoms when any difference groweth even about the elections of bishops, the prince, as head and ruler of the people, hath better right to name and elect, than all the rest of their people. If they concur in judgment, there can be no variance; if they dissent, the prince (if there were no express law for that purpose, as with us there is) must bear it from the people; the people by God's law must not look to prevail against their prince.

If we might safely do it, we could object against the prince's giving of bishoprics, that Athanasius saith: "Where is there any such canon, that a bishop should be sent out of the palace?" And the second council of Nice allegeth an ancient canon against it: "All elections of bishops, presbyters, or deacons, made by the magistrate, are void by the canon which saith: 'If any bishop obtain a church by the help of the secular magistrate, let him be deposed and put from the Lord's table, and all that communicate with him.'"<sup>o</sup> The council of Paris likewise in earnest manner: "Let none be ordained bishop against the wills of the citizens, but only whom the election of the people and clergy shall seek with full affection. Let him not be intruded by the prince's com-

<sup>o</sup> Athanasii Hist. Arian. ad Monachos. [Paris. Benedict. 1698. tom. i. part. i. p. 375. Πῶς δὲ καὶ προφασιζόμενος φροντίζειν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος, πάντα παρὰ τοῦτον ἐπενόησε πράττειν; ποῖος γὰρ κανὼν ἀπὸ Παλατίου πέμπεσθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον; ἢ ποῖος κανὼν στρατιώτας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐκκλησίαις;]

p Concil. Nicæn. II. can. iii. [t. vii.

col. 597. Πᾶσαν ψήφον γινομένην παρὰ ἀρχόντων, ἐπισκόπου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου, ἄκυρον μένειν κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν λέγοντα, Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἔρχουσι χρησάμενος, δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐκκλησίας γένηται, καθαιρέσθω καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.]

mandment, nor by any other means against the consent of the metropolitan and the bishops of the same province. And if any man by overmuch rashness presume to invade the height of this honour by the prince's ordination, let him in nowise be received by the bishops of the same province<sup>1</sup>."] Rules of discipline be not like rules of doctrine. In Christian faith whatsoever is once true, is always and every where true; but in matters of ecclesiastical government, that at some times and in some places might be received and allowed, which after and elsewhere was happily disliked and prohibited. If any father or council affirm, that by God's law the people have right to elect their bishop, the prince hath not; the assertion is so false, that no man need regard it. No proof can be made, that the people have by the word of God an essential interest in the choice of their pastors. If we speak of man's law, what some councils decreed, other councils upon just cause might change; and what some princes permitted, their successors with as great reason might recall or restrain, as the variety of times and places required. Of councils St. Austin saith: "Who can be ignorant that general councils are often amended, the former by the latter, when by the experiment of things, that is opened which before was hid, and seen which before was not perceived, and that without any smoke of sacrilegious pride, obstinate arrogance, or envious contention<sup>r</sup>." Of princes' edicts I take the case to be so clear, that no man doubteth whether human laws may be altered or no. All princes have the sword with like commis-

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Paris. III. can. viii. [t. v. col. 817. "Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum electio plenissima quæsierit voluntate, non principis imperio, neque per quamlibet conditionem, contra metropolis voluntatem, vel episcoporum comprovincialium, ingeratur. Quod si per ordinationem regiam, honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimia temeritate præsumperit, a comprovincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebite ordinatum agnoscunt. Si quis de comprovincialibus recipere contra interdicta præsumperit, sit a fratribus omnibus segregatus, et ab ipsorum omnium caritate semotus."]

<sup>r</sup> Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. ii. cap. 3. [t. vii. col. 392. "Quis autem nesciat, . . . . Et ipsa concilia quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati, quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere, ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum, aliquo experimento rerum, aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sacrilegæ superbix, sine ulla inflata cervice arrogantix, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidiæ, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholica, cum charitate Christiana."]



sion from God, and bear their sceptres with one and the same freedom that their progenitors did. As they may with their own liking abridge themselves of their liberty, so may they with the advice and consent of their state resume the grants of former princes, and enlarge the privileges of their royal dignity as far as God's law permitteth.

For answer then to your authorities, I say: first, Athanasius and the other two councils might speak of those times, when as yet Christian princes had not revoked elections of bishops to their own power, but by their public laws commanded their clergy and people to make choice of their pastors. And in that case, he that contrary to the positive laws of any kingdom or commonwealth made secret means, or procured to be placed by the private letters of princes against the open laws of the realm where he lived, was an ambitious and violent intruder, and not worthy to bear the name of a pastor and bishop in Christ's church. Next, Athanasius and the rest may speak not of election, but of examination and ordination, which by God's law is committed to bishops, and not to princes; and then their meaning is, It is not sufficient for a bishop to have the prince's consent and decree; he must be also examined and ordained by such as the Holy Ghost hath appointed to impose hands on him, which no man may omit though he be never so much allowed and elected by the princes; and so both their words and proofs seem to import.

Athanasius misliketh that Constantius sent such as should be bishops<sup>s</sup> out of his palace, and forcibly invaded the churches by his soldiers and captains, none of the comprovincial bishops approving or admitting them. The second council of Nice doth not impugn that princes should elect, but that the decreet of the magistrate is not enough to make a

<sup>s</sup> Athanasii Hist. Arianorum ad Monachos. [Vide p. 473. not. o.]

<sup>t</sup> Nicæni Synodi II. can. iii. [t. vii. col. 905. "Omnen electionem quæ fit a magistratibus, episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel diaconi, irritam manere, ex canone dicente, 'Si quis episcopus sæcularibus magistratibus usus, per eos ecclesiam obtinuerit, deponatur et segregetur, et omnes qui cum eo communicant. Opor-

tet enim eum qui promovendus est ad episcopatum ab episcopis eligi, quemadmodum a sanctis patribus Nicææ decretum est in canone, qui dicit: Episcopum oportet maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt in provincia constitui: si autem hoc difficile fuerit, vel propter urgentem necessitatem, vel propter viæ longitudinem, tres omnino eodem convenientes, iis quoque qui absunt simul suffragium

bishop. And why? he must be approved and ordained by the bishops of the same province, and by the metropolitan, as the Nicene canons witness. Now the fourth canon of the Nicene council which they mention, speaketh not a word who shall elect and name bishops, but who shall examine and ordain them, as is evident to be seen. And so the council of Paris: "Let him not be imposed by the prince's precept against the metropolitan's good will<sup>u</sup>." And therefore if any rashly presumed to invade that honour, per ordinationem regiam, "as ordained by the king," and not by the metropolitan and his comprovincials, no man might accept him or acknowledge him for a bishop. Neither hath the ancient canon any other sense, which saith: "If any bishop resting on worldly governors, by their help get any church, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all that join with him<sup>x</sup>." They do not exclude princes from naming and electing of bishops, no more than they do the people; only they reject violence, forso-much as a bishop by the rules of the Holy Ghost must be thoroughly examined, and peaceably ordained by such as shall impose hands on him, and not peremptorily intruded or imposed by any earthly force or power.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The meeting of bishops in synods; and who did call and moderate those assemblies in the primitive church.*

THE necessity and authority of synods is not so much in question betwixt us, as the persons that should assemble and moderate those meetings. The disciplinarians themselves, if I be not deceived, are far from making their pastors or presbyteries in every parish supreme judges of doctrine and manners without all exception or revocation; and we be fur-

ferentibus et assentientibus per literas, tunc facere electionem: eorum autem quæ a se fiunt, confirmationem dari in unaquaque provincia metropolitano."]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Paris. III. can. viii. [t. v. col. 817. "Non principis imperio, neque per quamlibet conditionem, contra metropolis voluntatem, vel episcoporum

comprovincialium, ingeratur." Vide p. 474. not. 9.]

<sup>x</sup> Canon. Apost. xxix. [t. i. col. 32. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἀρχουσι χρησάμενος, δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται ἐκκλησίας, καθαιρέσθω, καὶ ἀφορίζεσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.]

ther : for what if the pastors or presbyters of any place maintain heresy or offer injury, which are cases not rarely incident, but every where occurrent even in those that bear the names of Christians ! shall impiety and injustice so reign and prevail in the church, that none may withstand it, or redress it ? That were to make the house of God worse than a den of thieves ; for thieves fear the detecting, and fly the punishing of their offences ; which many presbyters would not, if there were no way to restrain and overrule their pestilent and wicked purposes. Wherefore, as in civil affairs there are laws and powers to uphold justice and prohibit violence, without the which human societies could not consist ; so in the church of Christ, when it is without the help and assistance of a Christian magistrate, there must be some external and judicial means to discern error and redress wrong, in case any particular person or church be infected or oppressed ; otherwise, there is no possibility for truth and equity to harbour long amongst the sons of men.

The remedy which the primitive church had and used against heresy and injury, she derived as well from the promise made by Christ's own words, as from the example of the apostles in the like case. Christ willing such of his disciples as were grieved by their brethren, after the first and second admonition, " to tell it to the church ;" addeth, for the direction and confirmation of all religious assemblies and conferences : " Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them ;" and, " Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and whatsoever you shall loose in earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matt. xviii.  
18. 20. Whether the name of *the church* in this place be taken for the assembly of elders and rulers under Moses' law, or of pastors and teachers under the gospel, to me it is indifferent ; this is evidently the order which our Saviour willeth to be observed ; from private admonition to go to witnesses, and from witnesses to assemblies. So the word *ἐκκλησία* doth most plainly signify ; and so the promise annexed doth clearly import : " Where two or three are assembled together in my name, I am in the midst of them."

Neither could any other course be established in the

church: for since an end of controversies must be had amongst men, lest perpetual contention bring final confusion, and pluck up the very roots of all charity and equity from amongst men, when neither private persuasion nor friendly mediation can appease the parties contending; what other order could be prescribed, but a judicial hearing and determining of things in question? Now judges must needs be either single or assembled; and single judges of force must either be sovereign and supreme judges, or else under superiors appointed by the same warrant. The bishop of Rome claimeth a single and sole commission to hear and conclude all causes concerning either faith or right; and were his proof as good as his challenge is proud, it were worth the discussing: but the more he claimeth the more he sinneth, by reason he taketh unto himself without commission, an infallible and inevitable judgment over all men and matters upon the face of the earth, that any way touch the truth or the church. Princes are single and sovereign judges of earthly things, and when they believe, the defence and maintenance of the church and faith is by God himself committed to their power and care; but Christ did not settle the sword to be the general and perpetual rule to govern his church: for then without a prince there could be no church; and consequently, neither in the apostles' times, nor three hundred years after, had Christ any church here on earth, since none of the Roman princes, that were lords of the world, publicly maintained the Christian faith before Constantine.

Since we find no single nor supreme judges, on whom the church of Christ must always depend for the debating and ending of ecclesiastical strifes and contentions; of necessity there must either be none, which were the utter subversion of all peace and order amongst the faithful, where there wanteth a Christian magistrate, or else the pastors and stewards of Christ's church, to whom the care and charge thereof is committed, must assemble together, and with mutual conference and consent, perform those duties to the church in general, which otherwise they do to each particular place and person: for though pastors be affixed to their places and charges, yet that doth not hinder the common care they should have of all

the members of Christ's body; and therefore when need so requireth, they must as well employ their travail abroad, as bestow pains at home, to direct or pacify the household of faith. This brotherly kind of succouring and assisting each other in troubles and dangers, is sometimes performed by letters, but never so thoroughly and effectually as by meeting and assembling together, when with deliberate and full advice, they may hear and determine what they think meetest for the safety and quietness of the church of God.

Their warrant so to do is builded on the main grounds of all divine and human societies, strengthened by the promise of our Saviour, and assured unto them by the example of the apostles and perpetual practice of the church of Christ. By God's law, what obedience and reverence the father may expect from his children, the same or greater must all believers yield to the fathers of their faith. They are comprised in the same name, and in the same commandment with the fathers of our flesh, and consequently must have the same honour. And if the fulness of each man's reward must be according to the excellency of his labour, they that beget us, nourish us, and continue us in Christ, deserve far greater honour than they that bring us into this world, and provide only for the things of this life. Again, the church is the body of Christ, and in that respect, as in our bodies, so in his, not only the members have a common care for the whole, but the principal parts must direct and guide the rest; namely, the eyes to see, the ears to hear, and the mouth to speak for the whole body.

Such therefore as Christ hath placed to be the watchmen Heb. xiii. and leaders, the light and salt of his church, must not only Matth. v. warn and guide, but also lighten and season in their measure 13. 14. the whole body: for what commission they have from Christ, severed and single in their proper charges, the same they must needs retain assembled and joined throughout their circuits. Yea, the Lord so much tendereth the fatherly care and brotherly concord of the pastors of his church, that he hath promised to be "present in the midst" of their assemblies, and with his Spirit to direct them, so they come together, not to accomplish their own lusts and desires, but to sanctify his name by detecting error, resisting wolves, main-



taining truth, curing the sores and maladies that pester and poison the members of his body.

Celestinus, writing to the general council of Ephesus, saith: "The assembly of priests testifieth the presence of the Holy Ghost. It is true that is written, since the truth cannot lie, and in the gospel are these words: 'Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' This being so, if so small a number be not destitute of the Holy Spirit, shall we not much more believe that he is now in the midst (of you), where so great a multitude of holy men are assembled?" The council of Chalcedon applieth the same words to the same purpose. "We saw," say they, "as we thought the heavenly Spouse conversant amongst us. For if where two or three are assembled in his name, he hath promised he will be in the midst of them; what peculiar regard (think we) hath he shewed toward those priests which have preferred the knowledge of his confession before country and children?" So Reccaredus king of Spain, that first abjured the Arian heresy, 589 years after Christ, wrote to the council of Toledo: "I perceived it to be very necessary that your blessedness should assemble together in one place, giving trust to the Lord's words when he saith: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' For I believe the Godhead of the holy and blessed Trinity to be present in the sacred synod, and therefore I have presented my faith in the midst of you, as in the presence of God<sup>a</sup>."

y Concil. Ephesin. Celestini episcopi ad synodum Epist. [t. iii. col. 613. Τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐμφανίζει τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν ἱερέων ἢ σύνοδος. ἀληθὲς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὐ δύναται ἡ ἀλήθεια ψεύσασθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ τοιαύτη ἐγκείται φωνή· ὅπου δύο, ἢ τρεῖς εἰς συνηγμένοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἑμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Τοῦτου οὕτως ἔχοντος, εἰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὕτω βραχέος ἀριθμοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπολείπεται, πόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸ νῦν μεσιτεύειν πιστεύομεν, ὅπου εἰς ἐν συνήχῃ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἁγίων;]

z Relat. Synod. Calched. ad Leonem, Actione xvi. [Partis tertiæ cap. ii. t. iv. col. 834. Ἦμεν ἐν κοινῇ χορείᾳ,

τοῖς πνευματικοῖς, ὡς ἐν βασιλικοῖς δέιπνοις, ἐντροφῶντες ἐδέσμασιν, ἅπερ διὰ τῶν σὼν γραμμάτων ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς εὐωχομένοις ὑπὲρέτισε· καὶ τὸν ἐπουράνιον νυμφῖον ἐν ἡμῖν ὄραν ἐδοκοῦμεν ἐνδιατώμενον. εἰ γὰρ ὅπου εἰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ ἔφη εἶναι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν· πόσῳ περὶ πεντακοσίους εἴκοσιν ἱερέας τὴν οἰκείωσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο, οἱ καὶ πατρίδος καὶ πόνου τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίας τὴν γνώσιν προέθηκαν;]

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Toletan. III. [sub Pelagio II. t. v. ed. Labbei, col. 1000. "Unde valde pernecessarium esse prospexi, vestram in unum convenire beatitudinem,

This course the apostles taught the church of Christ to follow by their example, when about the question that troubled the church of Antioch, “the apostles and elders came together to examine the matter,” and to verify their Master’s words to be true: not only the apostles, but the whole assembly wrote thus in their letters: “It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us:” for if it be sure which the apostle said, “the Holy Ghost made you overseers to feed the church;” and if our Saviour could not be deceived when he said. “he that heareth you heareth me, &c.,” this must be verified as well of pastors assembled, as singled; yea, pastors gathered together in Christ’s name, are rather assured of his direction and assistance than when they be severed, “unless there be any that thinketh God inspireth one particular person with righteousness, and forsaketh a number of priests assembled in synod<sup>b</sup>,” which the council of Africa reputeth to be very absurd and repugnant to Christ’s promise, so long as they meet together in his name, and not to deface his truth, nor oppress their brethren.

This hath in all ages, as well before as since the great council of Nice, been approved and practised as the lawfullest and surest means to discern truth from falsehood, to decide doubts, end strifes, and redress wrongs in causes ecclesiastical; yea, when there were no believing magistrates to assist the church, this was the only way to cleanse the house of God, as much as might be, from the loathsome vessels of dishonour; and after Christian princes began to profess and protect the truth, they never had, nor can have any better or safer direction amongst men, than by the synods of wise and godly pastors. A synod at Antioch about threescore years before the council of Nice, condemned and deposed Paulus Samosatenus for heresy; and when he would not yield the church, but

habens sententiæ Dominicæ fidem, qua dicit, ‘Ubi fuerunt duo, vel tres collecti in nomine meo, ibi ero in medio eorum.’ Credo enim beatam sanctæ Trinitatis divinitatem huic sancto interesse concilio; et ideo tanquam ante conspectum Dei, ita in medio vestri fidem meam protuli.”

<sup>b</sup> Eccl. African. can. cxxxviii. Epist. ad Celestinum. [t. ii. col. 1150. Εἰ μὴ ἄρα τίς ἐστιν, ὅστις πιστεύσει, ἐν ᾧ ὅτινι δὴποτε δύνασθαι τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐμπνεῦσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τοῖς δὲ ἀναριθμητοῖς εἰς σύνοδον συνηθροισμένοις ἱερεῦσιν ἀρνεῖσθαι.]

kept it by violence, upon complaint made to Aurelianus the emperor, though he were an ethnic, Samosatenus “was with extreme shame driven from the church by the worldly prince<sup>c</sup>.” Threescore and ten years before that, many synods were assembled in divers places for the keeping of Easter, as in Palestine<sup>d</sup>, under Theophilus and Narcissus; in Rome<sup>d</sup>, under Victor; in Pontus<sup>d</sup>, under Palinas; in France<sup>d</sup>, under Irenæus; in Asia<sup>e</sup>, under Polycrates. The like we find in the days of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, of Cornelius<sup>f</sup> bishop of Rome, of Cyprian<sup>g</sup> bishop of Carthage; and the like no doubt was observed in all ages of the church even from the beginning, as necessity forced, and the safety of the time permitted.

The great Nicene council perceived, and by their decree witnessed, how needful the use of synods was, and would be in the church of Christ. “It seemeth (unto us) very requisite,” say they, “that in every province twice every year there should be a synod, that all the bishops of the province meeting together, may in common examine such questions<sup>h</sup>” as

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 30. [p. 231. Οὕτω δὴτα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχύνῃς, ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.]

<sup>d</sup> Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 23. [p. 154. Ζητήσεως δὴτα κατὰ τοῦσδε οὐ μικρὰς ἀνακινήσεις, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας, σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην φῶτον δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίους προηγόρευτο. ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὅποια δ' ἂν ἡμέρα τῆς ἐβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι· οὐκ ἔξους ὄντος τοῦτον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἅνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσαις· ὡς μὴδ' ἐτέρᾳ προσήκειν παρὰ τῇ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέρᾳ τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι· σύνοδοι δὲ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τ' αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο. . . . . Φέρεται δ' εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τηρικᾶδε συγκεκριμένων γραφῇ, ὧν προὔτετακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς δὲ ὁμοίως ἄλλη περὶ

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλοῦσα. Τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων ὧν Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιοτάτος προὔτετακτο. Καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικίων, ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπισκοπεῖ. Et in cap. 24. p. 155. Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔθος χρῆναι δι᾽ ἰσχυρίζομένων, ἡγεῖτο Πολυκράτης. ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ᾗ πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διευτώσατο γραφῇ, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων· ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀραιοῦργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστιθέντες, μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι.]

<sup>e</sup> Ejusd. lib. v. cap. 5. et 7. passim.

<sup>f</sup> Ejusd. lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 197. Ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον, δηλοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συνόδου, καὶ τὰ δόξαντα πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας.]

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Carthag. III. sub Cyprian. [t. i. col. 797. in Joannis Zonaræ Præfatione Græce conscripta. Αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος, πασῶν τῶν συνόδων προγενεστέρα ἐστὶ, etc.]

<sup>h</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. v. [t. ii. col. 32. Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνη, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου

are occurrent in every place. The council of Antioch continued the same course; "For ecclesiastical businesses, and the determining of matters in controversy, we think it very fit that in every province, synods of bishops should be assembled twice every year<sup>i</sup>." So did the general council of Constantinople. "It is evident that the synod in every province must govern the causes of every province, according as it was decreed in the council of Nice<sup>k</sup>." The great council of Chalcedon reproved the slackness of bishops in omitting the prescribed number of synods. "It is come to our ears, that in (some) provinces the synods of bishops are not kept, which are appointed by the canons; and thereby many ecclesiastical matters, which need reformation, are neglected. This sacred council therefore determineth, according to the canons of our godly fathers, that the bishops of every province shall twice every year assemble together at the place where the bishop of the mother city (that is, the metropolitan) shall appoint, to amend all matters emergent (within their province)<sup>l</sup>." The tedious length of the journey, and poverty of the churches in some places, forced the bishops to assemble but once in the year: so the council of Toledo determined for Spain. "This holy and general council decreeth, that the authority of the former canons standing good, which command synods to be kept twice in the year, in respect of the length of the way, and poverty of the churches of Spain, the bishops shall assemble once in the year at the place which the metropolitan shall appoint<sup>m</sup>." The second council of Turon took the same

ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοι.]

<sup>i</sup> Concil. Antioch. can. xx. [t. ii. col. 569. Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε συνόδους καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι δευτέρου τοῦ ἔτους.]

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Constant. I. can. ii. [Constantinopolitanum generale Concil. secundum, t. ii. col. 947. Ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίας, ἥ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίας ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς. φυλαττομένου δὲ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων

κανόνος εὐδην ὡς τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἢ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, σύνοδος διοικήσει, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὠρισμένα.]

<sup>l</sup> Concil. Chalced. can. xix. [t. iv. col. 763. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀκοὰς, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις αἱ κεκανονισμέναι σύνοδοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐ γίνονται, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλὰ παραμελεῖται τῶν διορθώσεως δεομένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων. ὤρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κανόνας δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συντρέχειν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, ἐνθα ἂν ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος δοκιμάσῃ, καὶ διορθοῦν ἕκαστα τὰ ἀνακύπτοντα.]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Tolet. III. cap. xviii. [t. v. col. 1013. "Præcipit hæc sancta et

order for France, in cases of necessity. "It hath pleased this holy council, that the metropolitan and the bishops of his province shall meet twice every year in synod at the place which the metropolitan by his discretion shall choose; or if there be an inevitable necessity, then without all excuse of persons, and occasion of pretences, once in the year shall every man make his repair. And if any bishop fail so to come to the synod, let him stand excommunicate by his brethren of the same province until a greater synod, and in the mean time let no bishop of another province presume to communicate with him<sup>n</sup>."

There is no Christian realm nor age wherein the use of synods hath not been thought needful, as well under believing magistrates for consultation and direction, as under infidels for the stopping of irreligious opinions, withstanding wicked enterprises, and procuring the peace and holiness of the church, as appeareth by the councils that have been kept in all kingdoms and countries since the apostles' times, when any matter of moment came in question, which are extant to this day; and likewise by the synods that every nation and province did yearly celebrate according to the rules of the great Nicene and Chalcedon councils, which cannot be numbered, and were not recorded. Neither is the continuance of provincial synods prescribed only by councils; the imperial laws command the like. "That all the ecclesiastical state and sacred rules may with more diligence be observed, we require," saith the emperor, "every archbishop, patriarch,

veneranda synodus, ut, stante priorum auctoritate canonum, quæ bis in anno præcipit congregari concilia, consulta itineris longitudine, et paupertate ecclesiarum Hispaniæ, semel in anno in locum quem metropolitanus elegerit, episcopi congregentur."

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Turon. II. can. i. [t. v. col. 852. "Placuit itaque sancto concilio, interposita virtute domini Martini, in sancta basilica sua conscribi, ut bis ad synodum annis singulis metropolitanus et comprovinciales sui, in locum quem deliberatio metropolitani elegerit, Deo propitiante, conveniant; aut si necessitas, sicut hactenus, inevitabilis præpenderit, vel semel in anno, sine cujuslibet

excusatione personæ, id est regię vel privatę, sine cujuscumque utilitatis obstaculo, præter infirmitatis certissimę labore præventum, nullius occasione velaminis, habeat unusquisque concursus: sed sicut dictum est, neque per impedimentum ordinationis regię, neque sub occasione utilitatis, aut causę proprię, debeat a concilio separari. . . . . Si quis episcoporum, ut superius dictum est, ad synodum venire distulerit, usque ad majorem synodum a metropolitano et comprovincialibus maneat excommunicatus: nec ei ex alia provincia ullus episcopus interea communicare præsumat."]



and metropolitan, to call unto him once or twice every year the bishops that are under him in the same province, and thoroughly to examine all the causes which bishops, clerks, or monks have amongst themselves, and to determine them, so as whatsoever is trespassed by any person against the canons, may be reformed<sup>o</sup>." The laws of Charles, alleging the councils of Antioch and Chalcedon, "that the bishops of every province, with their metropolitan, should assemble in council twice in the year for the causes of the church", "command that course to be continued, and "twice every year synods to be assembled<sup>q</sup>." And unless you give the pastor and presbyters of every parish full and free power to profess what religion they best like, to offer what wrongs they will, to use what impiety and tyranny they themselves list, without any restraint or redress, which were an heathenish, if not an hellish confusion; you must, where there is no Christian magistrate, (as oftentimes in the church of Christ there hath been, and may be none.) yield that liberty to the church of Christ, which every human society hath by the principles of nature; to wit, that the whole may guide each part, and the greater number overrule the lesser, which without assembling in synod cannot be done.

We never meant to deny the authority or use of lawful synods; we confess they are a sure remedy against all confusion: but this we dislike, that you give the power to call synods from the magistrate to the metropolitan, thereby maintaining a needless difference amongst bishops, and suffer none but such as you term bishops to have voices in councils, whereas every pastor and preacher hath as good right to sit

<sup>o</sup> Justin. Novell. Constit. cxliii. cap. 10. [Gotting. 1797. p. 496. "ἵνα δὲ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κατάστασις καὶ οἱ θεοὶ κανόνες ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττοιτο, κελεύομεν ἕνα ἕκαστον μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην καὶ μητροπολίτην, τοὺς ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τελούοντας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἅπαξ ἡ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συγκαλεῖν, καὶ πάσας τὰς αἰτίας ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν, ὥς τινες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοὶ ἢ μοναχοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσι, καὶ ταύτας διατιθέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας, καὶ,

πρὸς τοῦτοις, εἴ τι παρὰ τοὺς κανόνας ἐξ οἰουδήποτε προσώπου ἡμάρτηται, διορθοῦσθαι.]

<sup>p</sup> Ansegisi Abbatis Karoli Magni Leg. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 13. [Paris. 1603. p. 8. "Item in eodem concilio, necnon et in Calcedonensi, ut provinciales episcopi cum suo metropolitano bis in anno propter causas ecclesiæ concilia celebrant."]

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. cap. 133. [p. 25. "De synodis qualiter fiant." "Ut per singulos annos synodus bis fiat."]

there, and by consent and subscription to determine, as they have<sup>r</sup>.] What right we yield to Christian magistrates to call synods within their territories shall soon appear; in the mean time you must tell us, who called synods in the primitive church before princes favoured Christian religion: was it done by magistrates, who then were infidels? or by metropolitans? And when princes protected the truth, did they moderate provincial councils by their substitutes? or was that charge committed to the bishop of the chief and mother church and city in every province? You challenge to be men of learning and reading; speak of your credits, who called in ancient times provincial synods, or at any time who moderated them besides metropolitans? If your presbyteries by God's essential and perpetual ordinance must have a president to rule their actions for avoiding of confusion; how can synods be called and governed without one to prescribe the time and place, when and where the pastors shall meet; and when they are met, to guide and moderate their assemblies? perceive you not that men living in divers cities and countries, and assembling but seldom, have more need of some chief to call them together, than those that live in one place and every day meet? And if confusion and disorder in presbyteries be pernicious to the church, is it not far more dangerous in synods? Wherefore you must either clean reject synods, and so make the presbyters of each parish supreme and sovereign judges of all ecclesiastical matters; or if you receive synods, you must withal admit some both to convocate and moderate their meetings.

The magistrate may call them together; and themselves, when they are assembled, may choose a director and guider of their actions.] But when the magistrate doth not regard but rather afflict the church, as in times of infidelity and heresy, who shall then assemble the pastors of any province to deliberate and determine matters of doubt or danger? Shall error and injury overwhelm the church of God without any public remonstrance or refusance? In questions of faith, cases of doubt, matters of faction, offers of wrong, breach of

all order and equity, shall each place and presbytery be free to teach and do what they please, without depending on, or so much as conferring with the rest of their brethren? Call you that the discipline of Christ's church, and not rather the dissolution of all peace, and subversion of all truth in the house of God? I think you be not so far besides yourselves, that you strive for this pestilent kind of anarchy to be brought into the world: our age is giddy enough without this phrensy to put them forward. Howbeit we seek not what new course you can devise after 1500 years to govern the church; but what means the ancient and primitive church of Christ had, before princes embraced the truth, to assemble synods, and pacify controversies, as well touching religion as ecclesiastical regiment; and if in the church stories you find any other besides metropolitans that called and governed provincial councils, name the men, and note the places, and we yield you the prize.

Metropolitans were first established, if not devised, by the council of Nice; before that we read nothing of any metropolitan.] If that were their first original, they need not be ashamed of it: all Christendom these 1200 years hath revered and followed the decrees and judgment of the Nicene fathers; the founders of your new discipline compared with them in antiquity and authority, come a great way behind them: but if you look better about you, you shall find that metropolitans are far elder than the Nicene council. They are not devised, but acknowledged in the council of Nice by these words: "Let the ancient usage continue still in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria have power (and authority) over all these places. Likewise at Antioch and in other provinces let the churches keep their prerogatives<sup>s</sup>." What those prerogatives were, which anciently belonged to the metropolitan churches and their bishops, though the council doth not express them all, yet these two

<sup>s</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. vi. [t. ii. 32. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.]

are there mentioned. In the 4th canon: "The chief authority (or ratification) of things done, must belong in every province to the metropolitan." And in this very canon the next words are: "In all places (or provinces) this is evident, that if any man be made a bishop without the knowledge (or consent) of the metropolitan, this great council determineth he must be no bishop." So that neither could synods be called, nor bishops ordained, without the metropolitan, by the canons of the Nicene council; and their power and prerogative within their own province began not first in that council, but is there witnessed to be "an ancient use," and as they speak in the 7th canon, "an ancient tradition".

The council of Antioch that assembled fifteen years after the council of Nice, concluded as much as I do out of the Nicene canons: "A bishop must not be ordained without a synod, and the presence of the metropolitan:" the bishops of each province to make a synod, "the metropolitan by his letters must call together".—It is very requisite that in every province councils be kept twice in the year; to the which presbyters, deacons, and all others that think they have wrong, may repair to receive justice from the synod. It is not lawful for any to assemble (synods) of themselves, without those to whom the mother cities are committed.—For that is a perfect council where the metropolitan is present". What power the metropolitan had above the rest, they likewise express.

t Concil. Nicæn. can. iv. [t. ii. col. 29. Τὸ κύριος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.]

u Ejusd. Concil. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 32. Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γίνονται ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.]

v [Ejusd. Concil. can. vii. t. ii. col. 32. Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.]

x Concil. Antioch. can. xix. [t. ii. col. 569. Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα σύνοδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας· τοῦτου δὲ παρόντος ἐξάπαντος βέλτιον μὲν συνεῖναι

αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ συλλειτουργοὺς, καὶ προσήκει δι' ἐπιστολῆς τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συγκαλεῖν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαντοῖεν οἱ πάντες βέλτιον.]

y Ibid. can. xx [Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων διαλύσεις, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδοξε συνόδους καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους· . . . . . ὥστε ἐν αὐταῖς ταύταις ταῖς συνόδοις προσεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἡδικῆσθαι νομίζοντας, καὶ παρὰ τῆς συνόδου ἐπικρίσεως τυγχάνειν. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ τινας καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἄνευ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς μητροπόλεις.]

z Ibid. can. xvi. [t. ii. col. 569. Τελείαν δὲ ἐκείνην εἶναι σύνοδον, ἣ συμπαύσει καὶ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως.]

“The bishops of every province must agnize the metropolitan to have the oversight and care of the whole province. Wherefore we think it meet, that in honour he be afore them, and the rest of the bishops do nothing without him, according to the canon of our fathers that hath anciently prevailed, but only such things as pertain to their own (charge and) diocese<sup>a</sup>.” Further, they shall “enterprise nothing without the metropolitan, nor the metropolitan without the consent of the rest.” The general council of Ephesus affirmeth, that metropolitans had their preeminence from the beginning of the church. “It seemeth good to this sacred and æcumenical council to reserve unto every province untouched and undiminished (the rights) which they have had from the beginning, according to the use anciently confirmed, every metropolitan having liberty to take a copy of our acts for his own security<sup>b</sup>.” These three councils confess, that metropolitans were no late nor new device, first authorized by the council of Nice; but their right and preeminence was an “ancient usage and canon” of the church even “from the beginning<sup>c</sup>.”

Now, that all Christendom ever after the Nicene council embraced this kind of government by metropolitans, is a case so clear, that no shift can refuse it. The second council of Arle, in France, that immediately followed the council of Nice, saith: “Let no bishop presume to ordain a bishop

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. can. ix. [col. 565. Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγέσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἢ ταῦτα μόνον, ὅσα τῇ ἐκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροιμία, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις. . . . Περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν διχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γυνῆς.]

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Ephes. [Decret. sanctæ synodi post suggest. Episc. Cypr. [t. iii. col. 802. Ἐδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ οἰ-

κουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβάστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατήσαν ἔθος ὅδειαν ἔχοντος ἐκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν.]

<sup>c</sup> Thus L.: “Constat igitur manifestissimis conciliorum provincialium ac generalium testimoniis et exemplis, synodos atque metropolitanos convocandis moderandisque provinciæ cujusque episcopis multo ante Nicenam synodum constitutos fuisse et ab ultima apostolorum ætate secundum antiquissimas ecclesiæ leges jus suum retinuisse de synodis ante Nicenum concilium convocatis, et provinciis jam illis temporis distributis hoc ipso capite paulo superius clarissima protuli documenta.”



without the permission of the metropolitan, nor the metropolitan himself without three bishops of the same province<sup>d</sup>.—For this is first evident, that he which is made a bishop without the consent of his metropolitan, he ought to be no bishop, according to the great council (of Nice)<sup>e</sup>.” And so for synods: “The synod shall be assembled at the discretion of the bishop of Arle, and if any being summoned cannot come by reason of sickness, he shall send another to supply his place<sup>f</sup>.—But if any shall neglect to be present, or depart before the council be dissolved, let him know he is excluded from the communion of his brethren, and may not be received, unless he be absolved in the next synod<sup>g</sup>.” The council of Laodicea, in Phrygia; “Let bishops be appointed to the regiment of the church by the judgment of the metropolitan and the bishops adjoining<sup>h</sup>;—and being called to the synod, they must not neglect it, but go thither and teach or learn (what is requisite) for the direction of the church and the rest (of their brethren)<sup>i</sup>.” The second council of Carthage, in Africa: “We all think good, that (the primate of every province being not first consulted) no man presume though with many bishops, in what place soever, without his precept to ordain a bishop; but if necessity force, three bishops wheresoever with the primate’s precept, may ordain a bishop<sup>k</sup>.” The fifth council of Carthage: “We think good

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Arelat. can. v. [t. iv. col. 1011. “Episcopum sine metropolitano, vel epistola metropolitani, vel tribus comprovincialibus, non liceat ordinare: ita ut alii comprovinciales epistolis admoneantur, ut se suo responso consensisse significant.”]

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. can. vi. [col. 1012. “Illud autem ante omnia clareat, eum qui sine conscientia metropolitani constitutus fuerit episcopus, juxta magnam synodum esse episcopum non debere.”]

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. can. xviii. [col. 1013. “Ad Arelatensis episcopi arbitrium synodus congreganda: ad quam urbem ex omnibus mundi partibus, præcipue Gallicanis, sub sancti Marini tempore legitimus celebratum fuisse concilium, atque conventum. Si quis commonitus, infirmitatis causa defuerit, personam vice sua dirigat.”]

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. can. xix. [“Si quis autem

adesse neglexerit aut cœtum fratrum, antequam concilium dissolvatur, crediderit deserendum, alienatum se a fratrū communione cognoscat: nec eum recipi liceat, nisi in sequenti synodo fuerit absolutus.”]

<sup>h</sup> Concil. Laod. can. xii. [t. i. col. 1497. Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν περίξ ἐπισκόπων, καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅντας ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοκιμασμένους, ἐν τε τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τῇ τοῦ εὐθέος λόγου πολιτείᾳ.]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. can. xl. [col. 1504. Οὐ δεῖ ἐπισκόπους καλουμένους εἰς σύνοδον καταφρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀπέναι καὶ διδάσκειν ἢ διδάσκεσθαι, εἰς κατ’ ὁρθωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.]

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Carthag. II. can. xii. [t. ii. col. 1162. “Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Placet omnibus, ut inconsulto primatu cujuslibet provinciæ, tam

that the primates of every province be written unto, that when they assemble councils in their own provinces, they hinder not the day (limited for the general meeting)<sup>l</sup>." The Milevitan council: "Aurelius (bishop of Carthage) said, This is a common cause, that every one of us should acknowledge his order allowed him by God, and the lower (bishops) yield to those that are above them, and not presume to do any thing without them. Wherefore they which attempt to do aught without regard of their superiors, must be accordingly repressed by the whole synod. All the bishops answered: This order hath been kept by our fathers and forefathers, and by God's grace shall be kept of us<sup>m</sup>." The council of Rhegium, in Italy: "The ordination which the canons define to be void, we also determine to be frustrate, wherein since there were neither three present, nor the letters of the comprovincial bishops, nor the metropolitan's good-will obtained, there was utterly nothing that should make a bishop<sup>n</sup>." And again: "Let no (bishop) repair to the church, which hath not her chief priest, except he be invited by the letters of the metropolitan, lest he be circumvented by the people<sup>o</sup>." The council of Tarracon, in Spain: "If any bishop warned by the metropolitan, neglect to come to the synod, except he be hindered by some corporal necessity, let

facile nemo præsumat, licet cum multis episcopis, in quocumque loco sine ejus (ut dictum est) præcepto episcopum ordinare. Si autem necessitas fuerit, tres episcopi, in quocumque loco sint, cum primatis præcepto, ordinare debeant episcopum."<sup>l</sup>

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. V. can. vii. [t. ii. col. 1216. "Et scribendum ad singularum quarumcumque provinciarum primates, ut quando apud se concilium congregant, istum diem non impendant."]

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Milevit. II. can. xiii. [t. ii. col. 1541. "Aurelius episcopus dixit: Non decuerat quidem, ut hæc repetere-mus, nisi forte existerent inconsideratæ mentes quorundam, quæ ad hæc statuenda nostros acuerent sensus. Sed et communis hæc causa est, quam insinuat frater et coepiscopus noster, ut unusquisque nostrum, ordinem sibi decretum a Deo cognoscat; et posteriores anteriores deferant, nec eis inconsultis

aliquid agere præsumant. Qua de re oportet eos, qui putaverint, spretis majoribus aliquid præsumendum, competenter esse ab omni concilio coercendos. Universi episcopi dixerunt: Hic ordo et a patribus et a majoribus est servatus, et a nobis, Deo propitio, servabitur."

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Rhegiens. can. ii. [t. iii. col. 1286. "Itaque ordinationem, quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque evacuandam esse censuimus, in qua prætermittitur trium præsentia, nec expetitis comprovincialium literis, metropolitani quoque voluntate neglecta, prorsus nihil, quod episcopum faceret, ostensum est."]

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. can. vii. [col. 1288. "Nec quisquam ad ecclesiam, quæ summum amiserat sacerdotem, nisi metropolitani literis invitatus, accedat, ne a plebe decipiat, et vim pati voluisse videatur."]

him be deprived of the communion of all the bishops until the next council, as the canons of our fathers have decreed<sup>p</sup>." The Epaunine council: "By an immutable constitution we first decree, that when the metropolitan shall think good to call his brethren the bishops of the same province either to a synod, or to the ordination of any of his fellow bishops, none shall excuse without an evident cause<sup>q</sup>." The like, as well for ordaining of bishops, as calling of synods by the metropolitan, may be seen in the councils of Agatha, can. 35<sup>r</sup>; of Taurine, can. 1<sup>s</sup>; of Aurelia the second, can. 1. 2<sup>t</sup>; the fifth, can. 18<sup>u</sup>; of Turon the second, can. 1. 9<sup>x</sup>; of Paris, can. 8<sup>y</sup>;

<sup>p</sup> Concil. Tarracon. can. vi. [t. iv. col. 1564. "Si quis episcopus communitus a metropolitano ad synodum, nulla gravi intercedente necessitate corporali, venire contempserit, sicut statuta patrum censuerunt, usque ad futurum concilium cunctorum episcoporum caritatis communione privetur."]

<sup>q</sup> Concil. Epaonens. can. i. [t. iv. col. 1576. "Prima et immutabili constitutione decretum est, ut cum metropolitani fratres vel comprovinciales suos ad concilium, aut ad ordinationem cujuscumque consacerdotis crediderit evocandos, nisi causa tædii evidentis extiterit, nullus excuset."]

<sup>r</sup> [Concil. Agathen. can. xxxv. t. iv. col. 1389. "Si metropolitani episcopus ad comprovinciales, epistolas direxerit, in quibus eos aut ad ordinationem summi pontificis, aut ad synodum invitet, postpositis omnibus, excepta gravi infirmitate corporis, aut præceptione regia, ad constitutam diem adesse non differant. Quod si defuerint, sicut prisca canonum præcipit auctoritas." (Concil. Arelat. II. can. xix.) "Usque ad proximam synodum caritate fratrum et ecclesiæ communionem priventur."]

<sup>s</sup> [Concil. Taurin. t. ii. col. 1156. "Illud quoque a partibus sit observandum quod licet ex superfluo, non tamen inutiliter commonetur, ut ipse sanctus Proculus, tanquam pater, consacerdotes suos honoret ut filios; et memoratæ provinciæ sacerdotes, tanquam boni filii, eundem" (sc. metropolitani) "habeant ut parentem, et invicem sibi exhibeant caritatis affectum, impleto hoc quod ait beatus apostolus, 'Honore mutuo prævenientes, non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes.' Rom. xii. 10. 16."]

<sup>t</sup> [Concil. Aurelian. II. can. i. et ii. t. iv. col. 1780. "Id ergo est constitutum, ut nullus episcoporum, admonente metropolitano episcopo, nisi certa tædii causa detentus, ad concilium vel ordinationem consacerdotis venire, penitus ulla excusatione detrectet."]

<sup>u</sup> "Ut metropolitani singulis annis comprovinciales suos ad concilium evocent."]

<sup>v</sup> [Concil. Aurelian. V. can. xviii. t. v. col. 395. "Id etiam huic decreto credidimus inserendum, ut si quis de comprovincialibus episcopis a metropolitano suo ad concilium intra suam provinciam fuerit evocatus, et præter evidentem infirmitatem ad concilium venire distulerit, atque de synodali conventu, antequam cuncta conveniant, sine commeatu concilii ipsius discedere fortasse præsumpserit, sicut est præcedentibus regulis statutum, sex mensibus a missarum officio suspendatur."]

<sup>x</sup> [Concil. Turon. II. canones i. et ix. t. v. col. 853. et col. 854. "Si quis episcoporum, ut superius dictum est, ad synodum venire distulerit, usque ad majorem synodum a metropolitano et comprovincialibus maneat excommunicatus."]

<sup>y</sup> "Adjicimus etiam, ne quis Britannum, aut Romanum, in Armorico, sine metropolitani aut comprovincialium voluntate vel literis, episcopum ordinare præsumat. Quod si quis contraire tentaverit, sententiam in anterioribus canonibus prolatam observet, et a nostra caritate usque ad majorem synodum se cognoscat remotum et excommunicatum; quia merito a caritate nostra, vel nostris ecclesiis segregantur, qui patrum statuta contemnant."]

<sup>y</sup> [Concil. Paris. III. can. viii. t. v.

of Toledo the third, can. 18<sup>z</sup>: the fourth, can. 3<sup>a</sup>; and in divers others. All which testify that as the metropolitan's power in the government of the church was a thing received and confirmed by use long before the Nicene council; so it continued throughout Christendom till the bishop of Rome wholly subverted the freedom of the church, and recalled all things to his own disposition.

The power of metropolitans was rather lengthened than shortened by the bishop of Rome; for who suppressed provincial synods, and brought bishops and archbishops to this height of pride they are at, but only the Romish decretals of Antichrist? If your wisdom serve you to call that Antichrist's pride, whereto godly councils were forced for their own ease, and wherewith religious princes were contented for the better execution of their laws; my duty to the church of God and the magistrate stayeth me from reviling or disliking that course, which I see both councils and princes by long and good experience were driven unto. As for Antichrist, he usurped all men's places, and subjected all men's rights to his will and pleasure; otherwise I do not find, what increase he gave to the power of metropolitans. Let them enjoy that which the councils and princes of the primitive church by trial saw needful to be committed to their care; and we strive for no more. I trust you will not call that Antichristian pride when they are required by Christian princes to see their laws and edicts touching causes ecclesiastical put in practice.

The fault we find is, that archbishops have suppressed the liberty of synods, and reserved all things to their own jurisdiction.] A greater fault than that is, you be so inflamed with disdain, that you know not what you say. Who, I pray you, prohibiteth the use, or abridgeth the power of synods to make

col. 817. "Nam de anteactis ordinationibus pontificum ita convenit, ut conjuncti metropolitanus cum suis provincialibus episcopis, vel quos vicinos episcopos eligere voluerit, in loco ubi convenerit, juxta antiqua statuta canonum, omnia communi consilio et sententia decernantur."

<sup>z</sup> [Concil. Toletan. III. can. xviii. t. v. col. 1005. "Proinde fidem sanctam,

quam præfatus religiosissimus dominus noster patefecit in medio concilii, et manu sua subscripsit, hanc et nos teneamus, hanc confitemur pariter, et suspicimus hanc in populis prædicare, atque docere promittimus."]

<sup>a</sup> [Concil. Tolet. IV. can. iii. t. v. col. 1704. "Speciale erit concilium uniuscujusque provinciæ ubi metropolitanus elegerit peragendum."]



rules and determine causes ecclesiastical? the metropolitan, or the prince? Take good heed, lest by eager and often calling for the indiction and decision of synods at the metropolitan's hands without the prince's leave, you erect a new form of synods, not to advise and guide the magistrate, when they be thereto required, but to straiten or forestall the prince's power. True it is, that with us no synods may assemble without the prince's warrant, as well to meet, as to consult of any matters touching the state of this realm; and why? They be no court separate from the prince, nor superior to the prince, but subjected in all things unto the prince, and appointed by the laws of God and man in truth and godliness to assist and direct the prince, when and where they shall be willed to assemble. Otherwise they have no power of themselves to make decrees, when there is a Christian magistrate, neither may they challenge the judicial hearing or ending of ecclesiastical controversies without or against the prince's liking. Now judge yourselves, whether you do not grossly betray your own ignorance, I am loath to say malice, when you declaim against the metropolitan for want of that which is not in his power to perform, but in the prince's; and be more silent hereafter in these cases (if you be wise), lest you traduce the prince's power under the metropolitan's name. If waspishness would suffer you soberly to consider, not only what things are changed in our times, but also why, and by whom; you should better satisfy yourselves, and less trouble the realm than now you do.

Afore princes began to profess Christianity, the church had no way (as I noted before) to discuss right and wrong in faith, and other ecclesiastical causes, but by synods and assemblies of religious and wise pastors. That course always continued in the church (even when the sword most sharply pursued the church) from the apostles' deaths to Constantine's reign; and was ever found in the church, when Christian princes were not. Those synods were assembled and governed by the bishops of the chief and mother churches and cities in every province, who by the ancient councils are called metropolitans. When princes embraced the faith, they increased the number of synods, and confirmed not only the canons of



general councils, but also the judgments and decisions of provincial synods, as the best means they could devise to procure peace, and advance religion in every place. For as by their laws they referred ecclesiastical causes to ecclesiastical judges; so lest matters should hang long in strife, they charged each metropolitan to assemble the bishops of his province twice every year, and there to examine and order all matters of doubt and wrong within the church. The rules of the Nicene council, touching that and all other things, Constantine ratified, as Eusebius witnesseth; and likewise the sentences of bishops in their synods, kept according to that appointment: "The decrees of the (Nicene) council Constantine confirmed with his (consent) seal (or authority)<sup>b</sup>." And reporting the laws made by him in favour of Christians, Eusebius saith: "The determinations of bishops delivered in their synods, he sealed (or ratified), that it might not be lawful for the rulers of nations to infringe their decrees, since the priests of God" (as he thought) "were (more approved or) better to be trusted than any judge<sup>c</sup>.—Yea whatsoever is done in the holy assemblies of bishops, that" (saith Constantine) "must be ascribed to the heavenly will (or counsel of God)<sup>d</sup>." Concerning the four first general councils, Justinian saith: "We decree that the sacred ecclesiastical rules, which were made and agreed on in the four (first) holy councils, that is, in the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedon, shall have the force of (imperial) laws; for the rules of the four above-named councils we observe as laws<sup>e</sup>."

In tract of time, when causes multiplied, and bishops could

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constantin. lib. iii. [cap. 23. p. 409. Καὶ τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπεσφραγίζετο.]

<sup>c</sup> Ejusd. de Vit. Constantin. lib. iv. [cap. 27. p. 445. Καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐπισκόπων δὲ ὄρους τοὺς ἐν συνόδοις ἀποφανθέντας, ἐπεσφραγίζετο. ὥς μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι, τὰ δόξαντα παραλύειν· παντὸς γὰρ εἶναι δικαστοῦ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ δοκιμωτέρους.]

<sup>d</sup> Ejusd. de Vit. Constantin. lib. iii. [cap. 20. p. 407. Πᾶν γὰρ εἴτι δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνεδρίοις πράττεται, τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν θείαν βούλησιν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν.]

<sup>e</sup> Justin. Novell. Constit. cxxxi. cap. 1. "De quatuor sanctis conciliis." [Gottling. 1797. p. 536. Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, τάξιν νόμων ἐπέχειν τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων ἐκτεθέντας ἢ βεβαιωθέντας, τουτέστι τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῶν τιῆ, καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν ἁγίων πρ' πατέρων· καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτης, ἐν ἣ Νεστόριος κατεκρίθη· καὶ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, καθ' ἣν Εὐτύχης μετὰ Νεστορίου ἀνεθεματίσθη· τῶν γὰρ προειρημένων ἁγίων συνόδων καὶ τὰ δόγματα, καθάπερ τὰς θείας γραφὰς, δεχόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κανόνας ὡς νόμους φυλάττομεν.]

neither support the charge they were at in being abroad, nor be absent so long from their churches, as the hearing and concluding of every private matter would require; they were constrained to assemble but once in the year, and in the mean space to commit such causes as could abide no such delay, or were too tedious for their short meetings, unto the hearing and judgment of the metropolitan or primate of the province and country, where the strifes arose. The council in Trullo saith: "The things which were determined by our sacred fathers we will have to stand good in all points, and renew the canon, which commandeth synods of bishops to be kept every year in every province, where the metropolitan shall appoint. But since by reason of the invasions of the barbarians, and divers other occasions, the governors of the church cannot possibly assemble in synod twice every year; we decree, that in any case there shall be a synod of bishops once every year for ecclesiastical questions likely to arise in every province, at the place where the metropolitan shall make choice<sup>f</sup>." The second Nicene council: "Where the canon willeth, judicial inquisition to be made twice every year by the assembly of bishops in every province; and yet for the misery and poverty of such as should travel, the fathers of the sixth synod decreed, it should be once in the year, and then things amiss to be redressed; we renew this (later) canon: insomuch, that if any metropolitan neglect to do it, except he be hindered by necessity, violence, or some other reasonable cause, he shall be under the punishment of the canons<sup>g</sup>."

<sup>f</sup> Concil. in Trull. can. viii. [t. vi. col. 1146. 'Εν πᾶσι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν θεσπισθέντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς κρατεῖν βουλόμενοι, ἀνανεοῦμεν καὶ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορευόντα, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ συνόδους γίνεσθαι ἐπισκόπων, ἔνθα ἂν ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως δοκιμῶς ἐπίσκοπος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τε τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς, διὰ τε προσπιπτούσας ἑτέρας αἰτίας ἀδυνάτως οἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρόεδροι ἔχουσι δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ἔδοξεν ὥστε τρόπῳ παντὶ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἐπισκόπων διὰ τὰ ὡς εἰκὸς ἀναφυόμενα ἐκκλησιαστικά κεφάλαια, ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ γίνεσθαι σύνοδον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ πάσχα

ἑορτῆς, καὶ μέχρι συμπληρώσεως τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἔτους, κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὃν ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως, καθὰ προείρηται, δοκιμάσῃ ἐπίσκοπος.]

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Nicæn. II. can. vi. [t. vii. col. 601. 'Επειδήπερ κανὼν ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων δις τοῦ ἔτους καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν χρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ συναθροίσεως ἐπισκόπων τὰς κανονικὰς ζητήσεις διὰ γούν τὴν συντριβὴν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἔχειν πρὸς ὁδοιπορίαν τοὺς συναθροισμένους, ὥρισαν οἱ τῆς ἑκτῆς συνόδου ὅσιοι πατέρες, ἐξ ἁπαντος τρόπου καὶ προφάσεως ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσφαλμένα διορθοῦσθαι. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν κανόνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνανεοῦμεν. καὶ εἰ τις εὐρεθῇ ἄρχων τοῦτον κωλύων, ἀφορίζεσθω. εἰ δὲ

The council of Africa: "The decrees of the Nicene council did most plainly leave both inferior clerks and bishops to THEIR OWN METROPOLITANS. They did wisely and rightly perceive, that all causes ought to be ended in the places where they did first spring; for they did not think any province should be destitute of the grace of the Holy Spirit, whereby justice should be prudently discerned, and constantly pursued by the priests of Christ; specially when as every man hath liberty, if he find himself grieved with the censure of those that examine his cause, to appeal to the synods of the same province, or to a general council<sup>h</sup>." And again: "It hath pleased us that presbyters, deacons, and other inferior clergy-men, if they complain of the judgments of their own bishops, shall be heard by the bishops adjoining. And if they think good to appeal from them, let them not appeal but either to the synods of Africa, OR TO THE PRIMATES of their own provinces<sup>i</sup>." So the council of Sardica: "If a bishop in a rage will by and by cast a presbyter or deacon out of the church, we must provide, that being innocent, he be not condemned, nor deprived the communion. All (the bishops) answered; Let him that is ejected have liberty TO FLY TO THE METROPOLITAN of that province<sup>k</sup>." The emperor confirmed the

τις ἐκ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν ἀμελήσοι τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἐκτὸς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας, καὶ τινος εὐλόγου προφάσεως, τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ὑποκεισθῶ.]

<sup>h</sup> Concil. African. can. cxxxviii. in Epist. ad Celest. [t. ii. col. 1147. Τὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, εἴτε κληρικοὺς τοῦ κατωτέρου βαθμοῦ, εἴτε αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τοῖς ἰδίοις μητροπολίταις φανερώτατα κατέπεμψαν. συνετὼς γὰρ καὶ δικαίως συνείδεν, ἅτινα δὴ ποτε πράγματα ἀναφῶσι, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀφείλειν περατοῦσθαι τόποις οὔτε γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἐκάστη προνοία ἐλογίσαντο ἑλλείπειν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, δι' ἧς ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱερέων καὶ δρᾶται φρονίμως, καὶ κατέχευται σταθερῶς· μάστιγας, ὅτι ἐνὶ καὶ ἐκάστῳ συγκεχώρηται, ἐὰν περὶ τῆς δίκης τῶν διαγνωστῶν προδιστάται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς συνόδους τῆς ἰδίας ἐπαρχίας, ἢ ἐτι μὴν εἰς οἰκουμένην συνόδον ἐκκαλέσασθαι.]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. can. cxxv. [t. ii. col. 1130. Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν, ἵνα πρεσβύτεροι, διά-

κονοὶ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατώτεροι κληρικοὶ, ἐν αἷς ἔχουσιν αἰτίαις, ἐὰν περὶ τῆς ψήφου τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισκόπους μέμφωνται, οἱ γειννιώντες ἐπίσκοποι τούτων ἀκροάσωνται, καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων περατώσωσιν οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ συναίνεσιν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων προσλαμβανόμενοι. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκκαλέσασθαι θελήσωσι, μὴ ἐκκαλέσωνται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς συνόδους, ἢ πρὸς τὸν πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίων.]

Can. xxviii. [col. 1063. Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν, ἵνα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατώτεροι κληρικοὶ, ἐν αἷς ἔχωσιν αἰτίαις, ἐὰν τὰ δικαστήρια μέμφωνται τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκόπων, οἱ γείτονες ἐπίσκοποι ἀκροάσωνται αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ συναίνεσεως τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, τὰ μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν διαβῶσιν οἱ προσκαλούμενοι δι' αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοποι.]

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Sardicen. can. xiv. [t. ii. col. 640. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος δέσυχολος εὐρίσκοιτο· ὅπερ οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐν τοιοῦτῳ ἀνδρὶ πολιτεῖν· καὶ ταχέως ἀντικρὺ

same: "If the bishops of one synod have any matter of variance betwixt themselves, either for ecclesiastical right or any other occasions; first the metropolitan with other bishops of that synod shall examine and determine the cause; and if either part dislike the judgment, THEN THE PATRIARCH of that diocese shall give them audience ACCORDING TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS AND OUR LAWS, neither side having liberty to contradict his judgment. But if any of the clergy, or whosoever complain against his bishop for any matter, LET THE CAUSE BE JUDGED BY THE METROPOLITAN, answerable to the sacred rules and our laws. And if any man appeal from his sentence, let the cause be brought TO THE ARCH-BISHOP and patriarch of that diocese, and he according to the canons and laws shall make a final end<sup>1</sup>."

So that not Antichrist, but ancient councils and Christian emperors perceiving the mighty troubles and intolerable charges that the bishops of every province were put to by staying at synods for the hearing and determining of all private matters and quarrels occurrent in the same province; and seeing no cause to busy and employ the bishops of the whole world twice every year to sit in judgment about petty and particular strifes and brabbles, till all parties were satisfied, but finding rather, that by that means all matters must either be infinitely delayed, or slenderly examined, and hastily posted over; as well the princes as the bishops, not to increase the pride of archbishops, but to settle an indifferent course both for the parties and the judges, referred, not the

πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου κινηθεὶς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν ἐβελήσοι· προνοητέον ἐστὶ μὴ ἀρρόον τὸν τοιοῦτον κατακρίνεσθαι, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι. Πάντες εἰρήκασιν· ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας καταφυγεῖν.]

<sup>1</sup> Justin. Novell. Constit. cxixiii. cap. 22. [Gotting. 1797. p. 502. Εἴ τις δὲ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου ἀμφισβήτησιν τινα πρὸς ἑλλήλους ἔχοιεν, εἴτε ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δικαίου, εἴτε ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων, πρότερον ὁ μητροπολίτης αὐτῶν, μεθ' ἑτέρων δύο ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας συνόδου ἐπισκόπων, τὸ πρᾶγμα κρινέτω· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμμενῇ ἐκάτερον

μέρος τοῖς κεκριμένοις τηνικαῦτα ὁ μακαριώτατος πατριάρχης ἐκείνης τῆς διοικήσεως μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀκροάσθω, κακεῖνα ὀριζέτω ἅτινα τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς κανόσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις συνᾶδει· οὐδεὶς μέρους κατὰ τῆς ψήφου αὐτοῦ ἀντιλέγειν δυναμένου. Εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ, ἢ ἄλλου οἰουδῆποτε προσέλυσσις κατὰ ἐπισκόπου γένηται, διὰ οἰανδῆποτε αἰτίαν, πρῶτον ὁ ὁσιώτατος αὐτῶν μητροπολίτης κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους κανόνας καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω· καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντελπί, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα, κακεῖνος κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας καὶ τοὺς νόμους τούτω παρεχέτω πέρας.]



making of laws and canons, but the execution of them already made, to the credit and conscience of the archbishop. And though the fathers leave an appeal either to the councils, or to the primates of every nation and country; yet the emperor seeing how long causes would depend before councils could duly examine and determine them; and that to bring all private matters from provincial synods to national councils, were to breed a worse confusion than the former was; decreed that all appeals should go to the archbishop.

If you murmur at this alteration, first established by the Roman emperors, and still continued by the laws of this realm now in force; remember how unreasonable and intolerable a matter it were for all the bishops of this realm to assemble, and at their own charges to stay the hearing, examining and sentencing of all the doubts, wrongs, quarrels and contentions which all the consistories throughout England at this day do handle and determine. Did you exclude matters of tithes, testaments, legacies, contracts, marriages and such like, which the ancient laws of all nations commit to episcopal audience, and reserve only matters of correction for synods; see you not by experience, how long causes by reason of the number and weight of them depend in the arches, in the audience, afore the high commission, though the judges thereof sit all the year long at the days prefixed without intermission? were it not a proper piece of work for your pleasures to bring all the pastors of this land to keep continually in one place, and to do nothing else but attend for appeals, that must and would be sent from all the shires and quarters of this realm? who should teach and administer the sacraments to the people in the mean time? who should defray the expenses of so many hundred pastors, as are not able to maintain their families at home, and themselves abroad? who shall instruct them in the knowledge of the laws, without which they shall do more wrong than right? How long will it be afore so great a number, or the most part of them, concur in one mind to conclude every cause that is brought unto them? And when all these inconveniences be endured, and absurdities digested; to what purpose, since every man may presently appeal from them to the prince's power and delegates? If synods were



supreme tribunals, though it were not worth their pains and expenses, yet they should end strifes; but now you would have them waste their time, spend their livings, and weary themselves in losing their labour, whiles every man that liketh not their order, may forthwith appeal, and frustrate their proceedings.

We could devise many ways to prevent all this that you object, if we might be suffered; for we would have standing synods in every city, that should consist of the pastors, and some grave and wise lay elders, there dwelling to determine matters emergent within a circuit to be appointed unto them; and from them appeals to be made to the synod of pastors and elders residing in some principal and chief city within this realm; so that unless the matter were of very great weight, the pastors at large should not be troubled to assemble together; and when they assembled, their abode not to be long, for saving of time and charge; which men of their calling neither should lose, nor can spare; lest we busy them [rather as judges of men's quarrels, than stewards of God's mysteries.] The chief ground of your discipline is your own device, as may well appear in that no part of it is ancient, or was ever used in the church of Christ; and the joints of it hang together like sick men's dreams. The pastors and lay elders of every church served at first to fill up your presbyteries; and now your vessels are so low drawn, that you use them for synods. And where you could not abide that bishops should have dioceses, now you be pleased that presbyteries shall have circuits, and ecclesiastical regiment, without their church and city. Metropolitans were not long since the height of Antichrist's pride; and now you are forced for repressing of disorders and enormities in every parish, to allow some chief and mother cities; and to yield their presbyteries metropolitical jurisdiction over whole provinces. And all this, yourselves being private men, take upon you to devise and establish without precedent to induce, or authority to warrant your doings; and yet you think it not lawful for the prince and the whole realm to imitate the example of the primitive church, nor to follow the steps of religious and godly emperors, that appointed metropolitans to call and moderate pro-

vincial councils; and for ease of all sides, to examine such matters beforehand as were not worthy to molest and trouble full synods. Wherein, what else do you, but shew your inconstant and inconsiderate humours; that would have the church guided by presbyteries and synods parochial and provincial, and admit presidents and chief governors of either; and yet cannot abide that princes should retain the ancient and accustomed form of ecclesiastical regiment by bishops and metropolitans, settled so long ago in the church, and ever since continued without interruption? But I pray you, what places or voices have lay elders in synods? what example or reason can you pretend for it?

If they may judge in presbyteries, why not in synods? Belike you would have none but bishops have decisive voices in councils according to the Romish order of celebrating synods.] If you were as far from novelty, as I am from popery, we should soon agree; howbeit every thing used or believed in the Romish church is not rashly to be disclaimed. You make it a resolute conclusion, that lay elders were part of the presbyteries in the primitive church; but when we come to examine your proofs, we find them as weak as your imagination is strong. Now though the pastors of each parish, when they are single, might haply need, as you think, the advice and assistance of lay presbyters; yet that pastors assembled in synods, where their number is great, and their gifts of all sorts, should stand in like need of lay elders to lead or direct them, is neither consequent to reason, nor coherent with the rules of the sacred scriptures. For to whom hath the Lord committed the teaching of all nations? to Math. pastors, or to lay presbyters? who by God's law are ap- xxviii. 19, 20, pointed "watchmen" in the house of Israel, "stewards" over Ezek. iii. his family, "bishops" over his church, and "leaders" of his 16, 17. flock? lay elders, or Christ's ministers? If in the church the 1 Cor. iv. 1. sheep must "hear" and "follow" their shepherds, as well for Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. truth of doctrine as holiness of life; by what commission bring 17. John x. 4. you lay presbyters into synods, where the teachers and pastors of a whole province or nation are assembled? Shall your lay elders by Christ's commandment be scholars in the church, and teachers in the synod? Or do the gifts and graces of

preachers so change, that in pulpit each one must be believed and obeyed. in council all joining together must be restrained and directed by lay elders? If you have reason or authority for it, let us hear it; if neither, you trouble the church of God with a pang of your wilful contradiction, and take upon you to overrule Christian princes and churches with greater surliness, than ever did patriarch or pope.

In the apostles' council were not only the presbyters, but  
 Acts xv. 23. all "the brethren" of the church of Jerusalem, and the letters of resolution were written in all their names: and now you disdain that any laymen should be present at your provincial synods and councils, which you see the apostles did not refuse.] To be present at synods is one thing: to deliberate and determine in synod is another thing. If you think that either presbyters or brethren were admitted to the apostles' council to help and aid the apostles in their debating or deciding the matter there questioned, you be much deceived. The apostles singled, were sufficient to decide a greater doubt than that was; much more then, the whole assembly of the apostles able to search out the truth thereof without their assistance. The reason why all the church was admitted to be present, and to join with one accord in sending those letters, I noted before. Not only the gainsayers, but the whole church were to be resolved in a case that touched them all. Otherwise as well the people as the teachers of the Jews would still have abhorred the Gentiles, though believers, as profane persons, until they had been circumcised, which was the high way to evacuate the cross of Christ, and to frustrate his grace. And therefore not for deliberation, or for determination, but for the satisfaction of contradictors, and instruction of the rest was the whole church assembled, and upon the full hearing and concluding of the question by the apostles, the rest joining with them acknowledged by their letters and messengers that it pleased the Holy Ghost, the Gentiles should not be troubled with circumcision nor the observation of Moses' law; but that the partition wall betwixt them was broken down, by the blood of Christ, and they which were "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers from the covenants of promise," were now "citizens with the saints, and

of the household of faith," without the legal observances of Moses' law. St. Luke himself witnesseth, that "to discuss Acts xv. 6. the matter, the apostles and elders assembled together, and after great disputation" on either side, Peter and James concluded the cause, whereto the rest consented.

Yet then elders were admitted to deliberate with the apostles in that synod, whereas you suffer none but bishops to have voices in councils.] I make no doubt but presbyters sat with the apostles in synod to consult of this cause: all the scruple is, what kind of presbyters they were. Lay presbyters I read of none, and therefore I can admit none to be of that council. Besides, such of the seventy and such other prophets as assisted James in the regiment of the church of Jerusalem, are in all reason expressed by that name; for since the whole church there is divided into apostles, presbyters, and brethren; the helpers and coadjutors of the apostles, were they prophets or evangelists, that either came with Paul and Barnabas from Antioch, or were commorant with James and the rest at Jerusalem, must rather be contained in the name of *presbyters*, than sorted with the general multitude. For if they were of the many, what men of more worthiness were there to be honoured with the title of *presbyters*? I hope the next degree to apostles are not your lay elders; St. Paul was then foully overshoot, to set "first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers," and to reject governors, 1 Cor. xii. 28. which you take for your lay presbyters, into the seventh place. Howbeit unless you make some fresher and better proof for them than yet I see, your lay elders are nowhere numbered by St. Paul for church governors.

As for presbyters that were beneath apostles, (understand by that name prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, or whom you will, so no lay elders,) we deny them neither places nor voices in synods, so long as they have right to teach or speak in the church; for we esteem synods to be but the assemblies and conferences of those to whom the churches of any province or nation for the word and doctrine are committed. And therefore to our synods are called, as yourselves know, not only bishops, but deans, archdeacons, and other clerks as well of the principal and cathedral presbytery, where the



episcopal seat and church is, as of the diocese at large. And though some Romish writers do stiffly maintain, that none but bishops have voices in councils; yet you see the ancient institution of our synodal assembly in this realm overthroweth their late and new assertion. Neither lack we examples of the course which we keep, even from the beginning.

The synod of Rome called by Cornelius against Novatus about the year of Christ 255, consisted of "sixty bishops and many presbyters and deacons," as Eusebius noteth<sup>m</sup>. From the synod of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosatenus, about the year of our Lord 270, wrote not only bishops, but "presbyters and deacons," as appeareth by their epistle<sup>n</sup>. In the council of Eliberis, about the time of the first Nicene council, sat, besides the bishops, thirty-six presbyters<sup>o</sup>. In the second council of Arle, about the same time, subscribed twelve presbyters<sup>p</sup>, besides deacons and other clergymen. The like may be seen in the councils of Rome under Hilarius<sup>q</sup>; and under Gregory, where thirty-four presbyters subscribed after twenty-two bishops<sup>r</sup>; and in the first under Symmachus, where after seventy-two bishops subscribed sixty-seven

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 43. [p. 197. 'Εφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης, ἐξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων· πλείονων δ' ἐπὶ μάλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, ἰδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκεψαμένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσι.]

<sup>n</sup> Ejustd. lib. vii. cap. 30. [p. 228. Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις· καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Ἐλενος καὶ Ὑμέναιος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεότεκνος καὶ Μάξιμος· Πρόκλος· Νικόμας καὶ Αἰλιανός· καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Βώλανος καὶ Πρωτογένης καὶ Ἰέραξ καὶ Εὐτύχιος καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Μαλχίαν καὶ Λούκιος· καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν παροικοῦντες τὰς ἐγγύς πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ, χαίρειν.]

<sup>o</sup> Subscript. Concil. Eliberit. [t. i. col. 969. "Residentibus etiam viginti et sex presbyteris," etc. In margine:

"Triginta et sex, in editione Mendosæ."]

<sup>p</sup> Subscript. Arelat. Concil. II. [t. iv. col. 1018. In Notis Severini Binii, S. I. in margine sic legitur: "Duarum Arelatensium synodorum subscriptiones et tempora confusa fuerunt." Vide Concil. Arelat. I. t. i. col. 1429. "Nomina episcoporum cum clericis suis, quinam, et ex quibus provinciis ad Arelatensem synodum convenerint:" (ubi leguntur duodecim presbyterorum nomina.) Ed.]

<sup>q</sup> Concil. Roman. XLVIII. Episc. sub Hilario Papa celebratum. A. D. 465. [t. iv. col. 1060. ubi in Præfat., post nomina episcoporum residentium, sic legas, "Residentibus etiam universis presbyteris, adstantibus quoque diaconibus, Hilarius episcopus ecclesie catholice urbis Romæ, synodo præsiens, dixit." Ed.]

<sup>r</sup> [Gregor. P. I. lib. iv. Epist. xlv. t. v. Conciliorum, col. 1200. "Subscriptiones episcoporum. Gregorius, Dei gratia, &c. Subscriptiones presbyterorum. Laurentius presbyter, &c."]



presbyters<sup>s</sup>. So in the third, fifth, and sixth under the same Symmachus. Felix also bishop of Rome, kept a council of forty-three bishops and seventy-four presbyters<sup>t</sup>; and after the same manner have divers other metropolitans assembled in their provincial synods as well presbyters as bishops. The council of Antisiodorum saith: "Let all the presbyters being called, come to the synod in the city<sup>u</sup>." The fourth council of Toledo describeth the celebrating of a provincial council in this wise: "Let the bishops assembled go to the church together, and sit according to the time of their ordination. After all the bishops are entered and set, let the presbyters be called, and the bishops sitting in a compass, let the presbyters sit behind them, and the deacons stand before them<sup>x</sup>." The council of Tarracon, 1100 years ago, prescribed almost the very same order that we observe at this day: "Let letters be sent by the metropolitan unto his brethren, that they bring with them unto the synod, not only some of the presbyters of the cathedral church, but also of each diocese<sup>y</sup>." And why should this seem strange even to the Romish crew, when as in the great council of Lateran, as they call it, under Innocentius the Third, there were but "four hundred and eighty-two bishops, and of abbots and priors conventual" almost double the number, even "eight hundred z?"

<sup>s</sup> Synod. Roman. I. sub Symmach. Papa episcoporum LXXII. [t. iv. col. 1315. "Subscripserunt presbyteri numero sexaginta septem."]

<sup>t</sup> Epist. Synod. Roman. ad clericos et monachos orientales. [t. iv. col. 1127. "Quadraginta duo episcopi similiter subscripserunt."]

Ibid. col. 1149. [in Concil. Roman. III. sub Felice III. In exemplari gestorum Concil. Rom. post nomina episcoporum, sic legas: "Et presbyteris, Rustico, Firmino, &c." Ed.]

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Antisiod. can. vii. [t. v. col. 958. "Ut medio Maio omnes presbyteri ad synodum in civitatem."]

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Toletan. iv. capit. iv. [t. v. col. 1704. "Convenientes omnes episcopi pariter introeant, et secundum ordinationis suæ tempora resideant. Post ingressum omnium episcoporum et consensum, vocentur deinde presbyteri quos causa probaverit introire. Nullus

se inter eos ingerat diaconorum. Post hos ingrediantur diaconi probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse, et corona facta de sedibus episcoporum, presbyteri a tergo eorum resideant. Diacones in conspectu episcoporum stent."]

<sup>y</sup> Tarracon. Concil. can. xiii. [t. iv. col. 1565. "Epistolæ tales per fratres a metropolitano sunt dirigendæ, ut non solum a cathedralibus ecclesiis presbyteri, verum etiam de diœcesanis ad concilium trahant, et aliquos de filiis ecclesiæ secularibus secum adducere debeant."]

<sup>z</sup> Platin. de Vit. Pont. Innocent. III. [Colon. Agripp. 1610. p. 216. "At pontifex, ubi videret Sarracenorum potentiam in Asia con crescere, apud Lateranum, maximum concilium celebrat, cui interfuere Hierosolymitanus, Constantinopolitanus patriarcha, metropolitani septuaginta, episcopi quadringenti, duodecim abbates, priores conventuales

If presbyters have right to sit in provincial synods, why are they excluded from general councils? Many things are lawful which are not expedient. I make no doubt but all pastors and teachers may sit and deliberate in council; yet would it breed a sea of absurdities to call all the pastors and preachers of the world into one place, as often as need should require to have any matter determined or ordered in the church. As therefore in civil policy, when a whole realm assembleth, not all the persons there living are called together, but certain chief over the rest or chosen by the rest, to represent the state, and to consult for the good of the whole commonwealth; so in the government of the church it were not only superfluous and tedious, but monstrous to send for all the pastors and presbyters of the whole world into one city, and there to stay them from their cures and churches till all things needful could be agreed and concluded. It is more agreeable to reason, and as sufficient in right, that some of every place excelling others in dignity, or elected by general consent, should be sent to supply the rooms of the rest that are absent, and to confer in common for the directing and ordering of the whole church. And therefore Christian princes in wisdom and discretion never sent for all the presbyters of the world to any general council, but only for the chiefest of every principal church and city, or for some to be sent from every realm far distant, as legates in the names of the rest, and by that means they had the consent of the whole world to the decrees of their councils, though not the personal appearance of all the pastors and presbyters that were in the world.

So to the council of Nice the first Christian emperor sent for by his letters not all the preachers and presbyters of the world, but “the bishops of every place<sup>a</sup>,” and there came,

octingenti, Græci et Romani imperii legati, regum vero Hierusalem, Franciæ, Hispaniæ, Angliæ et Cypri oratores.”]

<sup>a</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 8. [p. 18. Δι' ἀμφοτέρω τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς παραπομπήν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, συνόδον οἰκουμένην συνεκρότει, τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισκόπους διὰ γραμμάτων εἰς Νίκαιαν τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀπαντῆσαι παρα-

καλῶν. παρῆσαν τε ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι· περὶ ὧν ὁ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ βιβλίῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντίνου βίον, τὰδε κατὰ λέξιν φησίν. Τῶν γοῦν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπασάν, αἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἄπασαν, Λιβύην τε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπλήρουν, ὁμοῦ συνήκτο τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν τὰ ἀκροθίνια.]

“from all the churches through Europe, Asia and Africa, the best (or chiefest) of the ministers of God<sup>a</sup>,” each country sending not all their bishops, (for then would they far have exceeded the number of 318,) but “the most special and selected men they had<sup>b</sup>,” and though there were present “an infinite number of presbyters and deacons<sup>c</sup>,” that came with the bishops, yet the council consisted of 318 bishops; and no more, by reason the emperor sent not for the presbyters of each place, but for the bishops. The like examples are to be seen in the three general councils that followed, where only bishops determined matters in question; and the presbyters that subscribed in the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon supplied the places of bishops, as their legates and substitutes, which in the council of Chalcedon is more fully expressed<sup>d</sup>.

But what need we rip up these things at large, which pertain not so much to our purpose? we seek now for the antiquity and authority of metropolitans; and those we find not only received and established in the four first general councils, but confessed by them to have anciently continued in the church even “from the beginning.” And surely, if you grant provincial synods to be ancient and necessary in the church of Christ, which you cannot deny, metropolitans must needs be as ancient and requisite, without whom the synods of each province can neither be convoked nor moderated.

If to avoid metropolitans you would have the prerogative of calling and guiding synods to run round by course, which order you fancied before in bishops; our answer is easy: we look not what you can invent after 1500 years to please your own humours; but what manner of ecclesiastical government the church of Christ from the apostles’ times established and continued by the general consent of the whole world; and

<sup>b</sup> Ibidem. [p. 19. Πόντος τὲ καὶ Ἀσία, Φρυγία τε καὶ Παμφυλία, τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον ἐκκρίτους.]

<sup>c</sup> Ibidem. [Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρουσίας χορείας, ἐπισκόπων μὲν πληθὺς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ὑπερακοντίζουσα ἦν. ἐπομένων δὲ τούτοις πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, ἀκολουθῶν τὲ πλείστων ὕων ἐτέρων, οὐδὲ ἦν ἀριθμός.]

<sup>d</sup> Subscript. Episc. Act. i. iii. vi. xvi. Concil. Chalcedon. [t. iv. Sit pro exemplari locus col. 448. sub titulo Αἱ ὑπογραφαί.—Βονιφάτιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ πρεσβευτὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ μεγάλης Ῥώμης, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀγνωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λέοντος. ED.]

that we prove was not only in every church and diocese to have a bishop chief over the presbyters, but in every province to appoint a mother church and city; and the bishop thereof to have this honour and dignity above the rest of his brethren, that he might by letters consult, or call together the bishops of his province for any question or cause that touched the faith or peace of the church, and not only moderate their meetings, but execute their decrees, and see them performed throughout his province. This was the ancient and original use of Christ's church, long before any princes professed the truth; and when they began to use their swords for the doctrine and church of Christ, then did synods serve for the direction of Christian princes; and metropolitans had the execution as well of princes' laws as synodal decrees committed to their power and care throughout their province.

This course if you disdain or dislike, you condemn the whole church of Christ from the first increasing and spreading thereof on the face of the earth to this present age; and prefer your own wisdom, (if it be worthy that name, and not rather to be accounted self-love and singularity,) before all the martyrs, confessors, fathers, princes and bishops that have lived, governed and deceased in the church of God since the apostles' deaths. How well the height of your conceits can endure to blemish and reproach so many religious and famous lights of Christendom, I know not; for my part I wish the church of God in our days may have the grace for piety and prudence to follow their steps, and not to make the world believe that all the servants of Christ before our times, favoured and furthered the pride of Antichrist, till in the ends of the world, when the faith and love of most men are quenched or decayed, we came to restore the church to that perfection of discipline, which the apostles never mentioned, the ancient fathers and councils never remembered, the universal church of Christ before us never conceived nor imagined.

We want not the witness of ancient fathers and stories that reprove the ambitious and tyrannous dominion of metropolitans and archbishops. Socrates saith: "The bishopric of Rome, as likewise that of Alexandria, were long before his

time grown from the bonds of priesthood unto worldly dominion<sup>e</sup>." Nazianzen not only lamenteth the mischiefs which follow these diversities of degrees, but heartily wisheth there were no such thing, that men might be discerned only by their virtues. His words are worth the hearing: "For this (presidency of bishops) all our estate tottereth and shaketh; for this the ends of the earth are in a jealousy and tumult both senseless and nameless; for this we are in danger to be thought to be of men, which indeed are of God, and to lose that great and new name. Would God there were neither priority of seat, neither superiority of place, nor violent pre-eminence, that we might be discerned only by virtue. But the right hand and the left, and the midst; the higher and lower seat; the going before, and going even with, have to no purpose done us much hurt, and cast many into the ditch, and brought them to be goats, and those not only of the inferior sort, but even of the shepherds, which being masters in Israel knew not this<sup>f</sup>." You may soon find of the ancient fathers that misliked the contention, ambition, and pride of many bishops in the primitive church; but any that misliked their calling, you cannot find. The sharper they were in reproving their vices, the sounder witnesses they are in allowing their office. If either Socrates or Nazianzen had opposed themselves against the judgment of the Nicene council; yea, against the whole church of Christ before and after them; their credits would not have countervailed the weight of that antiquity and authority which the others carried; but indeed neither of them dispraiseth the wisdom of the council, or custom of the church; only they tax the vices of some persons and ambition of some places, which not content with the

<sup>e</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 11. [p. 347. 'Αλλ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τούτων ἦφατο, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάσαι προελθούσης.]

<sup>f</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. cum post ea quæ a Maximo perpetrata fuerant, rure in urbem rediisset. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 483. Δι' ἣν (sc. προεδρίαν) κινδυνεύομεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονότες, καὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ καίνον ἀποβαλεῖν ὄνομα. Ὡς ὀφελόν γε μηδὲ ἦν προεδρία, μηδέ

τις τόπου προτίμησις καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία, ἣν ἐξ ἀρετῆς μόνης ἐγινωσκόμεθα. νῦν δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν, καὶ τὸ μέσον, καὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον, καὶ τὸ χαμαλωτέρον, καὶ τὸ προβαδίζειν ἢ συμβαδίζειν, πολλὰ πεποιήκε τὰ συντρίμματα ἡμῶν διακενῆς, καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς βόθρον ὤσε, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐρίφων χώραν ἀπήγαγεν, οὐ τῶν κάτω μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὄντες, ταῦτα ἡγνόησαν.]



Christian moderation of their predecessors, daily augmented their power and their pride by all means possible.

§ Socrates saith, the bishops of Rome and Alexandria were grown beyond the limits of their episcopal function, “unto power and dominion.” The fault he findeth in that place with Celestinus bishop of Rome, was for “taking from the Novatians their churches, and compelling their bishop to live at home like a private man<sup>h</sup>.” But herein Socrates leaned a little too much in favour of the Novatians, to mislike more than he sheweth cause why. Would God the bishop of Rome had never worse offended than in so doing! He toucheth Cyrillus<sup>i</sup> bishop of Alexandria with like words for the same cause; how justly, let the wise judge. If otherwise either of them aspired above the compass of their calling, I am far from defending any pride in them, or in whomsoever<sup>k</sup>.

Nazianzen lighted on very tempestuous and troublesome times, heresy so raging on the one side, and discord afflicting the church on the other, that he thought best to leave all, and betake himself to a quiet and solitary kind of contemplation. Of the councils in his time he saith: “I am minded, if I must write you the truth, to shun all assemblies of bishops; because I never saw a good event of any council, that did not rather increase than diminish our evils. Their contention and ambition passeth my speech<sup>l</sup>.” not that he condemneth all councils, (for what folly had that been in so wise a man?) but he noteth the diseases of his time, the church being so rent in

§ Prefixed L.: “Verum criminationem istam paulo accuratius inspicimus.”

<sup>h</sup> Socrat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 11. [p. 347. Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερουσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείας ἤδη πάσαι προελθούσης.]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. [superius. Καὶ οὗτος ὁ Κελεστίνος τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀφείλετο, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Ῥυστικούλαν, κατ’ οἰκίας ἐν παραβύστω συνάγειν ἠνάγκασεν.]

<sup>l</sup> Ejusd. lib. vii. cap. 7. [p. 344. Διὸ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Θεοφίλου ὁ Κύριλλος ἐνθρονισθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀρχικώτερον Θεοφίλου παρήλθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καταδυναστεύ-

ειν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.]

<sup>k</sup> Added L.: “Sin aliud nihil offenderint, quam quod Novatianus represserint, et ecclesias ei abstulerint, in culpa potius est ille qui superbiæ maculam innocentibus aspergit, dum schismaticorum partes tueri contendit.”

<sup>l</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Epist. xlii. ad Procopium. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 814. Ἐχω μὲν οὕτως, εἰ δεῖ τὰ ληθεῖς γράφειν, ὥστε πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκόπων, ὅτι μηδεμίᾳ συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστόν· μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκίας, ἢ προσθήκην. Αἱ γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι· ἄλλ’ ὅπως μῆτε φορτικὸν ὑπολάβῃς οὕτω γράφοντα· καὶ λόγου κρείττονες.]

pieces under Valens, that it could not be restored nor reformed in many years after. Even so in the words which you allege, he traduceth not the vocation or function of bishops, as a thing superfluous or dangerous to the church of God, but sheweth how far the thirst of honour and flame of discord had carried many, even to the disturbance of the whole world, and shaking of the Christian profession in sunder. His words are: "Will they deprive me of the chief seat? which heretofore some wise men have admired; but now, as I think, it is the first point of wisdom to decline it<sup>n</sup>." Then follow those words which you allege: "for which our whole estate is troubled and shaken, for which the uttermost parts of the world are in an heartburning and dissension that cannot be appeased, nor expressed; for which we are in danger to be thought to be of men, when we are of God, and to lose that great and new name."

The occasions of this speech, as may be seen in his life<sup>o</sup>, were the horrible tumult that Maximus raised in aspiring to the bishopric of Constantinople; the inconstancy of Peter bishop of Alexandria, who first by letters confirmed him in the place, and yet after sent some to ordain Maximus against him; and the general dislike the bishops of Egypt and of the west parts had of him, (though they could not but commend the man,) because he was placed without their consent. Seeing himself therefore undermined and betrayed by his familiar friends, deserted and forsaken by the bishop of Alexandria, after the death of Miletius bishop of Antioch, murmured and repined against by so many, for not expecting their presence, and the bishops ready to war one with another about his election and ordination; he wisely and stoutly came into the council, and said: "Ye men that are my fellow pastors of the sacred flock of Christ, it will be a shame and very unseemly for

<sup>n</sup> Ejusd. Oratio, cum, post ea quæ a Maximo perpetrata fuerant, in urbem redisset. [p. 483. Διὰ τὴν ἐνστασιν προεδρίας ἀποστερήσουσιν; ἦν ποτε καὶ τις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων θαύμασε· νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸ φεύγειν ὡς γοῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτον συνέσεως, δι' ἣν πάντα δονεῖται καὶ σείεται τὰ ἡμέτερα· δι' ἣν τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν ὑποψίᾳ καὶ πολέμῳ,

κάμφῃ τινὶ καὶ οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἔχοντι· δι' ἣν κινδυνεύομεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονότες, καὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ καινὸν ἀποβαλεῖν ὄνομα.]

<sup>o</sup> Thus L: "Quænam incitamenta habuerit Nazianzenus, et quibus injuriis provocatus fuerit, ut hæc diceret, ex vita ipsius perspicui potest."

you, teaching others to be at peace, if you be at war amongst yourselves: for how shall you persuade them to agree, if you vary in your own opinions. I beseech you rather by the (blessed) Trinity that you dispose of your matters wisely and peaceably. And if I be a cause of strife unto you, I am not better than Jonas the prophet; cast me into the sea, and let this troublesome tempest cease from among you. I am content to endure any thing for your concord, though I be guiltless; thrust me out of my throne, drive me from the city, only embrace you truth and peace<sup>p</sup>." Thus christianly preferred he the unity of God's church before his own safety, and made more account of quietness and secresy, than of honour and dignity.

At the first rising of this tumult, Nazianzen was absent from the city; and upon his return, when Maximus and the rest of that faction threatened him with many things, he presently and pithily made that oration to the people, whence your words are taken. Hence you may prove there were many contentious and ambitious heads in Nazianzen's time; which in no time before or after, did, or will want; but you can infer nothing out of these words against the lawful use of episcopal or metropolitical moderation and supervision prescribed and limited by the canons of grave and godly councils, which Nazianzen neither did nor could mislike. If you think I restrain his meaning, examine his words.

"The time was," saith he, "when a wise man might admire" this presidency, but "now, it is the first point of wisdom, in my judgment, to shun it;" not because it was then more unlawful than before, but by reason of the manifold troubles, dislikes, and dissensions, that then oppressed the

<sup>p</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Vita a Gregor. Presbyter. conscripta. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 31. 'Ο δὲ μακάριος ἐπιταυτὸ πάντων συναθροισθέντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καταστάς ἐν μέσῳ τῇ συλλόγῃ τὰδε φησί. Ἄνδρες συμποιμένες τῆς ἱερᾶς ποίμνης Χριστοῦ, αἰσχρὸν μὲν εἶη καὶ παντελῶς οὐχ ὑμῶν, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰρήνην παιδεύοντες, αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἤρασθε. πῶς δ' ἂν ὁμονοεῖν ἐτέρους πείσητε, αὐτοὶ ὄντες περὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀσύμφωνοι; ἀλλ' ἰκετεύω ὑμᾶς πρὸς τῆς Τρι-

άδος αὐτῆς, καλῶς τὲ καὶ εἰρηνικῶς διαθέσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. εἰ δέ τι ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς διαστάσεως αἷτιος, οὐκ εἰμὶ σεμνότερος Ἰωάνᾳ τοῦ προφήτου· βάλετέ με εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ κλύδων τῶν ταραχῶν· αἰροῦμαι παθεῖν ὅτι ἂν βούλησθε, καίπερ ἀθῶος ὢν, τῆς ὑμῶν ἔνεκεν ὁμονοίας· θρόνου ἐξώσατε, πόλεως ἀπελάσατε· μόνον τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ὁ Ζαχαρίας φησὶν, ἀγαπήσατε.]

church. "The ends of the earth," saith he, "are (for this) in suspicion and war, which hath no ears nor name;" that is, whose cause and remedy are both unknown: for this, "we which are of God, are in danger," saith he, "to be thought to be of men, and to lose that great and new name." He clearly confesseth, "they were of God;" that is, their calling and function was ordained and approved by God: wherefore he willeth them to beware, lest by their quarrelling and contending, they occasioned others to suppose they were not of God, but of men. Doth this place, think you, confute or confirm the vocation of bishops? What more could be said for them, than that "they are of God, and not of men?" After this, whatsoever he saith, it toucheth not the unlawfulness of the office, but the unruliness of the persons; and the vices of men he might traduce, without any prejudice to their calling.

He saith, "the name (of bishops<sup>q</sup>) was new;" and wisheth there were no superiority nor preeminence amongst them, but that every man might be known by his virtues.] The newness of the name doth not so much disgrace the office, as the greatness of the name doth commend it. Let it be new, so it be great, and both of God. In what sense Nazianzen calleth the name of bishop "new," (if he mean the name of bishop, as one of the greatest patrons of your discipline precisely noteth,) is not so soon agreed on. If he mean a new name, as the prophet Isaiah doth, when he saith: "Thou shalt be called by Isai. lxii. a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name:" or as <sup>2.</sup> St. John doth, when he reporteth the words of Christ to the angel of the church of Pergamos: "I will give him a white Rev. ii. 17. stone, and in the stone a new name written:" if he allude, I say, to either of these places, as he may well do, he could not give the name of bishop a higher praise, than to call it great and new, and that from God. If by "new" you would have him understand a name lately devised by men, not authorized by God, as it seemeth you would; you make Nazianzen very forgetful, and yourselves were scant waking, when you made that observation in his words, (*nempe episcopi*<sup>r</sup>), as though

<sup>q</sup> Added L.: "Et non Christiani, quod mihi magis probatur."

<sup>r</sup> De Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus, cap. xxiii. fol. 164.

the name of bishop had been new in Nazianzen's time: for could that name be new to Nazianzen, which the Holy Ghost hath so anciently, so often, so honourably, mentioned in the scriptures? Read you not this alleged by Peter out of David, Acts i. 20. "Let another take his bishopric?" And again, "The Holy Acts xx. 28. Ghost hath made you bishops?" As also, "A bishop must be 1 Tim. iii. 2. blameless?" And likewise, "You are returned to the shep- Tit. i. 7. herd and bishop of your souls?" How could that name be 1 Pet. ii. 25. new, which is so authentically recorded in the apostolic writings?

Haply you will shrink from that, and say the name was newly theirs, because in the scriptures it is general to all presbyters, and here it is special to bishops; but that is neither true, nor any part of Nazianzen's meaning: for even the severing of chief pastors from presbyters by the name of bishops, was no late nor new device in Nazianzen's time. That very distinction of names had continued at Alexandria from the death of Mark the evangelist, as Jerome<sup>t</sup> affirmeth. In all histories and writers before Nazianzen lived, there is no word so common and usual to signify the president and ruler of the presbytery, as the name of bishop; and therefore it could not then be new. Besides, Nazianzen reputeth it a wonderful inconvenience to lose that great and new name; and to be all one, as if they should be taken "not to be of God." Now, if the name were new, and lately invented by men, the loss thereof were not great; yea, retaining the name, they must be known to be of men, and not of God; which is contrary to Nazianzen's words. Wherefore by the "great and new name," he meaneth the name of Christians, grounding his speech on the words of Isaiah, that saith: the church

<sup>s</sup> Added L.: "Sed nisi me fallit animus, Christiani nomen eo verbo, non episcopi Nazianzenus intelligit; ad quam me sententiam adducunt etiam verba quæ proxime præcedentia, ubi ait; *Κανδυνεύομεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονότες, καὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ καινὸν ἀποβαλεῖν ὄνομα*, in discrimen venimus ab hominibus esse quia Deo nati sumus; (ita enim *παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονότες* potius significat:) et magnum et novum nomen amittere. Jam a Deo nascimur

non episcopi sed Christiani; et dissidiis ac contentionibus efficere possumus ut eo nomine prorsus indigni judicemur, quod vere magnum et tamen novum est, si sacris scripturis fidem adhibemus."

<sup>t</sup> Hieron. Epist. ad Evagrium. [t. ii. p. 329. "Nam et Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant."]



“ shall be called by a new name :” or if he refer it to bishops, *Isai. lxii. 2.* he speaketh rather in praise of the greatness, than in dispraise of the newness of the name ; and accounteth it to be great and new because it was first used by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament.

He wisheth there were no preeminence nor priority amongst bishops, and calleth their superiority tyrannical.] He wisheth, if it were possible, that preeminence and priority amongst bishops went not by the mightiness of their cities, but by the deserts of their virtues ; not that the first is unlawful, but that the second is far more commendable. “ O that there were,” saith he, “ neither priority of see, nor privilege of place and tyrannical preeminence, that we might be distinguished only by virtue<sup>u</sup>.” If this last were possible, the former might well be wished out of the church : for then should none but fit and worthy men have the places of government, where otherwise the worst are often highest, and rule as impotently as they aspire unshamefastly. This is the sum of Nazianzen’s speech, and what fault to find with it, truly I know not. Happy were the church of God, not if all were equal, as you would have them, but if each man had superiority according to his integrity. So should the church of Christ never be besieged with ambition, nor surprised with corruption, nor wasted with dissension, but the chief would circumspectly and wisely lead, and the rest would gladly and quietly follow ; where now aspiring and striving for places of dignity, hath subverted many, not of the meanest, but of the highest degree. So saith Nazianzen. “ But now” (when men are superior by their cities, and not by their virtues) “ the right hand and the left, and the midst, the higher and the lower seat, the precedency, or going cheek by cheek, hath made many breaches amongst us to no purpose, and cast many into the ditch ; and made them goats not only of the inferior sort, but even of the shepherds, who being masters in Israel knew not this<sup>x</sup>.” He misliketh not generally the calling of bishops, nor their diversities of degrees, but the falling of some of them into the ditch, and becoming goats, whiles they

<sup>u</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. *Oratio, cum, rure in urbem rediisset.* [Vide p. 509. note f.]

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.*

pressed over eagerly to the higher places ; otherwise, he must first have condemned himself, who accepted and retained one of the chiefest seats of honour, though after, to conserve the peace of the church, he resigned it.

Lastly, the wishing of a better way, if it were possible, is no defacing of that which was already settled ; by reason it cannot be expected that Nazianzen's wish should take place : for that all men should be sincerely regarded and honoured according to their virtues, is rather an heavenly than an earthly condition ; and sooner to be wished for, than to be looked for at men's hands : yea, that course which he wisheth, unless the execution might be answerable to his wish, would do more harm than good. For it would not quench ambition and contention, as some men dream, which are the vices that he complaineth of, but rather inflame them, whiles every man conceiving well of his own virtues, would make small account of other men's gifts and deserts. If to decide the strife, you reserve the judgment thereof to other men's voices, you amend the matter nothing at all : for if all men, setting aside corrupt and partial respects, would choose the best to every place, the church of Christ would soon flourish without any wishing ; and wish what you will, except that be first brought to pass, all the rest will do you no good.

An equality amongst the pastors must needs slake ambition.] If you could reduce the cities, churches, and parishes of each commonwealth to a just proportion, that one should not exceed another in any thing, you might chance with a general equality of the places, somewhat to temper ambition ; but if you leave any difference in the things, you shall soon find a difference in men's affections. Now when, or how that may be compassed, I leave you to consider, that are so good at devising. I think you may sooner undertake to new build all cities and towns to make them equal, than suffering them as they are, to bring them to a just and even proportion. If leaving an inequality of the places, which you must needs, you settle a general equality amongst the pastors and ministers of Christ's church, what fresh experience the later end of the world may teach us, I will not foretell ; I am sure, the mean to prevent schisms and dissensions in the primitive church,

when the graces of God's Spirit were far more eminent and abundant than now, was not to make all equal, but to appoint some chief to oversee and moderate the rest. That course the apostolic times embraced, and the church of Christ ever since preferred, as the safest and readiest way to resist confusion, and stay contention in the church of God. Jerome saith: "Amongst the twelve (apostles) one was therefore chosen, that a chief being appointed, occasion of dissension might be prevented." If the twelve were not likely to agree, except there had been one chief amongst them, I marvel how you imagine, that equality would keep all the pastors of the world in peace and unity. If every presbytery by God's ordinance must have a ruler, as yourselves avouch, lest they grow to dissension and confusion, how shall the bishops of a whole province or kingdom meet, confer, and conclude, as often as need requireth, without one to call and moderate their assemblies?

We mislike not that so much, as that you give the metropolitan, dominion and empery over the rest.] Your presbyteries have another manner of dominion than we give either to the diocesans or to metropolitans: for they determine all matters by discretion; which is even as much, or more, than princes have with us. As for bishops and archbishops, I see no such dominion in this realm allowed them. We have laws consisting partly of synodal constitutions, partly of the royal edicts of princes, and by the tenor of them it is prescribed what the bishop or metropolitan shall require at each man's hands; not what they list, but what the canons of former councils and laws of Christian princes have thought meet to be performed by every one to the glory of God and good of his church. Now if the execution of laws be dominion and empery in your conceit, when as there is a present remedy by appeal to the prince's audience, if any wrong or hard measure be offered; what will you call it, to judge by discretion, as your presbyteries do? Which is the greater kind of empery,

y Hieron. adversus Jovinian. lib. i. [t. ii. p. 35. "At dicis, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex

æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur, tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio."]

to determine all matters as you list, or to be limited in every point by the laws of the realm, what you shall do ; and if you transgress never so little, to give account thereof to the supreme magistrate ? If I understand any thing, it were more liberty for bishops to be referred to synods, where they should bear some sway, than to be restrained to laws, from which they may not shrink. The execution of your presbyterical decrees, you give to the moderator of your presbytery ; and yet you give him no dominion nor empery. Why then are you so inconsiderate or so intemperate, as to call the execution of ecclesiastical laws by the diocesan or metropolitan, a tyrannical power and dominion over their brethren ?

Would you have no laws at all, but every case as it falleth out, so to be censured at the pleasure of the presbyters ? That were a right tyranny indeed, and not tolerable in any commonwealth that hath a Christian magistrate. If you admit every matter to be ruled by written laws, and leave appeals in all causes for such as find themselves grieved to the prince, which is observed in this realm ; the execution of laws is rather a burden imposed, than an honour to be desired ; and but that some men must needs undertake that charge, it were more easy for bishops to be without it, than always to trouble, and often to endanger themselves with the difficulties and penalties of so many laws as we have, and must have to guide those causes that are committed to their consistories.

They have others to discharge it for them.] They must have some to assist them, except you will have bishops to bestow more time in learning human laws, than in meditating the divine scriptures. And therefore your inveighing at the arches and other places of judgment, sheweth you little understand what you say. Were your presbyteries or synods at their perils to handle and determine so many and so weighty causes as they are, you would reverence them as much as ever you disgraced them ; and see your own folly in impugning that which cannot be wanted. But what stand I on these things, which experience will prove to be requisite in a Christian commonwealth, better than speech ? It sufficeth me that metropolitans were long before the Nicene council accepted and used in the church of Christ as necessary persons to

assemble the synods of each province upon all occasions; and to oversee as well the election as ordination of bishops within their charge. This if you grant, necessity will force you to yield them the rest, as it did the councils and princes that were long before our times. If you like not the wisdom and order of the universal and ancient church of Christ, you must tell us in your new platform who shall call and moderate provincial synods, when occasion requireth; or whether your presbyters shall be supreme moderators of all matters, without expecting or regarding any synodal assemblies or judgments.

Synods we admit, and some to gather and govern those assemblies; but to prevent ambition we would have that privilege to go round by course to all the pastors of every province.] You may do well to change deacons every day, bishops every week, presbyters every month, and metropolitans every quarter, that the government of the house of God may go round by course. And surely you miss not much of it. Deacons and presbyters dure with you for a year; bishops you think in the apostles' times were changed every week; what space you will appoint to metropolitans we yet know not; longer than one synod I presume you will have no man to continue. But what reason or example have you for it? Examples perhaps, as you care for none, so you seek for none: for if examples might prevail with you, we have the settled and approved order of the primitive church against you, that metropolitans never went by course. Yea, the name itself doth infer as much: for if he be *metropolitan*, that is, bishop of the metropolis or mother city; the mother city remaining always one and the same, the privilege of the metropolitan could never change by course.

To ask you for reason, which lean only to your wills, and regard no men's judgments but your own, will seem strange; yet hear the resolution of one that highly favoureth your new found discipline, who positively concludeth, that this circular regiment by course, as it is not able to resist ambition and adulation, so it will breed contempts and factions in the church of God. His words be: "Let us then avouch that this primacy of order (going round) by course of mutual succession, was at length by very experience found not to have



force enough to repress ambitious pastors, neither vain and flattering auditors, whiles every pastor in his course enjoyed this superiority. Therefore that which was common to all by succession, it seemed good to transfer to one chosen by the judgment of the whole presbytery; the which neither can nor ought to be reprehended; especially since this ancient manner to choose the chief of the presbytery was observed in the famous church of Alexandria even from Mark the evangelist. Another cause of greatest weight without comparison, doth Ambrose allege, that this primacy so going round to every one by course, some pastors sometimes were found unfit to undertake this government, and thereby it came to pass, that such as were unworthy, oftentimes ruled the rest, which brought with it the contempt of the presbytery, and opened a gap unto factions<sup>z</sup>."

How far Ambrose is mistaken, I have shewed before; he saith, "the presbyters succeeded in order," when the place was void; but that "they changed by course," he saith no such thing. It was a plain oversight (I will say no worse) in him that first wrested Ambrose's words to that conceit. In the mean time we have master Beza's full confession, that "the going round by course to govern the church, doth maintain disorder and faction, and no whit decrease ambition; and the choosing of one to continue chief (for his life) began at Alexandria from Mark the evangelist," (six years before Peter and Paul were martyred, and six and thirty before the death of St. John;) in which there is "NOTHING THAT can or ought to be misliked."

How truly he speaketh, if he should recall, or you refuse

<sup>z</sup> Beza responsio ad tract. de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus, fol. 143. "Dicamus ergo primatum illum ordinis per mutue successionis vices, ipsa tandem experientia compertum fuisse, non satis virium, nec ad ambitiosos pastores, nec ad auditores alios quidem vanos, alios vero adulatorio spiritu præditos compescendos habuisse, communicata videlicet singulis pastoribus per vices hujus primatus dignitate. Itaque quod singulorum secundum successionem commune fuit, visum fuit ad unum, et eum quidem totius presbyterii judicio delectum transferre, quod certe repre-

hendi nec potest, nec debet: quum præsertim, vetustus hic mos primum presbyterum deligendi, in Alexandrina celeberrima ecclesia jam inde a Marco evangelista esset observatus. Alteram causam affert Ambrosius, longe maximi momenti, nempe quod primatu sic ad singulos per vices perveniente, singulis pastoribus non semper ad hanc gubernationem suscipiendam idoneis comperitis, ita fieret ut indigni interdum præessent, quæ res tum presbyterii contemptum secum trahebat, tum aditum factionibus aperiebat."

his words, reason and experience will easily teach us: for first in this circular change, it is not casual, but essential, that all in their course, be they fit or unfit, must have the ruling of the rest. Now if to choose one good amongst many be a matter of difficulty, how impossible then is it that all should be good? And yet by your rolling regiment, all, be they never so wicked or unworthy, must have as much time and power to neglect and hurt the church of God, as the well minding and godly pastors shall have to assist and help the same. Again, what good can be done by any, when in every action, one must begin, and another proceed, and a third conclude? If an evil man light on the beginning, middle, or ending, he may soon mar all. And be the men not evil, except they be like affected and like instructed, when will they agree in judgment, or tread one in another's steps? If any faction arise, I need not put you in mind what contradicting and reversing will be offered by your weekly or monthly governors. Who shall dare do any thing to a presbyter or bishop but he must look for the like measure, when their course cometh? What can be one week made so sure, but it may be the next week undone by him that presently followeth? This is the right way to make a mockery of the church of Christ; and to permit it to every man's humour and pleasure whiles his time lasteth. If you trust not me, distrust not yourselves; "It breedeth contempt, and openeth the highway to factions<sup>a</sup>."

As for ambition, which is another of the mischiefs that you would amend by your changeable government, you cure that, as he doth, which to cool the heat of one part of the body, setteth all the rest in a burning fever. To quench the desire of dignity in one man, you inflame all the pastors of every province with the same disease: for you propose the like honour and power for the time unto all, which we do to one. And so you heal ambition by making it common, as if patients were the less sick, because others are touched with the same infection: for if one man cannot have this metropolitical pre-eminence without some note of pride, the rest can neither expect it, nor enjoy it in their courses, but with some taint of

<sup>a</sup> [Vid. p. 520. n. z. ad finem: "Quæ res tum presbyterii &c."]

the same corruption : fruition and expectation of one and the same thing, are so near neighbours, that if one be vicious, the other cannot be virtuous. Wherefore, either grant the superiority and dignity of bishops and metropolitans may be christianly supported by one in every presbytery and province, as we affirm ; or else we conclude, it cannot be expected and enjoyed of all every where by course, as you would have it, but very unchristianly.

You give more to your bishops and metropolitans than we do, and that increaseth their pride.] We give them no power nor honour by God's law, but what you must yield to your pastors and presidents, if you will have any. And as for magistrates, we may not limit them on whom they shall lay the execution of their laws, nor what honour they shall allow to such as they put in trust, so no part thereof be contrary to the doctrine of the scriptures. Agnize first their callings, and then measure their offices by the ancient canons of Christ's church ; and if they have any other or further authority than standeth with good reason and the manifest examples of the primitive church, we strive not for it ; reserving always to Christian princes their liberty, to use whose advice and help they think good, and to bestow their favours where they see cause ; without crossing the voice of the Holy Ghost, or the wisdom of the apostolic and primitive church of Christ : for the government of the church is committed to them, not that they should alter and overthrow the main foundations of ecclesiastical discipline at their pleasures, but that they should carefully and wisely use it to the benefit of God's church, and good of their people, for which they must give account to the dreadful judge.

It was long after the apostles' times before provinces were divided, and mother cities appointed, and therefore metropolitans are not so ancient as you make them ; as may appear by the thirty-third canon called apostolic, where the chief dignity over each province is not attributed to any certain place or city.] I stand not precisely for the time when mother cities were first appointed in every province, howbeit the general council of Ephesus saith : " Every province shall keep his rights untouched and unviolated, which it hath had

from the beginning upward, according to the custom that hath anciently prevailed; every metropolitan having liberty to take a copy of (our) acts for his own security<sup>a</sup>;” for so the words ἀδείαν ἔχοντος ἐκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν may well be interpreted, though some embrace another sense. Yet if in this point you press those canons called apostolic, I will not reject them; not that I take [them] to have been written by the apostles, for then they must be part of the canonical scriptures; but that some of them express the ancient discipline of the church, which obtained even from the apostles’ times, (by whomsoever they were collected,) though many things since be inserted and corrupted in them, and therefore are justly refused, further than they agree with the stories of the first times, and the decrees of the eldest councils.

The canon which you quote is this: “The bishops of every nation must know (or acknowledge) him that is first (or chief) amongst them; and esteem him as (their) head, and attempt no matter of weight without his opinion (and judgment), neither let him do any thing without all their advices (and consents)<sup>b</sup>.” Hereby you would prove, there was a time after the apostles’ deaths, when as yet the first place amongst the bishops of the same province was not affixed to any certain church or city. Grant it were so, though this canon do not exactly prove so much, then yet in every nation there was a primate before there was a metropolitan; and consequently the authority of one to be chief in a province is elder than the privilege of the metropolis or mother city; which by the witness of the Nicene and Ephesine councils was in their times a very ancient custom. Now what gain you by this, if there were a chief bishop in every province to assemble and moderate synods, before that prerogative was fastened to any place? It is the office, not the place, that we seek for<sup>c</sup>: for so you

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Ephes. Decret. [Vide p. 489. note <sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>b</sup> Canon. Apostol. xxxiii. [t. i. col. 32. Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγείσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνον πράττειν ἐκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ

παρουσίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν χώραις. Ἄλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιέτω τί.]

<sup>c</sup> Added L.: “Quamvis hanc ego potius teneam sententiam, fuisse quasdam præcipuas civitates, ac aliarum quasi parentes et rectrices etiam ante apostolorum ætatem, quas metropoles



confess there were primates amongst the apostles' scholars, whether they were chosen for the worthiness of their gifts, or for the greatness of their cities, we care not; such there were, and by such were the synods of every province assembled and guided. When the wonderful gifts of the Holy Ghost failed, for which the first age haply made choice of her primates, it is not unlike, but as the next ages following chose the most sufficient men for the most populous cities, so they were content the bishops of the most famous churches in every province should have τὰ πρεσβεῖα, the preeminence amongst their brethren, to call them together and consult them for the common affairs of the whole church; which the four first general councils with one consent confirmed to every church, and commanded to be kept without alteration or diminution, as the ancient rights and customs of the church even from the beginning.

The council of Nice willeth "the prerogatives to remain to every church<sup>d</sup>;" and again, "reserving (always) to the mother city her proper dignity<sup>e</sup>." The council of Constantino-ple, as Socrates saith<sup>f</sup>, "ratified the Nicene faith, and appointed patriarchs (or metropolitans), distinguishing their provinces." As namely, Nectarius the bishop of Constantino-ple had allowed him Thracia; Helladius bishop of Cæsarea

postea nominabant. Ubi enim coloniae deductae in tantam crescebant amplitudinem ut civitates evaderent, eam civitatem ut matrem agnoscebant, a qua ducebant originem. Deinde ut quæque civitas potentia et rerum omnium abundantia cæteras anteibat, ita maxime finitimas vel in amicitiam recepit, vel sub ditionem redegit; quæ duo, scilicet coloniarum deductio, et vicinarum urbium subjectio certissima fuerunt et antiquissima metropoleum fundamenta, multis et locis et sæculis ante natos apostolos."

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 32. 'Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.]

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. can. vii. [Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἔχῃ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.]

<sup>f</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 8.

[p. 265. Ἐβεβαίωσάν τε αὖθις τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν· καὶ πατριάρχας κατέστησαν, διανεμώμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερ-ορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν· τοῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τοὺς διωγμοὺς ἐγένετο ἀδιαφόρως· καὶ κληροῦται Νεκτάριος μὲν τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν καὶ τὴν Θράκην· τῆς δὲ Ποντικῆς διοικήσεως, Ἑλλάδιος δὲ μετὰ βασιλεῖον Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἐπίσκοπος, Γρηγόριος δὲ Νύσσης, ὁ βασιλεῖου ἀδελφός· Καππαδοκίας δὲ καὶ ἦδε πόλιν· καὶ Ὀτρήϊος δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ Μελιτηνῆς τὴν πατριαρχίαν ἐκκληρώσατο· τὴν Ἀσιανὴν δὲ λαγχάνουσιν Ἀμφιλόχιος δὲ Ἰκονίου, καὶ Ὀπτιμος δὲ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδίας· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Τιμοθέω τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας προσενημέθη· τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν διοίκησιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἐπέτρεψαν, Πελαγίῳ τὲ τῷ Λαοδικείας καὶ Διοδώρῳ τῷ Ταρσοῦ, φυλάξαντες τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἅπερ τότε παρόντι Μελετίῳ ἔδωσαν.]



in Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa, and Otreïus of Melitene, had the regiment of Pontus; Amphilocheus of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia, took the charge of Asia; the like did Timotheus bishop of Alexandria for Egypt; and Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus, for the east churches, “reserving the prerogative of the church of Antioch,” which “they delivered unto Miletius there present: the canon that before limited these governments being (always) observed<sup>g</sup>.” Of the council of Ephesus I spake even now; wherein, when the bishops of Cyprus complained, that the church of Antioch began to encroach upon them, “contrary to the apostles’ canons, and the decrees of the sacred council of Nice<sup>h</sup>,” and desired that the synod of Cyprus might enjoy their right as they had done, “even from the beginning ever since the apostles’ times<sup>i</sup>,” the fathers rejected and condemned that attempt of the bishop of Antioch, as a thing “repugnant to the laws of the church, and canons of the apostles<sup>k</sup>.” The great council of Chalcedon finding fault that some bishops, to increase their power, obtained the prince’s charter to cut one province into twain, of purpose to make two metropolitans where before was but one, decreed, that no bishop should enterprise the like without the loss of his office; and notwithstanding the imperial letters already pur-

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Constant. i. can. ii. [t. ii. col. 947. Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοικήσιν ἐπισκόπους, ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας, τὸν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον οἰκονομεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν ἀνατολὴν μόνην διοικεῖν· φυλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μόνην οἰκονομεῖν· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς τὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς μόνον, καὶ τοὺς τῆς Θράκης, τὰ τῆς Θρακικῆς μόνον οἰκονομεῖν.]

<sup>h</sup> Exemplar suggestionum episcoporum Cypri in Concilio Ephesin. [t. iii. col. 788. “Olim etiam sanctus pater noster et episcopus factus Troilus ab Antiocheno clero multa passus est, et pientissimus episcopus Theodorus vim non vulgarem pertulit, atque adeo usque ad plagas, quas nec flagriones homines ferre deceat, illicite, absurde et illegitime.

Nam cum propter aliam causam abiisset, illius vero felicem accepit finem, abusi ambitione, vi cogere voluerunt, et subicere sibi sanctos episcopos insulæ contra apostolicos canones, et definitiones Nicænæ synodi.”]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. [col. 799. “Sicut initio a temporibus apostolorum, et constitutionibus et canonibus sanctissimæ et magnæ synodi Nicænæ, illæsa et superior insidiis et potentia permansit nostra Cypriorum synodus; ita et nunc per vestram incorruptam et justissimam sententiam, etiam vestra constitutione justitiam nobis fieri cupimus.”]

<sup>k</sup> Decretum ejusdem synodi pro episcopis Cypri. [t. iii. col. 802. Πράγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς θεσμούς, καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἀγίων \*πατέρων (marg. \*ἀποστόλων) καινοτομούμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον, —εἰ μηδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαίον παρηκολούθησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας πόλεως ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας.]

chased, "the true (or ancient) mother city should certainly keep her proper right<sup>1</sup>;" and the other newly erected content themselves with the honour of the name.

The preeminence then of mother cities and metropolitans is very ancient in the church of God, and if we admit even your own construction of that canon called apostolic, there were primates elected in every province before there were metropolitans; and so the office was found to be needful in the church of Christ, when as yet the places and cities, that should have that privilege, were not appointed nor agreed on.

Some think the metropolitan's function may be derived from Timothy and Titus, by reason that Titus had in charge the whole isle of Crete, and Timothy the oversight, not of Ephesus only, but of Asia also. Of Titus Chrysostom saith: "This was one of Paul's companions, that was approved. Otherwise Paul would not have committed unto him an whole island, and the (trial or) judgment of so many bishops<sup>m</sup>." Of Timothy Theodoret saith: "To him divine Paul committed the charge of Asia<sup>n</sup>." And of them both he saith: "So was Titus the apostle (or bishop) of Crete, and Timothy of Asia<sup>o</sup>." Indeed Ephesus was a mother city, as appeareth by the first Ephesine council, but whether it had that prerogative by the nobleness of the place, or by succession from Timothy, I dare not define. Timothy, as it should seem by Theodoret, was chief over all Asia, and yet were there sundry other cities in Asia besides Ephesus that had metropolitans; as Iconium<sup>p</sup>, Antioch of Pisidia<sup>p</sup>, Cyzicum<sup>q</sup>, Sardis<sup>q</sup>, Rhodos<sup>q</sup>. If any think it unlawful for one man to have the care and oversight

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Calched. can. xii. [t. iv. col. 762. "Οσαι δὲ ἤδη πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολανέτωσαν τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῆς διοικῶν ἐπίσκοπος, δηλονότι σωζομένων τῇ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν οἰκείων δικαίων.]

<sup>m</sup> Chrysost. in Epist. ad Titum Homil. i. [Par. 1636. t. xii. p. 619. Τῶν Παύλῳ συνόντων δόκιμος οὗτος ἦν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον δολόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἑλλειφθέντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προέταξεν ("Ἰνα γὰρ, φησί, τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ) οὐκ ἂν

τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐθάρρει τὰνδρί.]

<sup>n</sup> Theodoret. in Epist. i. ad Timoth. Argument. [Halæ. 1771. t. iii. p. 638. Τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐνεχέει- ρισεν ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος.]

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. [p. 652. Οὕτω Κρητῶν ὁ Τίτος, καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος ἀπόστολοι.]

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 8. [p. 265. Ἀμφιλόχιος ὁ Ἰκονίου, καὶ Ὀπτιμος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Πισιδίας.]

<sup>q</sup> Concil. Calched. Action. iii. Sub- scription. [t. iv. col. 449. Διογένης Κυ- ζίκου. col. 450. Φλωρέντιος Σάρδευ. col. 452. Ἰωάννης Ρόδου.]

of other bishops, he may be satisfied or refuted by the example of Titus, to whom "the whole island of Crete was committed<sup>r</sup>," as Chrysostom saith; and "the islands adjoining<sup>s</sup>," as Jerome writeth; and by Paul's own testimony, "the making of bishops in many cities." If therefore any man like these places, I am not against them; but the ancient, evident, and constant course of the primitive church to have primates or metropolitans for the calling and guiding of synods in every province, is to me a pregnant and perfect proof, that this order was either delivered or allowed by the apostles and their scholars; or found so needful in the first government of the church, that the whole Christian world ever since received and continued the same.

Though the office were tolerable, yet the name of archbishop is expressly prohibited by the third council of Carthage, and by the great council of Africa; and was never heard of in the church till the council of Chalcedon, which was kept 455 years after Christ. The words of both the councils interdicting all such proud titles are these: "The bishop of the first seat must not be called the prince of priests, or high priest, or by any such style, but only the bishop of the first seat<sup>t</sup>." If the office be needful and lawful, the strife for names shall not long trouble us. Were I persuaded that "archbishop" had no signification but king and prince of bishops, the simplicity and integrity of Christ's church should soon induce me to give over the name; but if it import no more than the words, which these councils like and use, I see no cause for others to stumble at it. The very canon lately cited by you, which you grant<sup>u</sup> is ancient, though not apostolic, calleth the metropolitan "the first (or chiefest)," and willeth him to be esteemed "as head amongst<sup>x</sup>" the bishops of the

<sup>r</sup> Chrysost. in Epist. ad Titum Homil. i. [t. xii. p. 619. Οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν.]

<sup>s</sup> Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Titum. [t. i. p. 264. Τίτος ἐπίσκοπος Κρήτης, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ταῖς περὶ νήσοις ἐκήρυξε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐτάφη.]

<sup>t</sup> Concil. Carthag. III. can. xxvi. [t. ii. col. 1171. "Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujus-

modi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus."]

[Codex Canon. Eccles. Afric. can. xxxix. [t. ii. col. 1070. "Ὡστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἑξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοντότροπον τί ποτε· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας.]]

<sup>u</sup> De Ministrorum Evangelii Gradi-  
bus, cap. xxiv. fol. 170.

<sup>x</sup> Canon. Apostol. xxxiii. [t. i. col. 32.

same province. The councils of Carthage the second<sup>y</sup>, can. 12; the third<sup>z</sup>, can. 7. 28; the fifth<sup>a</sup>, can. 7. 10; the Milevitan council<sup>b</sup>, can. 21. 22. 24; the African<sup>c</sup>, can. 40. 43. 44. 65. 73. 87. 88. 92; use the word *πρωτεύων* for “the primate” of every province.

Now if *ἀρχή* in composition note the first and chief, as well

Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μὴδὲν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἂνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης.]

<sup>y</sup> [Codex Canon. Eccles. African. t. ii. cap. xiii. col. 1055. ‘Οφείλει παρ’ ἡμῶν τὰ ὀρισθέντα ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν φυλαχθῆναι· ὧν τινῶν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀβούλως οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς οἰασθήποτε ἐπαρχίας οὐ κατατολμῶσι.]

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Carth. cap. ii. [Canon. Eccl. African. t. ii. col. 1060. can. xix. Αὐρήλιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· ἐὰν τις τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατηγορηθῇ, παρὰ τοῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας πρωτεύουσιν ὁ κατήγορος ἀναγάγῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα.]

Can. xxviii. [Canon. Eccl. African. xxviii. col. 1063. Διὸ εἰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκκλητὸν παρέχειν νόμισμα, μὴ ἐκκαλέσονται εἰς τὰ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης δικαστήρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαρχιῶν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πολλάκις ὤριστα.]

<sup>a</sup> Can. vii. [Canon. Eccl. Afric. lxiii. col. 1094. ‘Οφείλει γὰρ καὶ γραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας πασῶν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, ἵνα ὅτε παρ’ αὐτοῖς σὺνὸδον προσκαλοῦνται, ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν φυλάττωσιν.]

Can. x. [Canon. Eccl. Afric. lxvi. col. 1095. ‘Ομοίως ἤρρεσεν ἵνα ὁσάκις δῆποτε σὺνὸδον δεῖ συναχθῆναι, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἳ τινες οὔτε κείρα, οὔτε ἀσθενεία, οὔτε τινὶ βαρυτέρᾳ ἀνάγκῃ ἐμποδίζονται, ἀρμόδιως ἀπαντῶσι, καὶ τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν ἐκάστης ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας ἐφανισθεῖη περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἴτε δύο, εἴτε τρεῖς συναθροίσεις γένωνται, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκάστου δὲ ἀθροισμοῦ εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ὅσοι δῆποτε ἐπιλεγῶσι, πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συνόδου ἐνστατικῶς ἀπαντήσωσιν.]

<sup>b</sup> Can. xxi. [Can. Eccl. Afric. cxk. col. 1127. Καὶ μὴ ἐαυτὸν τις κολακεύσῃ εἰ ἐκ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος γράμματα περὶ τοῦ κατέχειν ἔλαβεν· ἀλλ’ εἴτε γράμματα ἔχει, εἴτε οὐκ ἔχει, συνέλθοι τῷ κατέχοντι, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γράμματα λάβοι. ὥστε φανῆναι τοῦτον εἰρηνικῶς τὴν αὐτῷ ἀνήκουσαν κατασχέιν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους τινα ζήτησιν ἀντεναγάγῃ, καὶ αὐτῇ περατωθῇ μετὰξὺ ἐπισκόπων κρινόν-

των, εἴτε οὐς ὁ πρωτεύων αὐτοῖς δῶ, εἴτε οὐς γεινιῶντες κατὰ συναίνεσιν ἐπιλέξωνται.]

Can. xxii. [Ibid. cxkv. col. 1131. ‘Εὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων] ἐκκαλέσασθαι θελήσωσι, μὴ ἐκκαλέσωνται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς συνόδους, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχιῶν.]

Can. xxiv. [Ibid. cxxi. col. 1130. Τῶν δὲ κρινόντων ἐπισκόπων ἐκ διαφόρων ὄντων ἐπαρχιῶν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρωτεύων τοὺς δικαστὰς δώσει, οὗ τινος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχει τόπος, περὶ οὗ φιλονεικεῖται.]

<sup>c</sup> Can. xl. [Ibid. lxixiii. col. 1094. Vide supra not. a. Canon. Eccl. Afric. ‘Οφείλει γὰρ, etc.]

Can. xliii. [Ibid. lxxvi. col. 1095. Vide supra not. a. Canon. Eccl. Afric. ‘Ομοίως ἤρρεσεν, etc.]

Can. xlv. [Ibid. can. lxxvii. col. 1095. Περί Κρεσκωνίου τοῦ Βιλλαρεκεντινίου τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἔδοξεν, ἵνα ἐντεῦθεν ὁμοίως ἐφανείῃ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῆς Νουμιδίας πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν ὀφείλειν γράμμασιν οἰκέλοις πρὸς συνέλευσιν προτρέψασθαι τὸν μνημονευθέντα Κρεσκωνίον, ὥστε μὴ υπερθέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ πλησιαζούσῃ συμπάσῃ Ἀφρικανῇ συνόδῳ παρασχέιν.]

Can. lxn. [Ibid. xcvi. col. 1115. ‘Ἦρρεσεν καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἵνα οἱ ὄχλοι οἱ μηδέποτε ἰδίους ἐσχηκότες ἐπισκόπους, εἰ μὴ ἐκ πάσης τῆς συνόδου ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ψήφισμα γένηται, καὶ κατὰ συναίνεσιν ἐκείνου, οὗ τινος ὑπὸ τὴν διοίκησιν καθίστατο ἡ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησία, μηδαμῶς δέξωνται.]

Can. lxxiii. [Ibid. cvi. col. 1119. Αἰ ἀπολυτικά δὲ αἰ ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτεύοντων ἢ τῶν οἰωνδῆποτε ἐπισκόπων τοῖς ἰδίοις κληρικοῖς διδόμεναι, σχῶσι τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα.]

Can. lxxxvii. [Ibid. cxk. col. 1127. Vide supra not. b. Καὶ μὴ ἐαυτὸν, etc.]

Can. lxxxviii. [Ibid. cxxi. col. 1130. Vide supra not. b. Τῶν δὲ κρινόντων, etc.]

Can. xcii. [Ibid. cxkv. col. 1131. Vide sup. not. b. ‘Εὰν δὲ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, etc.]



in order and dignity, as in time and empery, I see no reason to refuse the name of *archbishop* more than of *primate*, which word the African council so often useth. If you deny that the compounds of ἀρχή do signify “an order amongst fellows,” as well as “a power over subjects;” to omit profane writers by which we might prove it, (Cicero saying, “He that is called archpirate, except he divide the prize equally, he shall be slain or forsaken (not of his men, but) of his fellows<sup>d</sup>;)” what think you of the word ἀρχάγγελος, *archangel*; doth it <sup>1 Thess. iv. 16.</sup> import order and dignity amongst the angels, or power and <sup>Jude 9.</sup> empery over them? If matters in heaven be too high for us, what say you to the word πατριάρχης, *patriarch*? were Abra- <sup>Heb. vii. 4.</sup> ham, Isaac and Jacob, in that they were patriarchs, rulers and lords over the church or chief fathers in the church? The twelve patriarchs, that were begotten of Jacob, will you <sup>Acts vii. 8.</sup> call them the rulers of their fathers, or chief fathers of the twelve tribes? David, shall he be a patriarch in respect of <sup>Acts ii. 29.</sup> his kingdom and empery, or of his prophetic graces and dignity? This signification, no doubt the learned fathers did follow when they suffered and used in the church of God the names of *archbishop*, *archimandrite*, *archdeacon*<sup>e</sup>; not that they made them lords and princes over bishops, monks and deacons, but rather chief amongst them.

But did the word ἀρχή always import power and authority, which you shall never prove; must that power be straightways so princely and peremptory, that it may not stand with a bishop's calling? Is there no power, nor government annexed to a bishop's office? Christ saith they be set “over his family<sup>ee</sup>;” St. Paul calleth them “governors in the Lord<sup>f</sup>.”

<sup>d</sup> Cicer. Offic. lib. ii. “Qui archipirata dicitur, nisi æquabiliter prædam dispartiat, aut occidetur a sociis, aut relinquetur.”

<sup>e</sup> Concil. Calched. [t. iv. col. 512. in “Preces episcoporum Ægypti ad Imperatorem.” Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικαέως ἅγιοι πατέρες συναγερμένοι ἐκάνονισαν τιῇ. ὥστε ἀκολουθεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν διοίκησιν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ μηδὲν δίχα αὐτοῦ πράττεσθαι παρὰ τινος τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων. (Et eadem sententia passim.)]

Ibid. [in “Epist. Archimand. ad Calched. Concil.” col. 526. Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐνταῦθα ἐνδημούσῃ νῦν, παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν καὶ ἀπάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφότητος. (Et passim.)]

Ibid. [col. 527. Ἀέτιος ἀρχιδιάκονος τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας εἶπε etc. (Et passim.)]

<sup>ee</sup> Matt. xxiv. 45. Ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Thess. v. 12. Προϊσταμένους ἐν Κυρίῳ.



That is (you will say) in respect of their flock, not of their fellow pastors. The council of Nice alloweth the metropolitan "power and authority"<sup>f</sup> over his province. The council of Sardica, where were 300 bishops assembled, long before the African council, giveth him the title of "the ruler of the province:" and addeth, "we mean (thereby) the bishop of the mother city (or metropolitan)."<sup>g</sup> Socrates saith the first council of Constantinople "appointed patriarchs;" and calleth the charge which they received *πατριαρχίαν*, "a patriarchdom"<sup>h</sup>. Ignatius<sup>i</sup>, Nazianzen<sup>k</sup>, and Chrysostom<sup>l</sup>, who, I think, knew the force of their own tongue better than any man living in our age, be their skill never so great, spare not to give the name of "the chief priest" unto bishops. Nazianzen, speaking to the foresaid council of Constantinople about the choice of another in his place, as Theodoret reporteth his words, said, "Seeking out a man praiseworthy and wise that is able to undertake and well guide the number of cares (here occurring), make him archbishop (of this place)."<sup>m</sup> And touching Maximus, Theodoret saith, the same council deprived him "of the archiepiscopal dignity".

Where you say, that "before the council of Chalcedon, which was about the year of Christ 455, you never found any subscription in synod, of any man named archbishop;" either

<sup>f</sup> Concil. Nicæn. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 32. *Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖται, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν.*]

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Sardicen. can. vi. [t. ii. col. 632. *Χρὴ πρότερον ἐκείνον τὸν ἐναπομείναντα ἐπίσκοπον ὑπομνησθεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῆς ἐπαρχίας, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς μητροπόλεως, ὅτι ἅξιοι τὰ πλήθη ποιμένα αὐτοῖς δοθῇναι.*]

<sup>h</sup> Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 8. [p. 265. *Ἐβεβαίωσάν τε αὖθις τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πλίστιν' καὶ πατριάρχας κατέστησαν, διανεμώμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερῶν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν.*]

<sup>i</sup> Ignat. Epist. vi. ad Philadelph. et vii. ad Smyrnaeos.

<sup>k</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. Funeb. in laudem patris sui mortui. [Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 308. *Ἐστασίαζεν ἡ Καισαρέων πόλις περὶ προβολὴν ἀρχιερέως.*]

<sup>l</sup> Chrysost. ad populum Antioch. Homil. xx. [t. i. p. 223. Homil. in Episcopi reditum. *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἑορτὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης πολλῆς καταξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελέσαι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποδοὺς τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τοῖς προβάτοις, τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.*]

<sup>m</sup> Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 8. [Halæ. 1771. t. iii. p. 1026. *Ἄνδρα δὴ οὖν ἐπιζητήσαντες ἀξίειπανον, καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα, τῶν φροντίδων τὸ πλήθος καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ εὖ διαθεῖναι δυνάμενον, ἀρχιερέα προβάλλεσθε.*]

<sup>n</sup> Ibidem, p. 1027. *Τὸν δὲ Μάξιμον, ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου φρενοβλαβείας μετεληχότα, τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀξίας γυνώσκοντες, ἀπεκήρυξαν.*]

<sup>o</sup> De Ministrorum Evangelii Gradihus, cap. xxv. fol. 182. [Ante Chalcedonense Concilium, quod incidit circiter in annum Christi 455. nullam subscri-

mine eyes be not matches, or you are greatly deceived. For I find not only that subscription in the general council of Ephesus before the council of Chalcedon, but the main council in their letters give that title to the bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Ephesus. In the first session of the council it is said: "The synod assembling in the mother city of Ephesus, by the decree of the most religious and Christian kings; the bishops sitting in the most sacred church, called by the name of Mary; (first) Cyril of Alexandria supplying the place of Celestinus, the most sacred and most holy archbishop of the church of Rome<sup>p</sup>." If you take this to be the notary's fault, read the mandate which the whole council gave their legates when they sent them to Constantinople to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian for the enlarging of Cyril and Memnon; and likewise their petition to the two princes for the same matter. "We permit you" (say they to their legates) "to promise our communion (to the bishops of the east) if they will labour with you, that our most sacred archbishop Cyril and Memnon may be restored unto us<sup>q</sup>." In their relation to the emperors, they give the like title to Celestinus: "This holy and œcumenical council," say they, "with which sitteth the most sacred archbishop of your great city of Rome, Celestinus<sup>r</sup>." And though the provincial council of Africa willed the name of *ἐξάρχος* to be refrained in their meetings; yet this general council of Ephesus usually calleth Cyril and Memnon "the chief leaders and rulers of the holy councils."

Of the Chalcedon council you did well to make no doubt;

ptionem synodicam comperi, in qua archiepiscopus quisquam inscribatur.]

<sup>p</sup> Concil. Ephes. Actio ii. [Iabhei. t. iii. col. 609. Συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίῳ μητροπόλει ἐκ θεσιῶν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων, καὶ καθεσθέντων ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπέῳ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Μέμονος τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, διέποντος καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ δσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Κελεστίνου.]

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. [col. 781. Καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν πονῆσαι ἐὶ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι ἡμῖν τοὺς ἁγιωτάτους ἀρχιεπισκόπους Κύριλλον καὶ Μέ-

μωνα ἐπιτρέπομεν τῇ ὑμετέρα ἀγιότητι, τούτων γινόμενων, ὑποσχέσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν, γράφαι δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.]

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. [col. 784. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἅγια καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἥ συνεδρεῦει καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ἡμῶν Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτος καὶ θεοφιλεστάτος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κελεστίνος.]

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. "Relation. synodi ad imperatores pro restitutione Cyrilli et Memnonis. [col. 767. Δεόμεθα τοίνυν τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, ἀνεῖναι λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς τῆς θλίψεως, καὶ κελεύσαι ἀποδοθῆναι ἡμῖν τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης συνόδου, τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἐπισκόπους, Κύριλλον καὶ Μέμωνα.]

the name of archbishop is so often used in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, tenth, fourteenth and sixteenth actions, not only in the subscriptions, but even in the deliberations and decrees of that council, that with good conscience it might not be dissembled. Now if you suppose these three general councils of Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, and all the Greek divines and fathers there assembled, were so void; first of learning, that they knew not the force of the word ἀρχῇ in composition; then of religion, that they would rob Christ of his proper titles, to increase the pride of men against the truth of the scriptures; I must confess I utterly dissent from you; the speech is so hard, that I cannot digest it. If you yield them but reasonable skill in their own tongue, and moderate understanding in the principles of faith, I have my desire; for then not only the function and office of metropolitans and primates is as ancient and necessary in the church of God, as the having and guiding of provincial synods, and confirmed unto them as lawful by the four first general councils; but their very names and places were allowed and allotted unto them by the full consent of the Christian world, even from the beginning, and never since denied or doubted till this present age wherein we live.

Contention and ambition of bishops and primates did much afflict the primitive church, and hinder and disturb the best councils, the very Nicene council not excepted.] Who doth marvel that amongst so many thousands of bishops as the whole world yielded in so many hundred years, there should be some contentious and ambitious spirits? Or who can perform that those very weeds shall not grow as fast amongst presbyters as ever they did amongst bishops? Haply in a city where the magistrate severely represseth the dissension and discord of pastors, some ten or twelve presbyters may either be kept in tolerable peace<sup>t</sup>, or presently overruled by the public state; but come once to the government of the whole world, as the fathers of the primitive church did, and then tell me, not what contentions and factions, but what conflicts and uproars your parity of presbyters will breed.

<sup>t</sup> Thus L: "Concordiæ cancellis astringi,"

Were the pastors but of England, France, and Germany to meet in a free synod; I will not ask you when they would agree; but if their tongues be like their pens there would be more need of officers to part the frays, than of notaries to write the acts. Where the primitive church had one Theophilus and one Dioscorus, we should have twenty: we may sooner flee their offices than their vices; their affections will remain, when their functions be altered. Where all are equal, there is as great danger of pride and contention, as where one is superior; yea, the priority of one man in every province, as we see confirmed by the practice and experience of the universal church of Christ since the apostles' times, is sooner resisted and better endured, than the waywardness and headiness of so many governors as you must and would have in your changeable regiment of presbyters.

The Lord make us careful to keep the band of peace<sup>u</sup> which he hath left us; and mindful to shew that lowliness of heart which he hath taught us; that we wax not so wise in our own conceits, as to despise all others besides ourselves; and so resolute in our private persuasions, that we enforce our devices upon the church of God, under the name of his holy and heavenly precepts: even so, O Lord, for Christ Jesus' sake. Amen.

<sup>u</sup> Thus L.: "Pie et studiose colamus."

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη.





## APPENDIX.

[*From the Latin edition of 1611. p. 378—401 : its place in the English original being between the words “any man’s right,” p. 421, to “I know well you have no other shift, &c.” ibid. ED.*]

Quam antiqua diœcesium assignatio sit, merito dubitari potest ; de parœciis vero, extra controversiam est, apostolorum temporibus initium habuisse, et ad hunc usque diem perpetuo durasse ; ac proinde multo vetustiores fuisse parœcianos episcopos, (quos restitutos vehementer cupimus) diœcesianis vestris, qui temporis corruptela obtinuerunt. Omnes enim episcopi, quorum mentio fit in Novo Testamento, vel apud Eusebium aliosque antiquos scriptores ad ducentorum a Christo annorum spacium, parœciis tantum affixi fuerunt ; non diœceses, ut vos defenditis, habuerunt.] Verbum ‘parœcia’ nullibi in scripturis eam vim habet, quam vos arbitramini ; apud Eusebium vero (quo authore potissimum niti videmini) ut et alios etiam antiquioris notæ scriptores, non id significat, quod nunc vulgari nomine ‘parochiam’ appellamus, sed ‘diœcesim.’ Πάροικος, quo verbo significatio παροικίας optime elucet, ubique in Novo Testamento peregrinum sive inquilinum denotat, atque illis semper opponitur, qui indigenæ et ejusdem civitatis concives sunt. Beatus Lucas verba Dei ad Abrahamum ita reddidit ; (Act. vii. 6.) “Ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ : ‘Erit semen tuum inquilinum in terra aliena.’ Similiter de Mose ex Ægypto fugiente, ubi a filia Pharaonis lilil oco enutritus fuerat, dicitur : (ver. 29.) ‘Fugit Moses,’ καὶ ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν γῇ Μαδιὰν, ‘et factus est inquilinus in terra Madian.’ Paulus etiam ad Ephesios ait : (Ephes. ii. 19.) ‘Non amplius estis’ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ συμπολίται τῶν ἁγίων, ‘hospites et inquilini, sed concives sanctorum, et domestici Dei.’ ‘Obsecro vos,’ inquit Petrus, (1 Pet. ii. 11.) ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους, ‘tanquam advenas et peregrinos, abstinete a carnis cupiditatibus.’ Σὺ μόνος παροικεῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ; ‘Tu solus hospes in Hierosolyma versaris, et

ignoras quæ in ea facta sunt his diebus?' inquit discipuli Emmaum proficiscentes Domino, qui, ut ignotus, comitem se illis adjunxerat. Atque hanc vim *παροιμία*, 'parœcia,' ubique in Novo Testamento retinet. Act. xiii. 17. net. 'Deus,' inquit Paulus, 'populum evexit (sive auxit)' ἐν τῇ παροιμίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ: 'quum essent incolæ in terra Ægypti.' 'Transi- 1 Pet. i. 17. gite,' ait Petrus, 'tempus' τῆς παροιμίας ἡμῶν, 'incolatus vestri (in Heb. xi. 9. terra) cum timore.' 'Per fidem Abrahamus' παρώκησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, 'factus est incola in terra, quæ promissa fuerat ei,' ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν, 'tandem in aliena, commoratus in tabernaculis cum Isaac et Jacob cohæredibus ejusdem promissionis.'

Hæc solum in omni Novo Testamento exempla occurrunt, in quibus parœcia, aut verba aliqua inde derivata usurpantur: ex his autem nihil prorsus pro ea parœciæ significatione quæ nunc in usu est, concludi potest, nisi forte parochianos episcopos vestros non 'concives sanctorum et domesticos Dei,' sed veritati 'peregrinos ac hospites' esse velis. Ita enim Paulus ad Ephesios author erit: alioqui si nec verbum aliquod, nec res ejusmodi in scripturis legatur, quales parochiæ vestræ videntur, sequitur parochianos episcopos in Novo Testamento nusquam reperiri, licet, plenis (quod aiunt) velis a te inveniantur.

Verum apud veteres (ut putas) scriptores verbum illud pro parochia (ita enim distinctionis causa appellare liceat) usurpatur, nec alii episcopi per ducentos annos a quopiam commemorantur, nisi tantum parochiani: quæ quidem opinio, æque ac superior, a veritate penitus abhorret. Parœcia enim ab Eusebio aliisque pro diœcesi ponitur; tu autem alieno sensu eandem accipiens, inde parochianos episcopos velut ab ultima antiquitate ortos produxisti. Sed ne te ipse decipias, nec alios etiam in fraudem inducas; tua, tua (inquam) inconsulta et indocta hæc opinatio, non Eusebii aut alterius cujusquam assertio videtur. Quo melius autem constet inter nos, quid parœcia olim fuerit, et quomodo ex civitate aliqua pependit; (quandoquidem Paulus relationem quandam, aut verius oppositionem denotat inter hæc duo nomina *παρόικοι καὶ συμπολίται*, 'parœciam et concives;') de civitatibus pauca mihi dicenda erunt; quia in his tantum episcopi et presbyteri apostolorum temporibus constituti erant, ad easque parœciæ pertinebant.

Ut lectorem ad manifestam, nec tamen a præsentī disjunctam veritatem deducam, necesse habeo aliquid de ordinandis, instruendis, definiendisque civitatibus, tam ex sacris quam profanis literis advocare; unde facile perspicimus civitates, in quibus solis apostoli episcopos collocarunt, non unius parochiæ finibus conclusas, ut re-

centiores quidam temere opinantur, sed regionis alicujus terminis circumscriptas, et diœcesibus æquiparatas fuisse. Sex sunt, ut recte Aristoteles animadvertit, quibus indiget civitas omnis, ut per se con- Polit. lib. vii. c. 8. sistere, et ad vitam tuendam sibi sufficere possit. 1. 'Agri, sive Agricolarum multitudo: 2. Artes: 3. Arma: 4. Pecunia: 5. Sacerdotes: 6. Judices.' Hæc enim sunt, sine quibus civitas constare non potest, quibusque omnis civitas initio instructa fuit; maximeque agris circumjacentibus, qui omnium rerum copiam, quibus illa regio abundabat, ad victum conferebant. Nam ut vita humana non sine victu cultuque sustentatur, ita nulla civitas olim fundata erat, cui agrorum satis ad frumentum, vinum, oleum, pecora, cæteraque vitæ subsidia ministranda assignatum non esset, ne multitudo, quæ civitatis mœnibus conclusa erat, iis rebus indigeret, quas regio circumjecta produxisset. Cui rei argumento sunt, non scripturæ solum, sed historiarum omnium monumenta, adeo ut civitas cum territorio ei adjacente regis olim portio fuerit, ut in his exemplis, Gen. 14. Abrahami tempore, Bera rex Sodomi, Cirtash rex Gomorrhæ, Shinab rex Admæ, Sheneber rex Zeboimorum, præter regem Zoar recensentur (his quinque civitatibus in valle Siddimorum jacentibus;) ut etiam Melchizedecus, qui rex Salem vocabatur. His addantur ex aliis orbis partibus sed aliquanto posterius, reges Argorum, Athenarum, Corinthi, Spartæ, Thebarum, Romæ, Carthaginis, aliarumque multarum civitatum, quorum plenæ sunt veterum historiæ. Atque hi usque ad Josuam, 'qui reges triginta unum cis Jordanum percussit, Josh xii. 9, ut regem Jericho, regem Ai, regem Hierosolymæ,' et singularum 10. civitatum singulos reges, qui ibi sequuntur. Tametsi autem tunc temporis potentiores inter eos tenuiores in potestatem suam rede-gissent, multasque civitates sub imperium suum subjunxissent; scripturæ tamen liquido probant, cuique civitati non loca tantum suburbana atque his confinia subdita fuisse, sed per omnem terram Chanaan pagos, urbesque minores in civitatis alicujus ditione fuisse; civitatibus scilicet præsidii causa mœnibus cinctis, quo ab oppidulis ac pagis subjectis vim et injuriam facilius propulsarent. Si quis harum rerum documenta quærat, legat 13. 15. 18 et 19 capita libri Josuæ; et videat, si non tota terra promissionis Israelitis divideretur juxta numerum civitatum cum villis earum, unaquaque civitate villas ac urbes sub se habente, quæ illic definite et distincte recitantur; ut capite 15. ejusdem libri, ver. 32, enumerantur 'viginti novem civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 36, 'quatuordecim civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 41, 'sexdecim civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 44, 'novem civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 45, 'Ekron cum filiabus'

(hoc est, cum majoribus oppidis, non tamen civitatibus) 'et villis ejus;' ver. 47, 'Asdod cum filiabus et villis ejus: et Azza cum filiabus et villis ejus, usque ad flumen Ægypti;' ver. 51, 'undecim civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 54, 'novem civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 57, 'decem civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 59, 'sex civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 60, 'duæ civitates et villæ earum;' ver. 62, 'sex civitates et villæ earum.' In summa 'centum et quindecim civitates' cum villis et pagis earum; ut interim eas taceam quæ 18 et 19. cap. ejusdem libri numerantur, quæ multo plures sunt, et una cum villis sibi subjectis nominatim illic perscribuntur.

Ac ne quis forte per oppida et villas, quæ istic memorantur, cujusque civitatis suburbana intelligat, ejusdem libri, cap. 21, ubi 48 civitates Levitis in qualibet tribu ad habitandum datæ sunt,

Jos. xxi. explicite dicitur, 'Civitates his ac suburbana earum' distributas fu-  
Deut. xviii. isse, non autem villas, quia jus non erat Levitis ut 'possessionem  
1, 2; Jos. inter fratres haberent; tantum civitates ad habitandum,' ac prædia  
xxi. 2.  
Num. xxxv. suburbana habuerunt ('ad mensuram' bis mille cubitorum circum-  
4, 5. circa a muro cujusque civitatis) 'pro jumentis et pro omnibus animalibus eorum.' Adeo ut, cum Hebron in monte Judæ et suburbana

Jos. xxi. ejus filiis Aaronis data essent, 'agrum civitatis et villas ejus Calebo,  
12. filio Jephunnæ in possessionem dederunt;' eo quod Levitis certa agro-  
rum mensura circa civitates suas assignanda esset: quod autem ex his remanebat, ad proximas civitates pertineret. Hæc divisio terræ per civitates ac villas earum, post reditum populi e Babylone permansit, ut apparet Nehemiæ xi. vers. 25. 27, 28. 30, 31; nec Servatoris nostri tempore desierat, ut multis in locis evangelistæ testantur,

Matt. xv. ubi 'partium et confinium Tyri et Sidonis,' ac etiam 'partium et  
21; Marc. villarum Cæsareæ Philippi,' cum similibus, mentionem faciunt. Infi-  
vii. 24. nitus essem, si territoria, et confinia Athenarum, Corinthi, Romæ,  
Matt. xvi. Antiochiæ, Ephesi, aliarumque civitatum, sigillatim persequerer, quæ  
15; Marc. apud Thucydidem, Pausaniam, Strabonem, Polybium, Plutarchum,  
viii. 27. Plinium aliosque, melius legentur; præsertim cum prima Christiani orbis in dioceses sive episcopatus divisio secundum numerum civitatum fuerit; cum terminis et limitibus illis assignatis, etiam antequam ad fidem conversæ fuissent.

Comperto igitur civitates tam ante, quam sub ipsis apostolis, non moenia solum, et suburbia, sed agros, oppida ac villas intra ambitum suum undique latius patentem habuisse: duo nunc diligenter a nobis notanda sunt. Primum apostolos nullibi episcopos et presbyteros constituisse, præterquam in civitatibus: secundo paræciam, quando ad civitatem refertur, totum illius territorium, hoc est, urbi-

culas omnes ac villas denotare, quæ tam ante apostolos quam eorum temporibus ad eandem pertinebant; licet hodie sub monarchis tanta civitatum nec amplitudo nec necessitudo sit, ut loca omnia adjacentia habeant in potestate sua. De primo, verba apostoli ad Titum minime obscura sunt; ‘Hujus rei gratia reliqui te in Creta, ut constitueres Tit. i. 5. presbyteros in qualibet civitate, sicut ego tibi mandavi.’ Et quum in animo haberet invisere ecclesias quas in Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, et finitimis regionibus ædificasset, ad Barnabam ait; ‘Reversi invisamus fratres nostros per omnes civitates in quibus Act. xv. 36. annuntiavimus sermonem Domini. Et prout pertransibant civitates, Act. xvi. 4. tradebant eis servanda instituta quæ ab apostolis et presbyteris Hierosolymis decreta fuerant.’ Atque ita ‘Ecclesiæ confirmaban- Act. xvi. 5. tur in fide, et augebantur numero quotidie.’ Hanc constituendi ecclesias in civitatibus, non in viculis aut oppidulis, rationem, tam a divisione totius orbis in civitates, quam a ritu Judæorum singulis sabbatis legem Mosaicam populo prædicandi sumpserunt. ‘Moses,’ Act. xv. 21. inquit Jacobus, ‘ab ætatibus antiquis in singulis civitatibus habet, qui ipsum prædicent, cum in synagogis per singula sabbata legatur.’ Eundem etiam ordinem apostoli in propagando Christi evangelio servarunt, in civitatibus gentium prædicantes, et ecclesiarum fundamenta constituentes, utpote in locis ad eas instruendas, sustentandas, ac gubernandas maxime idoneis, quo populus per villas et pagos dispersus, fori, census, sacrorum, judiciorum, et ejusmodi negotiorum causa frequens conveniebat; ita ut in civitatibus commorantes citius in populum agrestem inciderent, quam si domi eos quærerent. Neque vero laboriosius aut molestius his erat sabbatis ad divina celebranda, quam aliis diebus privatis aut publicis de causis ex agris in civitatem iter habere; quod Judæis adeo assiduum erat, et in usu quodam communi positum, ut in sacris literis locorum intervallum ‘Sabbati itinere’ describatur. Tametsi autem apostoli extra civitates Act. i. 12. nec ecclesias constituerint, nec episcopos aut presbyteros ordinaverint; dubium tamen non est, quin multis viculis ac pagis rusticanis, propter crebras in urbem occasiones, evangelii lux affulserit, cum legamus, ‘Petrum et Johannem Hierosolymam revertentes’ πολλὰς Act. viii. 25. κώμας, ‘multis vicis Samaritanorum evangelium annunciasse;’ licet manus nemini præterquam in Samaria imposuerint; ipsumque Servatorem ‘urbes omnes,’ καὶ τὰς κώμας, ‘et vicos circuisse, docendo in Matt. ix. synagogis eorum, et prædicando evangelium regni, et quemvis mor- 35. bum in populo sanando.’

Jam vero, qui vicinas civitatum aliorumque locorum partes incolebant, Græco sermone *παροίκους* olim dictos fuisse, gravissimi inter



- gentium historicos scriptores nobis testes sunt. Julius Herodes in Jul. Herod. laudem Athenarum, ait; 'Ex Græcis nos amplissimam regionem oratio. habemus, et plurima proferentem,' οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παροίκοις, 'non solum incolis sed etiam accolis (sive paræciānis).'
- Geogr. lib. Similiter Strabo; οἱ παροῖκουντες ἐκατέρωθεν τὸν ποταμὸν, 'qui alteru- 16. trum partem fluminis accolunt.' Et Thucydides; 'Thessali,' inquit, Bell. Pelop. 'et ii quorum in solo (Heraclea) condita erat veriti' μὴ σφίσι με- lib. 3. γάλη ἰσχύει παροικῶσι, 'ne præpotentes accolæ haberent, infesta- runt, assidueque bello novos colonos laceraverunt.' Et eodem Ibidem. libro: 'Acarnanes pertimuerunt,' μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ ἔχοντες αὐτὴν, χαλε- πώτεροι σφίσι πάροικοι ᾧσι, 'ne tenentes (Ambraciam) Athenienses, gra- viores ipsis accolæ forent.' Itaque verbum hoc πάροικοι, 'paræci,' non eos solum denotat qui 'peregrini' sive 'inquilini' sunt, in qua significatione scripturis non infrequens est; sed 'accolæ' civitatis et 'vicinos habitatores,' ut jus civile mihi verbum verissime videtur ff. de ver- interpretari: 'Incola est, qui in aliquam regionem domicilium suum borum sign. contulit, quem Græci πάροικον (id est, juxta habitantem) appellant. tit. 239. Nec ii tantum qui in oppido morantur incolæ sunt, sed etiam in ali- §. incola. cujus oppidi finibus ita agrum habent, ut in eum se quasi in sedem Ibid. §. 8. recipiant.' Hoc est enim quod territorium civitatis appellant. 'Ter- ritorium universitas agrorum est intra fines cujusque civitatis.'

Venio nunc ad veteres illos Christianorum scriptores, quibus πα- ροικία, 'paræcia,' non civitatem solum, in qua episcopus sedem habue- rat, sed totam regionem finitimam civitati assignatam sive sub- jectam significat. Canones qui vocantur apostolici (non quod ab apostolis editi fuerint, sed quod multis in rebus cum veteri ecclesiæ disciplina ab apostolorum temporibus usitata consentiant) quibus concilium in Trullo calculum adjecit, cuilibet episcopo ea tantum gerenda censuerunt, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικία ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀποστολῇ, 'quæ ad propriam paræciam pertinent, et ad villas quæ sub ea sunt.' Concilium Antiochenum eodem spectans ait: 'Placuit nihil Concil. An- sine (metropolitano) reliquos episcopos agere, secundum antiquum, tioch. c. 9. patrum nostrorum canonem, nisi ὅσα τῇ ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει παροικία. καὶ ταῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν χῶραις, 'ea tantum quæ ad uniuscujusque paræciam pertinent et regiones quæ sub ea sunt.' Magnum concilium Chal- cedonense, in quo 630 episcopi interfuere, decrevit, τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην Concil. Chalced. c. ἐκκλησίαν, ἀγροικικὰς παροικίας ἢ ἐγχωρίους μένειν ἀπαρασλεύτους παρὰ 17. τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις 'per singulas ecclesias, rusticanas paræcias et quæ intra eandem sunt regionem, manere immobiles apud eos, qui illas retinent, episcopos.' Concilium in Trullo eundem cano- nem, repetitione facta. confirmavit. Huc etiam facit quod Epiphanius

alicubi ait: 'Ipse cohortatus sum beatæ memoriæ Philonem episcopum, et sanctum Theoprobum, ut in Ecclesiis Cypri, quæ juxta se erant, ad meæ autem parochiæ ecclesiam videbantur pertinere, eo quod grandis esset et late patens provincia presbyteros ordinarent.' [At nullibi vero apud Eusebium aliosve antiquos scriptores, multarum ecclesiarum sive parœciarum uni episcopo subjectarum mentio occurrit, ante Julianum decimum Alexandriæ episcopum; cujus tempore primum memoriæ proditum est, plures in ea civitate ecclesias fuisse, quarum ipse episcopatum accepit; ante hoc tempus parœcia singularē aliquam et certam ecclesiam, non diœcesim denotabat.] Esuebius, quem libenter authorem vobis proponere videmini, in nullo a conciliorum eorum sententia, quæ proxime citavi, recedit, nedum 'parœciam ad singularem aliquam et certam ecclesiam' restringit, ut a vobis indoctissime et injuriosissime torquetur; sed eo verbo regionem totam quaquaversus civitati sive ecclesiæ episcopali subjectam significat, ut ex vario ejusdem usu apparet. Quandoque enim per singularem numerum *παροικίαν*, 'parœciam,' quandoque per pluralem *παροικίας* 'parœcias,' unius ejusdemque ecclesiæ jurisdictionem exprimit. Ac ne ab eo exemplo, quod vobis tanti erroris causa extitit, longius discedam; concedi potest Eusebium tum primum *παροικίων* 'parœciarum' (in plurali numero) Alexandriæ mentionem facere, cum Demetrium Juliano successisse narrat; verum autem non est, plures una Alexandriæ ecclesias ante Julianum ab eo non commemorari. Nam circa primam Alexandriæ fidei propagationem per Marcum evangelistam, Eusebius ita refert, 'Marcum primum aiunt in Ægyptum missum, evangelium illic prædicasse,' *ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι*, 'primumque ecclesias Alexandriæ constituisse.' Tanta ibi credentium virorum ac mulierum multitudo prima accessione collecta est, quæ ab eo tempore etsi numero plures, usque ad Julianum decimum Alexandriæ episcopum manserunt; de quo Eusebius testatur; quod anno primo imperatoris Commodi (a Christo autem 183.) *τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν ἐπίσκοπὴν*, 'Julianus Alexandrinarum ecclesiarum episcopatum suscepit.' Idem de Demetrio, qui Juliano successit. 'Lætus Alexandriæ, ac reliquæ Ægypto præerat,' *τῶν δ' αὐτόθι παροικίων τὴν ἐπίσκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε μέτα Ἰουλιανὸν Δημήτριος ὑπειλήφει*, 'parœciarum autem illic episcopatum recens post Julianum Demetrius suscepit.' Hic vos primum parœciarum numerum Alexandriæ auctum, et episcopi jurisdictionem amplificatam putatis, quia ante hoc tempus nusquam apud Eusebium parœciarum (in plurali) mentio occurrit; in quo summa cum fiducia vestram proditis igno-

Epist. ad  
Johannem  
Hierosol.

Anno 190.  
Euseb. lib.  
5. c. 9.

Lib. 2. c.

16.

Lib. 5. c. 9.

Lib. 6. c. 1.

- rantiam. Post enim de eodem Demetrio, sicut prius de aliis ait, Euseb. l. 6. ὁ Δημήτριος τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας προσεστῶς, 'Demetrius parœciæ illius præses (sive episcopus).' De Dionysio etiam, quem vestra prudentia primum diœcesanum sive Regentem Episcopum statuit, idem quod de Lib. 7. c. 9. aliis ante Julianum episcopis, asserit; 'Extat et alia illius epistola,' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥς ἡγήτο παροικίας, 'ab eo, et parœcia cui præerat, Xysto et ecclesiæ Romanæ nuncupata.' Tametsi autem de Petro 16. Alexandriæ Lib. 9. c. 6. episcopo scribat, quod τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν προστὰς ἐπιφανέστατα, 'Alexandrinæ ecclesias præclarissime gubernans, Maximini jussu capite truncatus sit,' Alexander tamen decimus octavus Alexandriæ episcopus, in epistola quam ad fratres episcopos per orbem terrarum constitutos adversus Arium, aliosque ejus hæresis fautores scripsit, ita Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6. ait: 'Ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παροικίᾳ ἐξῆλθον νῦν ἄνδρες παράνομοι καὶ Χριστόμαχοι: 'In nostra quidem parœcia (Alexandrina) prodierunt jam viri qui leges contemnunt, et Christum ipsum impugnant.' Adeo ut hæc vestra persuasio de unico Alexandriæ cœtu ante Julianum, et aucto tunc primum ecclesiarum numero, inanissima sit animi vestri suspitio per summam inscitiam excogitata, dum minus animadvertistis vocabula hæc promiscue usurpari; in plurali quidem, ut plures Alexandriæ cœtus fuisse probent; in singulari vero, ut unam omnes ecclesiam constituisse, et ad unius episcopi curam ac regimen spectasse doceant.

- Neque vero Eusebius tantum, sed tota Christi ecclesia ante, post, et in ipso Niceno concilio, quando non solum diœceses (ut ipsi mihi testes estis) sed provinciæ, ut quæ longo usu die ante in ecclesia invaluisse, constitutæ fuerunt, verbum παροικία, 'parœcia,' pro jurisdictione et regimine episcopali usurpavit. Quid enim aliud decreta Concil. An- hæc sibi voluerunt? Concilium Ancyranum: 'Si qui episcopi non cyr. c. 18. suscepti' ὑπὸ τῆς παροικίας ἐκείνης 'ab ea parœcia in qua fuerant denominati,' ἐτέρας βούλονται παροικίαις ἐπιέναι 'alienas ecclesias occupare voluerint, et vim facere episcopis, quos ibi invenerint, seditiones excitando adversus eos, hos segregare oportet.' Concilium Antioche- Concil. An- num: 'Si quis episcopus ordinatus, non abierit' εἰς παροικίαν 'ad parœ- tioch. c. 18. ciam cui ordinatus est, non suo vitio, sed plebis forsitan contradictione, hic honorem susceptum retinere, et sacerdotio fungi de- Idem, c. 21. bebant.' Idem rursus statuit; 'Episcopum' ἀπὸ παροικίας ἐτέρας εἰς ἐτέραν, 'de parœcia ad parœciam non debere transire.' Concilium Concil. Sar- Sardicense, 'Hoc universi constituimus, ut quicumque voluerit' ἐξ dic. c. 15. ἐτέρας παροικίας, 'alterius parœciæ ministrum ordinare, sine consensu episcopi ipsius, irrita sit ordinatio ejus.' Concilium œcumenicum Nicenum in epistola quadam ad ecclesiam Alexandrinam, et Ægypti,

Libyæ, et Pentapolis episcopos, decrevit; ut qui (episcopi) a Miletio ordinati fuissent, 'his quos Alexandria episcopus ordinaverat,' ἐν Socrat. lib. ἐκάστη παροικία τὲ καὶ ἐκκλησία 'in singulis parœciis et ecclesiis omnino inferiores essent.' I. c. 9.

Ita igitur verbo 'parœcia' (in singulari) pro tota episcopi jurisdictione utuntur, etiam tum cum episcopi sine dubio plures sub se cœtus haberent, nec unius tantum civitatis ecclesiis præessent, ut apparet ex iis quæ Socrates de ecclesiis episcopo Alexandria subjectis scribit. 'Mareotes,' inquit, 'est regio Alexandria sub- Ibid. lib. 1. jecta; sunt in illa pagi permulti, multisque hominibus frequen- c. 28. tati: inque eisdem complures sunt ecclesiæ, æque illustres, quæ quidem episcopo obsequuntur Alexandria,' καὶ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς παροικίαι, 'et illius civitati tanquam parœciæ subjectæ sunt.' Quinimo tota illa regio Mareotica, in qua pagi maximi, plures aliquanto quam decem, fuerant, et in iis triginta presbyteri et diaconi rebus divinis inservientes, ut ex ipsorum literis et 'subscriptionibus' constat, 'parœciæ' nomine appellabatur, sic enim inquit: 'Quo- Athan. A- niam Theognius, mares (et cæteri) missi ab episcopis, qui Tyri in pol. 2. concilium coierant,' ἀπήντησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παροικίᾳ, 'obviam sibi mutuo venerunt in nostra parœcia. Mareotes autem (ut ibidem Ibidem. testatur Athanasius) ager erat Alexandria, quo in loco nunquam episcopus fuit, imo ne chorepiscopus quidem, sed universæ ejus loci ecclesiæ episcopo Alexandrino subjacebant, ita tamen ut singuli pagi suos presbyteros haberent.' Ex his germana verbi ('parœcia') significatio perspicitur, non solum ad plures ecclesias se extendere, sed etiam totam cujusvis episcopi diœcesim exprimere, et in utroque numero, tam singulari quam plurali, similem ac parem vim habere. Et quanquam chorepiscopi; hoc est, 'villarum episcopi,' multis post Christum annis quibusdam in locis, et ad certas causas per canones tolerati fuerint, nempe ut ii qui ex 'schismaticis' ad ecclesiam rever- Concil. Ni- terentur, episcopalibus nominis honorem retinerent, et episcoporum cen. c. 8. civitatum, forte ægrotantium, vel in remotis agentium, vices supple- rent; tamen et ipsi, et villæ eorum, episcopis civitatum, quibus adja- cebant, 'subjecti' erant: adeo ut sine autoritate et consensu episcopi Concil. An- civitatis, chorepiscopo 'nec presbyterum, nec diaconum ordinare, nec tioch. c. 10. quicquam eorum peragere' liceret, quæ ad episcopi officium pertine- Concil. An- rent. Qui quidem non ita multo post, ob nimiam 'eorum arrogantiam, cyr. c. 13. Concil. Lao- et episcopalis jurisdictionis usurpationem' penitus sublatis sunt. Utut dic. c. 56. autem verbum parœcia circumscriptam unius ecclesiæ jurisdictionem (quam vulgo parochiam appellamus) doctis quibusdam hodie signifi- cet; non tamen unum solummodo cœtum sive congregationem ne-



cessario innuit, ut a vobis, quo proposito vestro melius inserviat, anguste nimium coarctatur; sed quotquot unius rectoris sive, vicarii curæ, et regimini committuntur, eo nomine continentur. Cui rei argumento sunt plurimæ in Anglia parochiarum centuriæ; quarum aliæ duas; aliæ tres, aut quatuor; nonnullæ etiam, ut vicarius de Halifex, decem aut duodecim diversas ecclesias, sive congregationes sibi annexas habent. Ita fit ut in una parochia, sicut hodie passim usurpatur, plures ecclesiæ esse possint; quod autem ad antiquas illas 'paræcias' attinet, nihil aliud, ut multis probavi; quam territoria regionesque singulis civitatibus assignatæ, et episcopo civitatis subiectæ fuerunt; ut inter eas antiquo more intellectas, et diœceses, nihil intersit; licet 'paræciæ,' perinde ac civitates et episcopatus earum, aliæ aliis majores extiterint.

Si quis autem a me quærat, quando verbum *διοίκησις*, 'diœcesis' primum usurpari cœperit; in Græcorum conciliis aut historiis non memini

Socrat. lib.  
1. c. 9. in  
litteris Con-  
stantin. ad  
Ecclesias.  
Concil. Con-  
stantin. c. 2.

me legisse (præterquam semel in 'litteris Constantini') donec œcumenicum concilium Theodosii tempore Constantinopolitani habitum, circiter annum Christi 383, decrevit, ut 'episcopi non invitati' *ὑπὲρ διοικήσιν*, 'ultra diœcesim non accederent, super ordinandis aliquibus, vel disponendis quibuscunque ecclesiasticis causis;' utque 'regulam' *περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων*, 'de diœcesibus prius descriptam, servarent;' res tamen ipsa non solum antiquissima erat, ut ex magno Niceno concilio apparet,

2 Cor. i.

litteras suas inscripsit, 'Ecclesiæ Dei que est Corinthi,' *σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ*, 'una cum sanctis omnibus, qui sunt in tota Achaia;' Corintho metropoli Achaïæ existente locoque ubi

Act. xxviii.  
12.

'Proconsulis Achaïæ tribunal erat.' Adeo ut, per totam hanc epistolam Corinthios et Achaicos conjunctim appellet, et ecclesiam Corin-

2 Cor. ix. 2.

thiacam Achaïæ nomine nonnunquam usurpet. 'Novi,' inquit, 'promptum animum vestrum, quem de vobis jacto apud Macedones, Achaïam videlicet paratam esse ab anno superiore: et zelus vester

2 Cor. xi. 8,  
9, 10.

multos provocavit.' Postea etiam, 'Alias ecclesias spoliavi, accepto ab eis stipendio, ut vobis inservirem: et in omni re servavi meipsum, et servo, ut oneri vobis non sim, ut hæc gloriatio non obsignetur mihi in regionibus Achaïæ.' Hic ut alias etiam per omnem hanc epistolam, nullum prorsus discrimen ponit inter ecclesiam quæ Corinthi, et quæ in reliquis Achaïæ partibus erat; sed sive doceat, sive exhortetur, sive admoneat, sive collaudet eos, tanquam ad unam



ecclesiam verba facit; quia omnes ad eandem civitatem tam fidei erudiendæ, contributionisque sanctis faciendæ, quam alia Christiana munia et officia obeundi et exhibendi causa conveniebant. Neque vero res, ut prætenditis, adeo nova atque inaudita fuit, vel ipsis apostolorum temporibus, ut multarum ecclesiarum inspectio unius fidei committeretur; cum Paulus Titum Cretæ reliquerit, ut totius insulæ centum urbium numero celeberrimæ, ac opulentissimi potentissimique quondam regni, curam solus sustineret. Et licet levissimis quibusdam ratiunculis adducti negetis, Titum Cretæ episcopum fuisse; tota tamen Christi ecclesia uno ore affirmat, ejusque rei monumentum sub finem Epistolæ Pauli ad Titum, in Græcis Novi Testamenti exemplaribus, tam veteribus illis, quam hodie receptis, publice testatum extare voluit; nempe, scriptam fuisse hanc epistolam, *πρὸς Τίτον τῆς Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα*, ‘ad Titum qui primus Cretensium ecclesiæ episcopus ordinatus est.’ Quæ verba etsi apostoli non sint, eoque velut in parte canonis explicari nihil opus sit; cum tamen in omnibus Græcis codicibus inveniantur, publicum ecclesiæ consensum probant, eum apostolorum ætate, et deinceps, episcopum Cretæ relictum fuisse, ut historiæ etiam ecclesiasticæ plenissime nobis fidem faciunt.

Si diœceses tanta, ut dicitis, antiquitate fuerunt, miror diœcesanos episcopos nullibi commemorari, usque ad 200 a Christo annos, idque Alexandria tantum.] Res observatione digna videtur, quod vos contentione, quanta maxima potestis, præteritorum seculorum memoriam excutientes, plus quam 200 annos a Christo fuisse affirmare non audeatis, antequam diœceses palam receptæ, vel saltem plures ecclesiæ uni episcopo commissæ fuerint; in quo gravissimum contra vos ipsos testimonium dicitis, diœcesanos episcopos 1400 annos locum in ecclesia habuisse. Quod si vel mediocri cura (addo etiam, et modestia) veterum scripta revolvissetis, multo propiores eos apostolorum ætati invenissetis. Nam ut de Marco evangelista taceam, qui plures Alexandria erexit ecclesias, (sic exigente credentium multitudine, ut superius a me demonstratum est,) easque septennio fere ante Petrum et Paulum e vita decedens, Aniano successori reliquit; æque constat, non solum multas Romæ ecclesias fuisse recipiendis civitatis et parœciæ illius Christianis constitutas, sed usque eo crevisse fidelium numerum, ut Euaristus episcopus Romanus infra 68 annos a Christi passione, novem vero a morte beati Johannis, ‘Titulos’ (hoc est, ecclesias sive cœtus) ‘Romæ’ distribuere et ‘presbyteris suis dividere’ coactus fuerit, singulis parte assignata, sibi vero maxima retenta, penes quem reliquorum inspectio remansit. Dionysius etiam

DAMES. in  
Vita Eva-  
rist.

- Corinthiorum episcopus, qui ad annos plus minus septuaginta a Jo-
- DeScriptor. hanne apostolo in ecclesia floruit, 'Tantæ,' inquit Hieronymus, 'elo-  
Eecl. in quentiae et industriae fuit, ut non solum suae civitatis et provinciae po-  
Dionys. pulos, sed et aliarum urbium et provinciarum episcopos epistolis eru-  
diret.' Idem ad Romanos, et Soterum eorum episcopum scribens, ait,  
Euseb. lib. 'Ab initio hæc vobis consuetudo est, ut cunctis fratribus variis modis  
iv. c. 23. benefaciatis, ἐκκλησίας τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν,  
' ac multis ecclesiis, quæ sunt per quamque civitatem subsidia mitta-  
tis.' Firmilianus Cæsareæ in Cappadocia episcopus tanto studio Ori-  
geni adhæsit, 'ut, aliquando ad ipsum in Judæam proficisceretur,  
Idem, lib. aliquando eum,' ἀμφὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν κλίματα εἰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὥφελειαν,  
7. c. 27. 'in suam regionem ad ædificationem ecclesiarum evocaret.' Corne-  
lius ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopus et martyr, Cypriano coævus, ad  
quem multæ ipsius literæ leguntur, in quadam epistola, quam ad  
Fabium Antiochenæ ecclesiæ præsidem de Novato Catharorum hære-  
sis authore scripsit, qui sub specie purioris cujusdam professionis  
schisma in ecclesia Romana conflare, et paræchianus episcopus fieri  
voluit, ita ait: 'Vindex ille evangelii ignoravit, unum esse debere  
Idem, lib. episcopum in catholica ecclesia, in qua nescit presbyteros esse 46,  
6. c. 43. diaconos septem, hypodiaconos septem, acoluthos 42, exorcistas,  
lectores et janitores 52, viduas cum afflictis supra mille quingentos,  
omnes gratia et benevolentia Domini nutritos; quem, ne tanta qui-  
dem multitudo, ac tam necessaria in ecclesia, perque providentiam  
divinam tam copiosus et frequens (cleri) numerus,' μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ  
ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ, 'cum maximo et innumerabili populo, ab hac de-  
plorata præsumptione ad ecclesiam convertit et revocavit.' Tametsi  
igitur tanta Romæ Christianorum multitudo, tot etiam fidelium  
cœtus existerent; (quos Euaristus multo ante diviserat) ut 46 pres-  
byteri, præter 108 inferiores clericos ad ministrandum iis tantum suf-  
ficerent; Cornelius tamen evidenter ait, non nisi 'unam' in ea civi-  
tate 'ecclesiam,' ac 'unum episcopum' fuisse, aut esse debuisse.  
Cyprianus etiam de eodem schismatico, qui Romæ parochianis ves-  
tris episcopis ascribi voluit, graviter et prudenter affirmat: 'Cum  
Cypr. ep. post primum, secundus (episcopus) esse non possit, quisquis post  
32. unum qui solus esse debeat, factus est, non jam secundus ille, sed  
nullus est.' Nec eo contentus, integrum librum 'de unitate eccle-  
siæ' composuit, in quo summatim probat, non nisi unum in una  
ecclesia civitateque episcopum esse debere; cujus libri processum  
etsi pontificii ad ecclesiam Romanam, occasione schismatis in ea  
facti, fallaciter et dolose traduxerunt, in maximo tamen errore ver-  
santur, quandoquidem in genere de omni ecclesia et episcopo loquitur,

ut ex his verbis, initio illius tractatus apparet: 'Quam veritatem fir- Cypr. de Unitat. Ec-  
 miter tenere et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia cles.  
 præsidemus, ut episcopatum quoque unum atque indivisum probe-  
 mus. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tene-  
 tur.' Hoc alibi: 'Legem evangelicam, imo Dei traditionem, et con-  
 junctam catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem, appellat.' 'Gravat me,' in Epist. 44.  
 quit, 'atque contristat, et intolerabilis perculsi et pene prostrati  
 pectoris mœstitia perstringit, cum vos illic comperissem contra ec-  
 clesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra insti-  
 tutionis catholicæ unitatem, alium episcopum fieri consensisse, id  
 est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, ecclesiam alteram institui.'  
 Rursus ait: 'Cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in Epist. 52.  
 multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum  
 concordii numerositate diffusus;' (schismaticus iste) 'post Dei tra-  
 ditionem, post connexam et ubique conjunctam catholicæ ecclesiæ  
 unitatem, humanam conatur ecclesiam facere; cumque jampridem  
 per omnes provincias et per singulas urbes ordinati sint episcopi, ille  
 super eos creare alios pseudoepiscopos audet.' Ubi non solum epi-  
 scopos olim ante suam ætatem per urbes et provincias constitutos  
 affirmat, sed 'evangelicæ legi, Deique traditioni,' prorsus attribuit;  
 ut in omni civitate regioneque ei adjacente, unus atque unicus sit  
 episcopus: tamen eo ipso tempore, ac multo ante etiam provinciæ  
 primariis civitatibus assignatæ erant, ut quemadmodum quælibet  
 civitas et parœcia, proprium episcopum et presbyterium habuit, quo-  
 rum consilio gubernabatur; ita cuique provinciæ metropolitanus erat,  
 qui sicubi gravior aliqua occasio incideret, omnes provinciæ suæ  
 episcopos convocaret, ut in communi de majoribus ecclesiæ negotiis  
 deliberarent. De provincia sua Cyprianus ait<sup>a</sup>: 'Latius fusa est nostra a Epist. 45.  
 provincia: habet enim Numidiam, et Mauritanias duas;' de qua, ante  
 Cyprianum, episcopi 90<sup>b</sup>; illius etiam ætate 87<sup>c</sup>; et Augustini tem-  
 pore 217<sup>d</sup>, necdum omnibus præsentibus, convenerunt.

Frustra Eusebium huc adduxero, ut Cypriani sæculo 'e Meruzanem  
 Christianorum episcopum, qui per Armeniam erant;' aut tempore  
 Dionysii Alexandrini, Basilidem τῶν κατὰ πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν, b Ep. 45.  
 c In Conc.  
 Carthag.  
 'Pentapolitarum parœciarum episcopum' probem; uti etiam ali-  
 quanto post Sylvanum τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν ἐκκλησιῶν, Emissenarum d In Conc.  
 Afric.  
 e Euseb.  
 ecclesiarum, ejusque nominis alium τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν, lib. 6. c. 46.  
 Lib. 7. c.  
 26.  
 Lib. 8. c.  
 13.  
 'Gazensium ecclesiarum episcopum' fuisse demonstrat Eusebius;  
 instar multorum testimoniorum esse potest unum Christianorum ex-  
 emplum, qui cum ante Dioclesiani persecutionem pacem et quietem  
 aliquamdiu nacti fuissent, templorum multitudine, quæ in qualibet

Lib. 8. c.  
1.

Damas. in  
Vita Mar-  
celli.

civitate extruxerunt, quot et quanti in his cœtus essent, reipsa declaraverunt. Πῶς δ' ἂν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάδους τὰς ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων; 'Quis infinitas illas aggregationes, ac multitudines cœtuum per singulas civitates describat, quorum gratia priscis ædificiis non contenti (Christiani) in qualibet civitate spatiosas et amplas ex ipsis fundamentis construxerunt ecclesias?' Et de Marcello episcopo Romano tempore Maxentii tyranni, scriptum est; 'Hic 25 titulos in urbe constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum.' Novum ergo, vel apostolorum ætate, in ecclesia non erat, ut in una civitate multi fidelium cœtus, multique ad ministrandum iis presbyteri, uni licet episcopo subjecti existerent; utque regio civitati circumjecta ad ejusdem episcopi curam atque regimen, ad quem civitas ipsa, pertineret. Atque hæc unius episcopi jurisdictio et potestas in quamlibet civitatem, et viculos ac pagos circumjacentes, Eusebio, aliisque scriptoribus Græcis 'parœciæ' nomine appellatur, atque idem plane cum diœcesi denotat. Ita fit, ut diœceses apostolorum temporibus initium habuerint, et ad hunc usque diem perpetuo in ecclesia propagatæ fuerint.

Quantacunque diœcesium antiquitas fuerit, episcoporum tamen in his dominandi licentia, ut Hieronymus nobis author est, et tituli atque nomina honoris hodie iis attributa, nullo modo cum veteri ecclesiæ disciplina conveniunt.] Scio vos regentes episcopos (ut vocatis) moleste ferre; verum nec quid sint, explicatis; et quando incœperint, plane ignoratis. Si diœcesanos episcopos eodem modo dominatum et imperium in populum exercere putetis, quo parochianos vestros episcopos velitis, accepto proprie a Christo mandato, cui nec principi, nec conciliis provincialibus aut œcumenicis contradicere, aut omnino repugnare liceat; perinde in his ignorantiam vestram, ac in illis arrogantiam proditis. Neque enim in nostra ecclesia episcopis plus juris tribuitur, quam per piorum conciliorum canones, et Christianorum principum constitutiones licet; nempe, ut tam harum, quam illorum, executionem diligenter promoveant: eoque minime sibi sumunt, ut diœcesibus suis leges constituent, quod tamen presbyteriis vestris in qualibet parœcia licere contenditis; sed, ut quas pii principes, aut synodi et concilia rite celebrata decreverint, executioni mandari faciant. Quod si tanta vestra sit insolentia, ut nec principum leges, nec conciliorum canones locum obtinere velitis, donec quælibet parœcia sigillatim his adprobationem auctoritatemque suam adjunxerit, non jam episcoporum dominationi, sed princi-



pum potestati, et conciliorum existimationi litem infertis. Nam si leges et decreta eorum exsequi non liceat, nec ferre quidem aut statuere licet; imo frustra jussa sua proponerent, nisi executionem etiam haberent. Parochianis episcopis et presbyteris vestris ab omnibus ecclesiasticis legibus solutis, ex solis scripturis (quæ nullam de his rebus speciatim mentionem faciunt) et suo ipsorum arbitrio judicare permittitis; atque in his totius ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ fundamentum collocatis. Sin autem Christianorum principum constitutiones, et sacrorum conciliorum canones omnino ferendos, sed eorum executionem presbyterio conjunctim credendam putetis; longo usu et certa experientia in ecclesia compertum est, aditum hinc ad maximas moras et discordias patere, si nec leges, nec decreta executioni prius mandentur, quam presbyteri omnes vel plures saltem, in qualibet paræcia civitateque, assensionem suam his adjicerent. Quocirca in nullo conciliorum presbyteris, sed cujusque loci episcopo executio canonum commissa est, ut qui servatorum vel neglectorum canonum solus rationem redderet.

Quid, quod Hieronymus ipse, quem testem in hac causa sæpius produxistis gravissimum episcopis testimonium tribuit, quam ecclesiæ necessaria sit eorum jurisdictio et potestas: ‘Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors et ab omnibus emi-  
nens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacer-  
dotes.’ Nec diversum Cypriani ante eum judicium fuit: ‘Neque enim  
aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde  
quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus  
sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secun-  
dum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nunc dis-  
sidio unitatis Christi ecclesiam scinderet, nemo sibi placens ac tu-  
mens seorsum foris hæresim novam conderet.’ Idem etiam Tertul-  
lianus sua ætate profitebatur; ‘Dandi (baptismi) jus habet summus  
sacerdos, qui est episcopus; dehinc presbyteri, et diaconi, non tamen  
sine episcopi autoritate propter ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo, salva  
pax est. Æmulatio schismatum mater est.’

Hieron.  
adv. Lu-  
cifer.

Cypr. ep.  
55.

Tert. de  
Bapt.

Si hi satis antiqui vel sinceri vobis testes non videantur, audite quid Ignatius Antiochiæ episcopus, Johanne apostolo etiamdum in vita manente, ejusque discipulus, post quem octo fere annis martyrio affectus est, ad diversas ecclesias de episcoporum autoritate scribat, quam vos contumeliose magis quam vero nomine, episcoporum ‘dominationem’ appellatis. Ad ecclesiam Magnesianam ait; ‘Decet itaque’ καὶ ὑμᾶς Ignat. ep.  
ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, ‘et vos obedire episcopo vestro, et in nullo  
illi refragari.’ Et paulo post; ‘quemadmodum Dominus sine Patre  
ad Magnes.



- nihil facit : sic et vos sine episcopo, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec laicus. Nec quicquam videatur vobis consentaneum, quod sit præter illius iudicium : τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον, καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχθρόν, 'quod enim tale est, iniquum est, et Deo inimicum.' Similiter ad ecclesiam Philadelphensem : 'Sine episcopo nihil facite : ubi vero pastor est, eodem et vos, ut oves, sequamini : πειθαρχεῖτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, 'presbyteri episcopo pareant.' Ad Smyrnensem etiam scribit : 'Nefandas hæreses, et qui schismata faciunt, fugite, ut fontem malorum. Omnes episcopum sequimini, ut Christus Patrem. Sine episcopo nemo quicquam faciat' τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 'eorum quæ ad ecclesiam spectant. Honora episcopum ut principem sacerdotum, imaginem Dei referentem. Qui honorat episcopum, a Deo honore afficietur ; sicut qui ignominia afficit illum, a Deo puniatur. Nam si is iure censebitur pœna dignus, qui adversus regem insurgit : quanto, putatis, graviore subiacebit supplicio, qui sine episcopo quid audet agere, concordiam rumpens, et decentem rerum ordinem confundens ? Diaconi igitur presbyteris (ὑποτάσσέσθωσαν) subjiciantur, presbyteri episcopo, episcopus Christo.' Ad ecclesiam Tarsensem iisdem fere verbis ; Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, 'Presbyteri subjecti estote episcopo. Qui hoc ordinis decorum servarint, pro eorum animabus ego libens animam oppignoro.' Postremo ad ecclesiam Trallensem ait ; 'Episcopo subjecti estote, velut Domino. Necesse est, quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil faciatis.' Infinita fere sunt quæ eodem exemplo ex eisdem epistolis proferri possent ; quibus omnibus luce clarius efficitur, non solum unum episcopum, sive summum pastorem, in qualibet civitate extitisse, ut Christi ipsius literæ ad 'septem angelos' septem ecclesiarum Asiaticarum Johannis ministerio perscriptæ testantur ; sed quemlibet ejusmodi angelum, pastorem, sive episcopum, summam rerum in ecclesiis suis administrasse, et presbyteros juxta ac populum infra civitates ac diœceses suas constitutos, consilio et autoritate gubernasse : atque hanc regendæ ecclesiæ formam ab ipsis apostolis fuisse sancitam.
- Ignat. ad  
Philadelph.  
Idem ad  
Smyrn.  
Idem, ep.  
ad Tarsens.  
Idem ad  
Trall.  
Apoc. i. ii.  
iii.  
Ep. ad Tral-  
lens.
- 'Reveremini,' inquit Ignatius, 'episcopum, sicut Christum,' καθὼς ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διατάξαντο ἀπόστολοι, 'quemadmodum vobis beati apostoli præceperunt.' Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἡ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάντων κρατῶν, ὡς οἶόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν, μιμητὴν γινόμενον κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ; 'quid enim aliud est episcopus, quam is qui omni principatu et potestate superior est, quantum quidem homini licet, pro viribus imitator Christi Dei factus ?' Quid ergo existimatis ? Annon regentes hi, quos dicitis, episcopi Ignatii tempore in ecclesia fuerunt, qui tamen anno 11. Trajani imperatoris martyrio

vitam finivit, in cujus tertio imperii anno, ut refert Eusebius, Johannes apostolus e vita excessit? Quod si ita est, ut ex his aliisque ejusdem epistolis plusquam manifestum est, judicet lector, quae eruditione, veritate, et modestia fanaticam hanc reformationem, seu verius deformationem, ecclesiae Anglicanae obtrudere conemini, ut quivis presbyter parochianus episcopi vicem in ecclesia teneat, nec civitatis, aut diocesis cujusvis episcopus plus juris in administratione ecclesiastica habeat, quam pastor quilibet rusticanus.

Forte respondebitis, Ignatii aetate unumquemque episcopum presbyterorum collegium sibi adjunctum habuisse, quibuscum synodi more de communibus ecclesiae negotiis deliberaret, et quorum sine consilio nihil ageret in ecclesia.] Cur illis temporibus cujusque civitatis episcopus multis presbyteris opus habuerit, quorum non consilio solum, sed ope et auxilio pro diversis fidelium opportunitatibus et angustiis uteretur superius a me rationes explicantur. Ignatius autem plane ait, episcopo eos audientes et subjectos fuisse, nec quidquam sine eo moliri debuisse. Et utut in consilio cum episcopo capiendo, cum nondum synodi convocari possent, presbyteri jus autoritatemque haberent, ne (quod a Christo et apostolis ipsius toties exagitur) totius ecclesiae administratio ex unius episcopi nutu et arbitrio penderet, quod optimo jure dominatio vocaretur; postquam tamen leges communi consilio decretæ essent, in exequendis eis presbyteri, etiam Ignatii sæculo, episcopo parere necesse habebant; non sub deliberationem denuo revocabant, utrum his astringi, et quoties, et quando ipsis, vel amicis suis commodum videretur, decreta sua mutare vellent; quæ prorsus eadem est regiminis formula, quam tanta animi, ingenii, ac virium contentione in nostram ecclesiam invehere conamini. Tametsi igitur ecclesia Christi initio quidem, cum tanta credentium copia non esset, et dum persecutio undique ecclesiam vexaret, quorumcunque ope et auxilio, pro temporum ratione, usa fuerit, veluti in alicubus civitatibus, multorum presbyterorum, nullo dum episcopo constituto, (apostolis jam tum viventibus, et ecclesiae curam ac regimen a Christo sibi commissam gerentibus) ut antea multis probavi; postea vero eorum, qui episcopo in qualibet civitate adjuncti, eique subjecti erant, ut Ignatius locupletissimus nobis testis est; illud tamen nihil impedit, quin fide Christiana per totum orbem propagata, et ab omni majori civitate suscepta, tota ecclesia multo melius ac rectius a tot civitatum episcopis in unum locum, ac veluti in unam sententiam convenientibus, vel literis aut legatis ultro citroque judicia sua declarantibus, gubernetur, quam si singulae ecclesiae aut paræciæ, id quod vos tantopere contenditis, sibi privatim leges conderent, adeoque a

Chron. Eus.  
A.D. 103,  
III.

Christo ipso summam auctoritatem sibi vendicarent, ut nec aliæ ecclesiæ nec magistratus se opponendi vel interponendi jus haberent, quæcunque demum incideret occasio, aut exigeret necessitas.

Jam vero quod honos tam verbis, quam factis, juxta divini verbi præscriptum, episcopis jure attribui, et ab iis tuto recipi et admitti possit, etsi nec affectari, nec expectari debeat; pluribus a me est alias demonstratum, ut nunc repetere non sit opus. Verumtamen ut lector exploratum habeat, nulla prorsus honoris nomina in ecclesia nostra episcopis adscribi, nisi quæ concilia provincialia atque œcumenica, proconsules, præsides, comites, judices, aliæque Christianorum imperatorum potestates multo ante tribuerunt, et antiquissimi doctissimique patres et episcopi (ecclesia pacem obtinente) frequenti iteratione et usu pene quotidiano receperunt et roboraverunt, non inutile videtur pauca ejus rei exempla proferre, omissis cæteris, quæ et infinita sunt, et in re manifesta non necessaria. Primum concilium Arelatense Constantini tempore habitum, ad Sylvestrum episcopum Romanum scribens ait; 'Domino et sanctissimo fratri Sylvestro episcopo.'

Procem. prim. Conc. Arel. Concilium Gangrense eodem fere tempore, ad episcopos Armeniæ ita scripsit; *Κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ συλλειτουργοῖς*, 'Honoratissimis dominis consacerdotibus in Armenia.' Alexander episcopus

Athan. A-pol. 2. Thessalonicensis jam senex ad Athanasium scribens, literas suas hoc modo inscripsit; *Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητῷ*, 'Dilecto domino, filio et coepiscopo Athanasio.' Et de eodem Alexandro Dionysius (*ὁ κόμης*)

Ibidem. 'Comes' in literis suis ad Athanasii adversarios ait: 'Arbitror non minimam nostri obtrectandi materiam datum iri, si dominus meus Alexander actis nostris non videatur suffragari.' Quadraginta septem Ægypti episcopi, qui Athanasii partes defendebant et contra accusantium calumnias et injurias fidem suam interponebant, in principio

Ibid. literarum suarum ad episcopos in Tyro convocatos scripserunt, *κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις*, 'honoratissimis dominis, episcopis Tyri congregatis;' similiter in fine, 'Valere vos jubemus,' *κύριοι ποθεινότατοι*, 'exoptatissimi Domini.' Secundum œcumenicum concilium Constantinopoli sub Theodosio seniore habitum, ad synodum Romanam,

Theod. lib. 5. c. 9. in quo Ambrosius interfuit, ita scribit; *Κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις καὶ εὐλαβεστάτοις ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς*, 'Honoratissimis dominis, atque religiosissimis fratribus et collegis, Damaso, Ambrosio, Valeriano, Astholio, Basilio, reliquisque sanctissimis episcopis in civitate Romana congregatis. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, et Atticus Constantinopolis episcopus a concilio Africano, ubi Augustinus erat, rogati ut

Conc. Afric. can. 137, vera Niceni concilii exemplaria mitterent, ita rescripserunt, *Κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις καὶ ἀγιωτάτοις καὶ μακαριωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συνεπισκόποις*,

‘Honoratissimis dominis et sanctissimis ac merito beatissimis fratribus et coepiscopis, Aurelio, Valentino cæterisque in concilio Carthaginensi constitutis.’ In eodem concilio Africano, cui præter Augustinum episcopi 216 interfuerunt, primo ad Bonifacium deinde ad Celestinum, episcopos Romanos ita scriptum est; *Δεσπότη μακαριωτάτῳ* Ibid. c. 136. *καὶ τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Βονιφατίῳ*, ‘Domino beatissimo et honoratissimo fratri Bonifacio.’ Similiter ad alterum, ‘Domino dilectissimo et honoratissimo fratri Celestino.’ Multo plura in Cyrilli, aliorumque ad eum epistolis, loca sunt, in quibus hæc et hujusmodi verba occurrunt, *τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀγαπητῷ*, et *τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ*, ‘dilectissimo domino,’ et ‘sanctissimo domino.’ Et beatus Augustinus in omnibus fere epistolis ad eum, et ab eo scriptis, nullo alio honoris nomine utitur, præterquam ‘domino,’ cum similibus appellationibus juxta scribentis arbitrium ei adjunctis, ut ‘Domino vere sancto, et beatissimo papæ’ (quæ Hieronymi ad Augustinum salutatio est,) aut ‘Domino merito venerabili, et unice colendo Patri:’ quibus nominibus Macedonius judex imperatorius, alique non inferiori loco Augustinum in epistolis suis sæpius appellarunt. Acta Conc. Ephes. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. 84. 86, 87. 119. 121. Inter Epist. Aug. 11. 13, 14. 17, 18. 25. 30. Ep. 53. 51.

Quod si quis forte his occurrat, ‘dominum’ pro eo etiam sumi posse, quem vulgo ‘magistrum’ appellamus: præterquam quod Græcum nomen *κύριος* et Latinum ‘dominus,’ nullam ejusmodi differentiam aut significationem admittant; ‘domini’ appellatio eadem est, quam Augustinus senatoribus, comitibus, præsidibus, proconsulibus et majori potestate præditis quibuscunque ascribit; imo hæc in utraque lingua nomina sunt, quæ principibus, Christo, atque Deo ipsi attribuuntur: ubi neminem adeo ineptum, seu potius impium esse suspicor, ut magistri titulo principem, Christum, aut Deum velit insigniri: ut enim Dominus Deus rectissime dicitur, ita Magister Deus absurdissime. Quid, quod nomen ‘magistri’ apertius in scripturis prohibetur, quam ‘Domini?’ ‘Magistris’ etiam aut ‘heris’ (secundum vernaculum loquendi usum) servi ac ministri opponuntur, quam subjectionem Christianos episcopis suis deferre non decet. Quandoquidem igitur uxores et minores quicumque ‘viros suos et fratres natu majores dominos’ appellare jubentur; quanto magis honorem hunc a filiis parentibus suis præstari oportet? Et si honos, isque duplex, patribus, qui in Christum nos genuerunt, jure deberi censetur, libenter a vobis scirem cur non honos verbis, æque ac factis, episcopis et pastoribus haberi debeat; præsertim cum Christus ipse 1. ‘lucis’ et ‘salis terræ,’ imo 2. ‘stellarum et angelorum’ nominibus eos dignari voluerit, quibuscum ‘dominorum’ appellatio in terris nullo modo est conferenda. Epp. 134. 70. 129. 162. 60. 127. Matt. xxiii. 8. 1 Pet. iii; Gen. xxvii. 29.

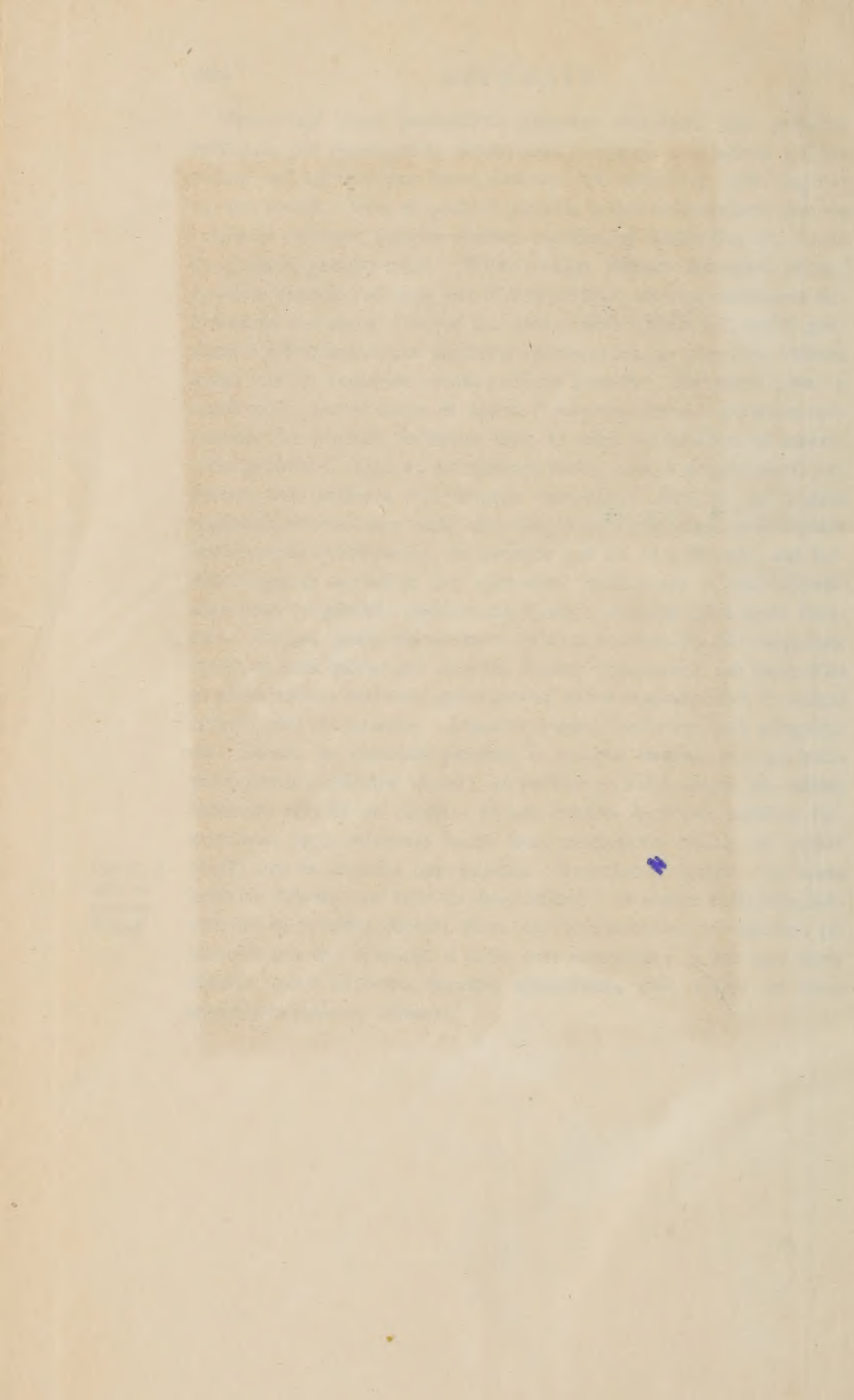


Necessitati quam prætenditis diœceses retinendi, quo parœciæ rusticanæ per episcopos et presbyteria civitatum non solum gubernentur, sed quoties opus fuerit, pastores sibi sortiantur, nullo negotio occurri potest. Nam in qualibet parœcia laicos seniores cum pastore conjungi volumus, quorum quidem consilio, ut Ambrosius ait, omnia in ecclesia peragerentur. Priore autem pastore defuncto, populo ejusdem parœciæ, ad quos jure divino pertinet, alterius electionem deferendam censemus. Neque hoc loco prætereundum est, multo graviora nos testimonia pro electione episcoporum per populum habere, quam vos pro regimine eorum proferre possitis. Scripturæ plane a nobis sunt; patres sæpe et aperte; perpetua denique ecclesiæ consuetudo ita prorsus nobiscum facit, ut nihil actum ab ea in contrarium probetur. Quo fit, ut episcopi vestri, cum a populo electi non fuerint, veri pastores non omnino videantur.] Scio vos episcopalis regiminis necessitatem nullo alio effugio declinare posse, præterquam laicis vestris presbyteriis; et proinde aut ad ea adhærere, aut formam regendi ecclesiam per episcopos ‘catholicam et apostolicam’ esse fateri cogimini; quod sentio quam molestum vobis esset futurum. Verum, quam abhorrens a verbo et ecclesia Dei sit, semperque fuerit, ut laici quicunque seniores manus imponerent, aut pastorales et ecclesiasticas actiones gubernarent, antea exploravimus, et eodem reverti nihil est necesse. Libenter quidem Ambrosio hæc affingeretis: Verum ex omnibus patribus is minime idoneus est, qui laicis presbyteriis advocatus veniat: ita prorsus ea velut spinas ad calcem hærentes revellit ac rejicit. Si non creditis Ambrosio publicas Romanorum leges adversus laicos hos presbyteros citanti, at credite palam eos in concilio oppugnanti: ‘Sacerdotes,’ inquit, ‘de laicis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus;’ et contra Palladium hæreticum sententiam dicenti, dum ait, ‘Erubescimus, ut videatur, qui sacerdotium sibi vendicat, a laicis esse damnatus; in hoc ipso dammandus, quod laicorum expectat sententiam, cum magis de laicis sacerdotes judicare debeant.’

Concil. A.  
quil. in  
condem.  
Pallad.







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